



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



32101 064994286

1700

135

N.S.V.3-4

Library of



Princeton University.

THE
ASIATIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME III.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1892.

"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

Uloking :
THE ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE.

LONDON
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INDIA AND CHINA. By A. Michie	I
CHINA AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES. By A. Looker-On	13
COLONEL GRAMSCHEFFSKY'S EXPLORATIONS, AND RECENT EVENTS ON THE PAMIRS	17
HUNZA, NAGYR, AND OTHER PAMIR REGIONS. By Dr. G. W. Leitner (Illustrated)	53
DARWAZ AND KARATEGIN. By C. Johnston, B.S.C.	77
AGRICULTURE IN THE SUB-PAMIRIAN REGIONS. By Dr. G. Capus . .	87
MILITARY OBJECTIONS TO THE HUNTERIAN SPELLING OF "INDIAN" WORDS	91
THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT IN PERSIA. By C. E. Biddulph . .	99
A CRISIS IN BRITISH AFRICA. By Alpha	103
Fiji. By Commissioner A. C. Fuller	117
THE HUMOUR OF THE HEBREW BIBLE. By Dr. Chotzner	124
THE HEALTH LAWS OF THE BIBLE. By M. Adler, M.A.	136
PRE-HISTORIC ROCK PICTURES AT BELLARY. By F. Fawcett . .	147
J. CLAINE'S SUMATRA MANUSCRIPT ON THE MICROBE. By L. B. .	158
THE SINDBAD NAMAH. By A. Rogers	160
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF SIR W. ELLIOT. By R. Sewell . .	192, 427
THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS. By His Exc. P. Wassa Pasha and the late Sir P. Colquhoun	208, 447
LIFE AMONG THE DRUSES, Part 2	216
ORIENTAL CONGRESS NEWS	232, 469
IS TURKEY PROGRESSING? By Ibrahim Hakki Bey	265
NOTES ON THE DISCOVERY OF MORE THAN 200 ARTIFICIAL CAVES NEAR TOKIO. By S. Tsuboi, Rigakushi (Illustrated)	279
LEGENDS, SONGS, AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN, (Gilgit, Yasin, Hunza, Nagy, Chitral, and Kafirstan). By Dr. G. W. Leitner (Illustrated).	294
MY RUSSIAN RECORDS. By R. Michell	311
THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT IN PERSIA (An Explanation). By General A. Houtum-Schindler	321
DISEASE MICROBES ANTICIPATED IN SANSKRIT MEDICAL WORKS. By Pundit Janardhan	324
SOME GEOGRAPHICAL IDENTIFICATIONS IN EGYPT. By Professor E. Amélineau	328
NOTES ON THE KABYLE LANGUAGE. By Dr. R. S. Charnock . .	346
POLYNESIAN RACES AND LINGUISTICS. By Dr. Emil Schneider .	350
THE NEWFOUNDLAND ARBITRATION. By C. D. Collett	354
CREATION BY THE VOICE AND THE HERMOPOLITAN ENNEAD. By Professor Dr. G. Maspero	365
ORIENTAL STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN. By the Rev. Principal T. Witton-Davies, B.A.	375
THE PATHFINDER IN TROJAN AND PRE-HELLENIC ANTIQUITY. (Schliemann Reminiscences). By Karl Blind	391

	PAGE
HAWAII. By Miss L. N. Badenoch (Revised by His Exc. A. Hoffnung, Hawaiian Chargé d'affaires in England, and the Hawaiian Foreign Office)	409
CORRESPONDENCE AND NOTES.	238, 463
SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN INDIA AND THE COLONIES	242, 472
REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES	255, 495
PRINCIPAL BOOKS REVIEWED :—	
The Melanesians, by R. H. Codrington, D.D.—The History of Human Marriage, by E. Westermarck—The Caliphate, by Sir W. Muir —Half-hours with Muhammad, by A. N. Wollaston—History of the Bengal European Regiment, by Lt.-Col. P. M. Innes—The Land of the Lamas, by W. R. Rockhill—The Life and Teachings of Muhammad, by Syed Amir Ali—Pitt, by Lord Rosebery 255—264	
Egypt under the Pharaohs, by H. Brugsch Bey—Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers, by Miss A. B. Edwards—Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria, by Prof. Dr. G. Maspero—The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India, by Captain C. R. Day—Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan, by Mrs. L. J. B. Bishop—History of the Punjab, by Sayad Muhammad Latif—Early Religion of Israel, by Prof. J. Robertson, D.D.—Woman's Influence in the East, by John J. Pool—A Traveller's Narrative of the Bab, by E. G. Browne—Britannic Confederation, by Several Authors 495—510	

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1892.

INDIA AND CHINA.

THE cost of British representation in China was for many years a charge upon the budget of British India. The item had an anomalous look in the Indian Accounts; but there was more in the arrangement than merely the strong partner debiting the weak one with an undue share of the common expenses. Our relations with China were in their origin more Indian than British, the China trade itself having been a perquisite of the Honourable Company. The trade between India and China has not decreased in recent times, but the general foreign commerce of China has developed more in the direction of Europe. "Manchester" has during the last thirty years assumed a large interest in Chinese matters, and may in fact be said to divide with the missionaries the attention of our diplomatic and consular services in that Empire; and Great Britain has consequently seen fit to relieve India of the expense of these establishments.

And yet the bond which binds the interest of India to that of China is not severed; its true strength indeed has scarcely as yet been discerned. Not in the commercial province alone, important as that is, but in the highest political sphere, a common interest—perhaps a common destiny—links these two ancient human aggregations together. Separated as they are in race, and different as has been their social history, in certain grand external features

the two peoples resemble each other. They are both subjugated races, which, unable to perpetuate Home Rule, have had to accept the government of aliens. The political resemblance, however, scarcely goes beyond this bare fact, for the Moghul and British rulers in India never ceased to be alien, whereas the Mongol and Manchu rule in China (not to speak of the many temporary inroads of other less known races) only survived through becoming Chinese. This discrepancy may only signify that India has advanced a stage beyond China in the succession of her conquerors, and that the drama of history has still some chapters to unfold which will bring the destinies of the two Eastern peoples into line.

The same cloud lowers over the Chinese continent as over the Indian peninsula : accident will determine at which end of the line the storm will break. But whichever may first receive the shock, the other is sure to follow ; it is a case of *hodie mihi, cras tibi*. If ever, therefore, there was a demonstrable common interest, it exists now between India and China. So obvious indeed is this, that an alliance offensive and defensive between the two empires is laid down by political watch-dogs like Sir Charles Dilke as a combination growing out of the sheer necessities of the situation. The idea of such an alliance was probably first given tangible shape to by Mr. Colquhoun, when correspondent of *The Times* in China ; and since the scare of 1885, the idea seems more or less to have taken possession of British statesmen, and even soldiers.

As an idea there is nothing to be said against it. The union of two nations to keep back the invasion of a third is as commendable as any league of peace ever was. Like "Imperial Federation," however, and many other grand ideas, its difficulties only show themselves when the scheme begins to be thought out. The general principle may be fully accepted on both sides, the mutual benefit realized, and the life-and-death importance may even be faintly apprehended ; but, as Carlyle says, Will it march?

An alliance between Great Britain and China—for that is what it would come to—presents the initial difficulty, that neither side could ever be got to trust to the co-operation of the other. An alliance with Great Britain would be a rotten stick for any Power to lean upon, with the new democracy compelling Ministers to expose their hand every afternoon at 4 o'clock, to say nothing of the conflicting views of the great political parties. And an alliance with China: with whom would it be made? The Emperor is never seen, and will certainly never take part in affairs. Ministers there are none, in the ordinary sense of the word, for the Tsung-li-yamên, or Foreign Board, does not discharge such functions. The number of its members would alone ensure paralysis of action, no one daring to assume any responsibility, scarcely even to open his mouth in presence of the others, and their whole mission in life being to "bluff off" foreign representatives on all and every occasion, and on all and every subject. There remains the one official who is able to put through business, the Viceroy Li Hung-Chang, who fills the anomalous rôle of *de facto* Foreign Minister, while holding no portfolio corresponding to the functions he exercises. He is the authoritative adviser of the Tsung-li-yamên, who, though jealous of his power, do nothing without his approval; and he is the confidential adviser of the Sovereign on external affairs. Through no other channel therefore could the relations between England and China be effectively dealt with.

But to say this, is tantamount to declaring any working arrangement impossible; for no English official has ever succeeded in establishing relations of intimacy with Li Hung-Chang. The British Ministers to China have followed a consistent policy of forcing that Government to transact its business in its capital, and have declined to recognise Li beyond exchanging the driest civility in passing through his city. Neither have the British Government taken the pains which some other Powers have done, to select their consuls to Tientsin with special regard to the

diplomatic requirements of the post. Had they acted otherwise, however, the result would not perhaps have been very different from what it is; for though the Viceroy Li understands the situation perfectly, and knows that India and China making common cause against a common danger, would indefinitely postpone that danger, yet it would be against all Chinese traditions to make an even bargain with any Power whatever. Never in her history has China been called on to treat on equal terms; and consequently her statesmen have inherited only one conception of international relations, that of beating or being beaten. It is no disparagement to the perspicacity of Li Hung-chang, to say that he is thoroughly Chinese in his ideal of an agreement.

Neither, therefore, from the orthodox diplomacy of the Capital, nor from the less regular negotiations with the chief satrap of the Empire is there, as matters at present stand, much hope of any understanding between India and China that would be of practical value to either.

Yet the idea of a Chinese alliance has taken such strong hold of some of the most approved authorities on the Defence of the Empire who set high value on the military potentiality of China, that they think the prospect of such an alliance worth all the sacrifices Great Britain can make to conciliate China. But granting the full value of the alliance, and postulating its attainability, the best means of attaining it would still remain to be considered. The policy implicitly recommended by the said British authorities is one of concession on all non-vital points, avoidance of all cause of irritation, and a very Christian spirit of forbearance towards the Chinese Government.

Now, whatever may be the value of the good opinion of China, the way to secure it is certainly not the way of weakness, but of strength. The Chinese are themselves too great adepts in the art of cajoling to be in the least impressed by the tactics of flattery when practised on them by others. Their experience of foreign Powers would have taught them, if their own traditions had not, that excessive

conciliation does not go with strength. But the two qualities supremely needful in an ally are strength and fidelity. Eastern nations—if in this matter Western may not also be included—revere strength, even when roughly displayed; and a surer way to gain the confidence of China would have been to hold her firmly to all her engagements, to admit no evasions, and to impress her with our rigour. Nothing for many a day has made such a wholesome impression on Chinese statesmen as the somewhat brusque manner in which the Admiralty have resented Li Hung-chang's treatment of Captain Lang. The fact of a British Admiral (Richards) passing twice through Tientsin without paying the usual courtesy to the great Viceroy, was a real mortification to that potentate, who had been accustomed to have everything made smooth for him; and he now begins to perceive that, though willing to help in an honourable way, the British Government is not a power to be trifled with. Were the Foreign Office as tenacious of its dignity as the Admiralty, the obstacles to a perfect understanding with China would be in a fair way of removal.

But what impression was likely to be made on China by such long-drawn-out but most miserable defeats as the giving up our rights to the benefits of the Chefoo Convention of 1876, after having implemented to China the full—and much more than the full—benefits which were assigned to her under that instrument? Contrast the able manner in which the Chinese Minister in London imposed on the British Government the task of collecting the Chinese opium revenue for them in the British free port of Hong Kong with the series of indignities put upon the British Minister in China, culminating in the complete collapse of his claims and the surrender of the right of British steamers to ply on the Upper Yangtze. Again, in what estimation are Chinese statesmen likely to hold a Power that submits to play the dismal farce in Sikkim, which has been dragging its slow length along for the last four years? Is faith in the strength of India likely to survive such a shilly-shallying exhibition?

It is necessary, however, in this matter also, to put the saddle on the right horse. Had India been left free to conduct the Tibetan affair, it would have been managed with credit and success ; China herself would have been relieved of a great embarrassment, and all parties concerned would have been satisfied. But India was overruled by a higher power, and her better intelligence paralysed by mysterious orders based on mere illusions. The "problems of Greater Britain" are no doubt very complex, and the Imperial Government is often obliged to sacrifice the less to the more exigent interests in this or that portion of the vast reticulation. But in dealing with China there was no excuse for dropping the piece of meat in the mouth for the sake of that which was reflected in the water, for the same movement would retain or lose both. The plain business-like defence of the integrity of her frontier, which the Indian Government had initiated, would have disposed in three months of the differences which have kept up a constant irritation for four years, without any apparent progress being made towards a settlement.

Seeing then that British policy in China has in these days mainly to do with Indian interests, and that the Home Government has its hands obviously too full to be able to give that attention to the question which its importance demands, it may be asked, Is there any valid reason why our diplomatic representation in China should not be devolved on the Government of British India ? It is far from a new idea, that officials who have had the advantage of Indian political training would be better fitted to deal with the ultra-Orientalism of China than any of those gentlemen who have merely passed from Berne to Copenhagen, and from Rome to St. Petersburg. Were there in Peking any scope for diplomacy, properly so called, the cases would be different. But the etiquette and maxims of European courts are wholly out of place in China, where only the stiffest and most empty official intercourse, and no private intimacy whatever, exists between the foreign Ministers and the high

Chinese. The American representatives, who go to China without even a rudimentary knowledge of the ways of diplomacy, get on quite as well as the most polished courtier from Europe ; perhaps even better, through their being untrammelled by the forms and customs of diplomacy *à la mode*. An Indian official, therefore, would be under no disadvantage through lack of diplomatic experience, while his special knowledge of Oriental character and ways of procedure would certainly save him from many of the humiliations and failures which the professional diplomat continually suffers. It may be affirmed with the utmost confidence, that an Indian official at Peking, acting under orders from Simla, would have saved the British equally with the Chinese Government from grave annoyance, and the Indian exchequer from most inconvenient outlay, by simply dealing with plain facts in a plain way and refusing to have the wool pulled over his eyes by Oriental palaver.

It may be urged, of course, *per contra*, that the Indian official, accustomed to lay down the law to feudatories or to negotiate with hill tribes in front of his battalions, would probably succeed as ill as the Ministers and Consuls now do in establishing friendly personal relations with high Chinese officials ; nor is it to be supposed that any Indian official drawn haphazard from the list, or by mere seniority, as the Consuls now are, would possess the personal magnetism necessary to make friends of the Chinese. But Anglo-Indian history shows that there are always in the service men of exceptional character, who are able to obtain very great personal influence over natives. The required qualities are not so very rare separately as they undoubtedly are in combination. Resolution and calmness are British characteristics ; truthfulness may not unfairly be claimed as the prerogative of an English gentleman ; and it needs only sympathy to be added to these, to complete the equipment of an Oriental diplomatist.

There is a serious difficulty, no doubt, in the inaccessibility of the Chinese, owing to constitutional character

and their social customs—two formidable barriers, indeed, to free intercourse. Yet even these may be overcome; though it is the Russians alone who have hitherto shown us how to gain the confidence of these people, and to convert enemies into friends. The only foreign official, for example, whom Li Hung-Chang really trusts, is a former Russian Minister in Peking, General Vlangally, who has since been at the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg. In difficult discussions with the Russian Government, the Viceroy has been known to assure himself of the *bona fides* of certain arrangements, by telegraphing direct to General Vlangally, who had never deceived him. But the art of gaining the hearts of Asiatics (and of others too) is so much a special gift of the Russians, that it is almost trite to remark upon it. Look at the almost miraculous taming of the Turcomans. Here is another example. While Europeans—and especially the English—fail to gain, or to try to gain, even with frequent opportunities of personal intercourse, any footing of intimacy with Chinese officials, a Russian, though geographically placed at a great distance, contrives to open more or less confidential communications with Li Hung-Chang. Making use of an occasion when the Chinese tried to send machinery up the Amur river, and were stopped until they sued for, and obtained, the gracious permission of the St. Petersburg authorities, the Governor-General of Russian Manchuria, Baron Korff, found excuse for sending private messages, oral and written, to Li Hung-Chang, with little presents and so forth, by which means friendly relations, capable of becoming serviceable to one or both of the parties, were established. And it is the same with the Russian establishments at Vladivostok, and along the Chinese north-eastern frontier. All the officers there, from the Governor down, are on the most friendly, and in some cases, extremely confidential terms with the neighbouring Chinese; the commanders of the frontier garrisons going the length of consulting the Russian colonel of Cossacks, Sobalawski, and of following his advice in technical matters connected with the

arms and ammunition of the Chinese troops! These good relations have the immediate advantage of allowing the Russian Government to avail itself extensively of Chinese labour in the construction of the trans-Siberian railway, and the future advantage of facilitating any movement which it may suit the Russian establishment in that quarter to make: in short, to confer advantages on Russia, which, under other conditions, she might have to pay dearly for, both in blood and iron.

If, therefore, Russia, the very nightmare of Chinese statesmen, and the only Power China has serious reason to dread, can be so well served by her officers as that they obtain personal ascendancy over the Chinese officials with whom they come in contact, it is at least a proof that there is nothing in the essential nature of the Chinese which bars amicable personal relations with foreigners.

From time to time the Chinese themselves are conscious of a leaning towards India, and Li Hung-Chang has even taken a slight initiative in inviting unofficial intercourse. The mission of Ma Taotai, some ten years ago, to acquire information respecting opium, and to sound the Indian Government on the subject of regulating the trade, was an overture for the exchange of courtesies, which might have been reciprocated had the Indian Government been so disposed; which, however, it was not. Again, when Mr. Colquhoun was leaving China to return to India, Li Hung-Chang talked much of this subject (the present writer assisting at the interview), and finally entrusted him with a personal message to Lord Dufferin, with an open invitation to send discreet officers from time to time to China, that the two countries might become better acquainted. Nothing came of this either, beyond the verbal acknowledgment of the compliment; and when an Indian official did, shortly after, make his appearance in China, it was with ill-timed fanfaronade, to negotiate for a passport for an expedition to Lhasa. The ineptitude of a whole official staff going to Peking on a mission which could have been better served at

the cost of a sheet of foolscap and an eight-anna postage stamp, was too much ; and well might the Chinese Viceroy turn away his head, and ask if *this* was the sort of man he wanted.

The clumsiness of the Tibetan scheme suddenly aroused the Peking Government to a sense of danger, and gave them time to send to Lhasa and prepare a hostile reception for the envoy, to whom, however, they could not refuse the official passport. And they have ever since been playing blind man's buff with the British and Indian Governments ; pretending to be dealing with a spontaneous local obstruction, when it was by their own secret orders that the aggression on Indian Sikkim was carried out. The absurd result of the imbroglio is, that the Chinese are now the slaves of their own unexpected success in holding back the Indian troops, and they dare not surrender the ground they have taken up, without some such pretext as a military defeat would have furnished. They are like an angler who has hooked a fish which he cannot land, but from which he can only be released by something breaking. The wisest among the Chinese would have welcomed all along, and would welcome now, any reverse, which would enable them to get out of the stale-mate *impasse*, which keeps the Indian and Chinese officials looking vacantly at each other.

The "mission," which went from Calcutta to Peking, to demand a passport, although of the blunderbuss order of diplomacy, nevertheless contained within it the elements of quite another kind of force. There was attached to the tail of the mission, in the capacity of interpreter, a certain Pandit of modest mien but of subtle intellect, who had already, by his own moral resources, penetrated twice into Tibet, and who, if allowed a free hand, would have gone there just as often as the Indian Government might have required ; and by working on the scientific principle of small beginnings, would have eventually established commercial relations on a solid basis, with the good-will of all parties. The Chinese do not disturb accomplished facts, for it is their traditional

wisdom, *quieta non movere*. This Pandit, while in Peking, managed to ingratiate himself with a class of people who are the most intractable towards foreign visitors—the Lama priests. Gaining entrance to their monasteries through his knowledge of Tibetan, he was soon able to exhibit such a mastery of Buddhistic lore, that he could expound the most abstruse points of the religion to these, its official professors. And he was welcomed as an honoured guest, in the monastery. There he obtained information which would have saved much expense and disappointment in India, had it not been ruled out of court in deference to grandiose schemes, already too far gone to be given up.

Nor was it the Buddhist Lamas only that the Pandit was able to interest. He was a born diplomat, who could find a way into every heart, as indeed the narrative of his two journeys to Tibet had already abundantly shown. This, we may be sure, was not the only one among the many millions in India capable of rendering high service to his Government; indeed, India must possess a perfect mine of wealth in the fine talent of the natives, for which a safer outlet might possibly be found in political life than on the judicial bench. The qualities in which the white Englishman is conspicuously deficient, shine conspicuously through the dark skin of his fellow-subject of the Queen; and while the defence of the frontier is placed in the hands of tried soldiers and strategists, the frontier diplomacy—which ought to include relations with China—might be well served by a contingent of natives, not too vexatiously interfered with by superiors on the look-out for *stars*.

We have, however, wandered far from the position of China as a military ally. The strength of China is a military question, not unmixed with a psychical one. The excellent raw material of armies strikes every observer; but every observer does not agree on the effective organized strength of the material. The capacity for organization, on modern principles, scarcely exists in China; and it is a question whether her defensive armament as well as her muscular

population be not sources of danger, rather than guarantees of security to the State. The new fleet, under native leadership, it is generally understood, must fall a prey to the first assailant, through laxity of discipline, and would consequently operate on an enemy as a stimulant to attack.

The military material, unorganized by the Chinese, might soon be organized by an invader, and turned, like a captured gun, on the defenders. As a military power, therefore, China would seem to be dangerous to her neighbours in the same sense as a bed of unworked coal is dangerous ; that is to say, the military substance of China, shaped and led by capable men of other races, may be a more formidable thing than even Lord Wolseley has ever contemplated.

A. MICHIE.

This admirable article must be read in conjunction with the Russian view, as, unconsciously, expressed by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni in his account of Colonel Grambcheffsky's explorations, which, whether purely scientific or not, have, as a matter of fact, led to the Russian occupation of the Pamirs. The Foreign Office would seem to be under a delusion, apparently due to personal considerations—the growth of years and perhaps too delicate for mention—as to the certainty of a Chinese alliance; whilst it is no doubt to the interest of Russia to sow dissension or distrust between England and China, partly by talking of the civilizing Mission of Russia in Central Asia, with which Chinese cruelty is alleged to interfere. This talk is indulged in by the Power that persecutes Jews and non-“Greek-orthodox” sects as freely as it is by ourselves, who have allowed or enabled Afghans to subjugate or to practically destroy the independent tribes that prevented the approximation of the supposed Afghan and Chinese boundaries so as to form a continuous frontier with the Hindukush against a Russian invasion of India. The claims of Bokhara, endorsed, if not invented, by Russia, as those of Afghanistan are encouraged by us, are equally shadowy or of recent date ; but those of China are alike ancient and, so far as they go, real, even as regards Hunza, respecting which we seem to enforce the vague and ever-contested suzerainty of Kashmir. We trust that the Chinese Minister in London, whose remarkable memorial on foreign relations we quote in the next article, will be able to cement an alliance between this country and China, which, being based on commercial considerations, shall outlive the impending fluctuations of political party in England.

Since going to press we have received a small volume on “Missionaries in China,” published by E. Stanford, which we hope to review in our next issue. The author is Mr. Michie, than whom there is no better authority on the subject. He sympathises both with the missionary and the China aspects of the question, but he conclusively shows, that unless Missionary establishments are placed under the supervision of China officials, Missionaries will continue to be treated by a people “that is most tolerant to all religions, as intruders who, under the cloak of religion, introduce all sorts of hated foreign innovations and the interference of foreign power in their internal affairs.”

EDITOR.

CHINA AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

WHEN the newly-sent Chinese Minister to London and Paris, His Excellency Sieh Ta-jen, had been there a short time, he addressed a Memorial to his Sovereign on the present state of China's foreign relations.

In the warm weather, he said, he could not go to Italy, because Rome is uninhabitable at that time of year, and the Court is out of town. He spent the hot months in studying the old documents he found in the Legation; and in the Memorial he wrote, and which has now been published in China, he describes the contrast between the politics of the days of Kwo Sungtau in 1877-1878, and of the present time. In November he intended to visit Rome, when the King and Minister of Foreign Affairs were at home. In the interval he made himself more thoroughly acquainted with the difference between the present and the past attitude of England and France towards China. Formerly they used their strength to make trouble; and when opportunity occurred through some change in events, they became more pressing and unreasonable. In those days foreign Ministers went to China; but the time was not come for China to send Ministers to the West. The Ministers of foreign States proceeded to various cities in China and watched the state of things. They used to be in the habit of exercising pressure and using force to compel China to grant privileges. They made treaties with other States to join them in exercising this pressure. If we, says the writer, gave them privileges, they showed little sign of gratitude. If we appealed to their sense of generosity, they did not at once respond. If we made treaties, with the hope of restraining them within limits, they could not be persuaded to hold to them in their entirety. So things went on for many years, Kwo Sungtau went to Europe in 1877, the first man of the rank of governor of a province, who had gone. He

was born on the banks of the Siang River, which flows into the Tungting Lake, and was a friend and neighbour of Tseng Kwofan, the first Marquis Tseng, and of his son the second Marquis, author of "China: Her Sleep and her Awakening."

Kwo Sungtau is severely rebuked in the memorial for his errors as a diplomatist. He is stated to have been too ready with schemes and too voluble in speech. Where China was free to act, he introduced needless limitations. What other States had a clear right to, he hesitated about granting. This is how the matter stood. The merchants of the Western kingdoms, says the memorialist, make wealth their aim, and regard great principles as of subordinate importance. Their ambassadors and consuls, aware that China had no Ministers in foreign countries to discuss matters in debate with the heads of the Foreign Department, took advantage of this state of affairs to put forward one-sided views, and pressed importunately for various privileges which appeared to them desirable. Now all this is changed. Intercourse is smoother. There is more friendliness. Designs injurious to China have ceased. Differences in many matters have been exchanged for harmony. The Minister then adds, that he has found, in interviews with high officials in England and France, and with the nobility, that the wish is sincere to be in good relations with China. They have ceased to think contemptuously of China.

For this change he sees four causes. 1. The Tung King war ended without France obtaining the indemnity she desired. The French are angry still with Jules Ferry for his failure. The Western kingdoms then learned for the first time that China would not listen to threats.

2. Chinese Ministers were sent to foreign countries, and by residing there, they learned to understand the affairs of foreign States and their habits of thinking. China by these new developments has greatly improved the relations between herself and foreign States, which is seen in the introduction of a previously unknown element of sympathy.

3. The Chinese navy and coast defences are an appreci-

able advance on the past, and give to China an increase of dignity before foreign nations.

4. To this should be added, that her pupils have done well at college examinations abroad. As a rule, they have stood high; and it has become recognised that the Chinese intellect is not inferior to the European.

The memorialist then proceeds to say that the task of the Chinese is now easier than before. Let him meet each case as it arises, with coolness and wise deliberation. Four things he mentions as important: 1. To remove commercial obstructions and to foster the customs' revenue; for if foreign trade suffer, the revenue must suffer also. 2. The maintenance of peace between the missions and the people: if there be disorder and riot among the Christian converts and their neighbours, the magistrates must exercise their authority. 3. Chinese emigrants ought to be protected, for the credit and good name of the Government. 4. There ought to be facilities for the distribution of Chinese home products as widely as possible, to increase the wealth of the producers. There is much call for the wise ingenuity of Chinese Statesmen in finding a way to remove all abuses as they arise.

At the end, the memorialist speaks just a word in reference to the audience question. Etiquette requires that the Ministers of foreign States should see the Sovereign. This is recognised in all foreign countries. If an audience is refused, it is not considered respectful. The newspapers of England and France speak of the matter in such a way that the privilege of audience is certain to be pressed for. It would be well that China should be ready with an answer to this request.

The comment of the Shanghai native editor on this document is very laudatory. He praises Sieh Ta-jen for his diplomatic wisdom, and for the kindly way in which he deals with the question of China's foreign relations in all its bearings. This might have been expected, for the tone of the native press is and has been rather favourable to the Govern-

ment. The policy of the statesmen of the present is the policy of the newspaper writers. They praise a statesman who maintains peaceful relations, and they praise Sieh Ta-jen because he is also in sympathy with the Government. There seems to be too much praise; but doubtless the minister is right in his opinion that China has improved her position by adopting international rules of mutual courtesy, and that she ought to carry out this policy as far as possible.

The native press in China has not yet developed a criticism unfavourable to the Government. In this respect the Chinese native press differs entirely from that of Japan and of India. It supplies interesting political news, it supports the Government policy, it acquires telegraphic information, and makes early announcements. It is moral in tone, Confucianist in teaching, and favourable to an increase of foreign intercourse. The writers of leading articles take pleasure to show the bearing of foreign events on Chinese relations, and reveal a natural aptitude for political writing. But no progress has yet been made in party politics. The efforts of the native press to obtain copies of documents not inserted in the Peking Gazette result in the public gaining such information on Government policy as this memorial contains. It is interesting, if only for the circumstance that the ever-active censorship decided that it should not go into the Gazette.

In the recent riot at Wuhu, the second port up the Yangtse River, the real cause of the burning and robbery was nothing but the old foolish stories against the Roman Catholics. Men dressed in silks were seen directing the mob. In a few hours several thousand pounds worth of property was destroyed, which the Government will of course pay for. Two days before the riot, the missionaries sent word of the intention to burn and rob, to the Taotai in charge, and by vigour the riot might have been prevented. Hence Sieh Ta-jen's policy is no doubt right.

A LOOKER-ON.



(18) Niya.

(19) Soorgak
Mines.

(20) Pola.

(21) (22) Thibetian
Plateau.

(23) Pola return-
journey.

(24) Chotan.

(25) Keeliyan.

(Chart in explana-
tion of the travels
of Capt. Gramb-
cheffshy in
1889.—1890.)

(26) (27) Return-
journey ex-
ploration.

COLONEL GRAMBCHEFFSKY'S EXPEDITIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA, AND THE RECENT EVENTS ON THE PAMIRS.

YEAR by year the Western world takes a greater interest in the regions of Central Asia, especially in the district known as the Pamir Plateau, on the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush Mountains. It watches the gradual absorption into the Czar's dominions of the wild people of those parts, and awaits with expectancy,—and, it may be truly added, apprehension,—the time when the three great Powers who govern Asia will have common frontiers.

Russia is ceaselessly active on her south-eastern frontiers. She is ever extending them, and introducing her peculiar civilization into the newly-acquired provinces. Expedition after expedition is despatched to investigate the outlying districts, so that the Russian Government is now fairly familiar with the characteristics of the territory which lies between their south-eastern frontiers and Thibet and India.

I had the pleasure last winter of making the acquaintance in St. Petersburg of an explorer who has added much to the stock of knowledge possessed by the Russian Government in these regions ; and as the English public have only heard of him through the meagre telegrams of the foreign correspondents of the daily papers, I purpose in the present paper to give some account of his travels and adventures, compiled partly from his own lips and partly from a lecture delivered by him.

I allude to Colonel, — until recently, Captain, — Grambscheffsky ; who is now, — Preshevalsky being no more, — accounted as one of the most indomitable and indefatigable Russian explorers of Central Asia.

The Colonel comes of an old Polish aristocratic family, settled in the government of Kovno. Born in the year 1855, on the 15th day of January (old style), he is now in the prime

of life. Some idea of his personal appearance has been obtained from the portrait published in the last ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. The *beau idéal* of a sportsman—for he is renowned both as a sportsman and a traveller—he is a man of unusually fine physique, being big in proportion to his height, which is six feet two inches. His clear and healthy complexion is in marked contrast to the pale faces of those of his countrymen whom one meets in St. Petersburg. Nevertheless, he was far from well when I met him; and there were indications of his wonderful constitution having been seriously impaired by the intensity of the cold and the severity of the hardships which he has had to suffer. Attractive as he is at first sight, he is even more so on a closer acquaintance. While his face is remarkable for its genial and kindly expression, his manners have an easy grace peculiarly his own—a combination of the bearing of a rough and simple soldier and that polish for which the older aristocracy of Poland were so famous.

The burly soldier has fought and bled in the Russian service. Educated at Warsaw, at the Military Academy, he received, at the termination of his studies, an official appointment in the 3rd Division of the Imperial Bodyguard, stationed in that city. Despatched to Turkestan in 1876, he served in that province in the capacity of Adjutant to the Russian "Hotspur," Skobelev. Though, at the time, only 21 years of age, he took an active part in all the winter expeditions of that energetic soldier, being present at the storming of Makh-ran, and at other scenes of desperate fighting with the savage tribes of Turkestan.

After the man-stealing Turcomans had been brought under subjection, the Colonel was drafted to the frontier town of Marghilan, in the province of Fergistan. Here, for the lengthy period of sixteen years, he served as the Assistant Governor of the town, and also as Special Frontier Commissioner. His duties, in the latter capacity, consisted mainly in settling all disputes arising between the natives and the semi-civilized tribes outside the frontier, and in delineating the frontier line.

The years spent at Marghilan were not thrown away. The Colonel's passion for sport led him to investigate the neighbouring countries, and to study their languages. It was not long before he became familiar with Sart, Kirghiz, the various dialects of Kashghar,* and Persian.

His first expedition took place in 1885. In this year he succeeded, though not without great difficulty, in reaching Khotan from his head quarters at Novo Marghilan. About this time, Cary, the British Salt Commissioner, also undertook an expedition into these regions on behalf of the Indian Government. The two travellers did not however meet. While Cary passed through Khotan from the south, Grambcheffsky was penetrating it from the west. A little while previously, Lieutenant-Colonel Preshevalsky had visited the same regions.

Grambcheffsky during this expedition acquired much valuable information concerning Khotan and its inhabitants. This he furnished to his Government, and took occasion at the same time to point out how Russian merchants might supply the natives with many articles of commerce at a lower price than that which English merchants were demanding. His hint did not pass unheeded. It has now come about that a considerable portion of the trade formerly monopolized by English merchants, in these and other regions of Central Asia, has passed into Russian hands. Alluding to this fact, a German newspaper wrote some time back as follows : " In a commercial sense, Russia holds the first place, after England, in the northern portions of Afghanistan; in a moral sense, her victory in that country is of much more serious import. The propagation of her prestige has proceeded apace. Towns in which Englishmen dare only make their appearance when attended by a strong convoy, are traversed by Russian commercial agents freely and without fear. Russian Jews and Sarts from Tashkend and Samarkand are the pioneers of the

* Kashghar in Chinese Central Asia should not be confounded with Kashkar, or Chitrál, which is, at present, an ally of the Indian Government.
—ED.

Russian Government in Afghanistan. It is not by might alone that Russia impresses the peoples of the East. Remembering the wise maxim of Skobelev, she takes care to 'Smooth over, with love and attention, the sharp strokes of the sword'—a policy somewhat more effective than the wavering and partisan policy of the rulers of the British Empire."

"Russia," the article proceeds, "has long since extended her moral influence beyond the limits of the Neutral Afghan Zone. To many of the tribes of that region, wearied out by the tyranny of Abdul Rahman, she has long since appeared in the character of a Saviour and Deliverer."

In the year following that in which the Colonel undertook an expedition into Khotan, he visited the Nareena—the sources of the Sir-Daria. In 1887 he returned to St. Petersburg, having been absent 13 years, and spent eight months in the study of astronomy, geology, and other sciences at the Pulkova Observatory, and the Academy of Science. Then, fortified with the knowledge he thus gained, he started on an expedition for the Khanate of Kandshoot,* on the northern slopes of the Hindoo Koosh, and explored, not only this district, but the surrounding countries, including Kaffirstan, "the country of the unbelievers," a province little known to European travellers.

The funds for this expedition were provided, so the Colonel informed me, partly by the Russian Geographical Society, partly by the Czarevitch, who has always evinced a lively interest in his investigations. The total amount this explorer received did not, however, exceed seven thousand roubles (=about £820), a fact which in itself should be a sufficient answer to the charge, to which I shall allude later on, that his mission was of a political character. As a matter of fact, his purse proved too slender for his means, and consequently he experienced many unnecessary inconveniences and hardships. Ultimately, as will be seen below, he ran short of funds, and was compelled to borrow from a friend in Kashghar the sum of four thousand roubles.

* This is our "Hunza."—Ed.

Considering how inadequate his outfit was, it is astonishing that the Colonel was able to accomplish so much. The detailed results of his travels he has given in a series of lectures, and in several books of travel. One of these works, for which the Russian Geographical Society granted him the sum of one thousand roubles and a silver medal, is considered by the Government of such importance that it is forbidden to be sold to the public. Only a hundred copies were printed of it, and these were distributed solely amongst the higher Government officials and generals of the staff.

Some idea of the explorer's labours will be obtained from the following account of his expedition in 1890, during which he and his companions nearly lost their lives, owing, as he asserts, to their inhospitable treatment at the hands of the Indian Government.

The following is a translation of the account of the Captain's last expedition, as given in his own words:—

“The late and cold autumn of 1889 delayed the usual thawing of the snow on the mountains. This was followed by great heat, which caused the snow to thaw in masses; the mountain streams overflowed, and bursting from their banks washed away the bridges, and in many places destroyed the roads. The advance of the expedition was therefore much hindered, for we were forced to repair the bridges and mend the roads. After emerging from the valley of the Bolshoi-Alaja (Alai), we moved towards the Trans-Alaisk mountain range, expecting to reach Shoognan through Koodara and the Pamir table-lands. The Trans-Alaisk mountains, however, turned out to be covered with snow, which had already become so porous that it would not bear the weight of our horses. Added to this, in every direction there rushed foaming mountain torrents, the crossing of which occasioned us great trouble. The thawing of the snow was accompanied by threatening avalanches of snow. We managed, however, to pass across the river Mooksoo with great danger; but we found it an utter impossibility to get across the Trans-Alaisk mountain range.

Having fatigued and injured our horses in this vain attempt, we were again compelled to return into the valley of the Alaja. The above-mentioned circumstance forced me to turn to the west and march to Shoognan by a circuitous route, *viâ* Karategin, Vachija [Wakhan?], and Darvaz, provinces of Eastern Bokhara.

The Khanate or Bekstvo of Karategin constitutes a continuation of the valley of the Alaja, and lies on both sides of the river Soorkh Obi (Red River). The inhabitants here are partly Khirgize and partly Tadsheks. The only representatives of the fauna of Karategin which we saw, were wolves, foxes, martens, marmots, and hares; of edible birds (game), the stone grouse. Bearded eagles were, however, exceedingly numerous. The natives had many tales to tell of the amazing sagacity and cunning of these birds. They related, for instance, that these birds will, on perceiving a herd of horses, drive it to the edge of a precipice, and then, with blows from their enormous wings, scare the young foals so that they tumble over and pitch headlong into the depths below, and thus become their prey. They also related that the eagles are invariably fond of marrow, and that, in order to free this delicacy from the bone, they will rise with the bone up to an immense height and let it drop. The bone is of course broken into bits, and the delicacy can then be devoured with ease.

Leaving Kargeena, we traversed the pass of Gardanee-Kaftar, situated on the ridge of Peter-the-Great, and thus reached Vachia, a small Khanate, situated on either side of the river Ching-Obi, *i.e.*, the "Muddy River." Among the ridges of the "Peter-the-Great" mountain range, we met with wild goats, grazing in wonderful meadows of Alpine vegetation, also with an extraordinary number of marmots.

The mountain sides here are clothed with rich pasture grass, which attracts large numbers of the migratory population, even so far as from Central Bokhara; and we came across one or two small lakes in the mountains, rich in aquatic birds, especially in the red ducks of the Pamir.

The Khanate (Bekstvo) of Vachia is inhabited solely by Tadsheks. These are a people of Aryan origin. They are tall, and have a dark and very hairy skin and handsome and regular features. That the population is poor may be ascribed mainly to their laziness, as, in contrast with other parts of Central Asia, we saw large tracts of land in Vachia entirely neglected, which in every respect were suitable for cultivation. During our journey forward we passed through villages literally hidden in a verdure of rich gardens. Here were found growing in abundance, walnuts, apples, plums, cherries, etc. The only cereals that were cultivated were wheat, barley, beans, and flax. The last mentioned plant was sown solely for the sake of the oil extracted from it. Its fibres were used as fuel; for the manufacture of yarn is unknown in this region, as indeed it is all through Central Asia.

From Vachia we journeyed on through the Gooshon Pass in the Darvas range to Darvas, and on the 7th July entered Kala-i-Kumb, the capital of Darvas. The name Darvas is probably derived from the word "Darvása," that is, "a gate," as the river Pandsha, breaking through the mountain range in this place, runs in a narrow gulley, not unlike a large gate in appearance. Local tradition, however, pretends that the derivation of the name is to be found in the word "Dar-baz," *i.e.*, tight-rope dance, and connects with it the following legend: "Under the Prophet Mahomet, the conquest of Darvas was committed to his brother-in-law Ali; but the inhabitants offered such a heroic resistance to the Arabian forces, that it proved impossible for Ali to take the country openly. Thereupon, he decided to employ stratagem, and for this purpose disguised himself as a rope-dancer, and came to the capital of Darvas. The people of Central Asia are still passionately fond of tight-rope dancing, and in order to witness an entertainment of this kind will collect from the most distant villages. It was on an occasion like this, whilst the whole of the inhabitants were collected within the walls of the town, and their attention engrossed with

this amusement, that they failed to observe how the Arab forces were gradually approaching the gates. Ali, perched above on the tight rope, was, however, able to observe every movement of the Arabs; and at the proper moment he gave the signal. Then, pretending to be tired, he descended to the ground, and at the very moment when the ruler of the country was in the act of presenting him with a gift, he drew a small dagger from the folds of his dress and killed him. The Arabs had by this time forced an entrance into the town, and found it an easy task to slaughter the people and possess themselves of the country, which, in memory of the means by which its subjugation was effected, has been called by the Arabs, Darvas."

Darvas, as well as Karategen and Vachia, has been held by Bokhara for no longer a period than thirteen years. This country is situated on either side of the river Pandsha, whose course flows through a narrow gully, in some places not more than 100 to 120 fathoms wide. Every available scrap of land is ploughed and cultivated. The houses are not unlike those of the Little Russian peasantry;* but are whitewashed with a particular preparation of alabaster, which gives them a glazed appearance. The vegetation of the country is quite amazing; notwithstanding the great elevation of the land, grape-vines, pomegranates, and fig-trees are never covered in winter or summer; nevertheless they attain gigantic dimensions. Grapes are also to be found in a wild state in the mountains. Peach, apricot, apple, pear, plum, and walnut trees grow in plenty, also mulberry trees, which are extensively cultivated, not on account of the silk culture, but for their fruit, as the berries ripen early and keep the whole summer. The people avoid giving the mulberry plant too much water, to avoid making the berry watery and tasteless. The mulberry, together with the peach and the apricot, forms a staple article of consumption with the people, who dry the fruit for winter use, grind it to powder, and then mix it with wheat for baking purposes.

* The whitewashed thatched cottages of the Little Russians are almost exactly like those to be found in our own country.

The inhabitants of Darvas are called Tadsheks. They are pure Aryans and of exceptional beauty. The women are especially lovely, with their pale delicate faces, remarkably regular features, and wonderful eyes. The inhabitants are Mahomedans of the Sunnite and Shiah sect, much devoted to their former rulers and hostilely inclined towards Bokhara. The women, on meeting a man, do not cover their faces, though they concealed themselves from us strangers. It is to be regretted that the impression of the idyllic beauty of the women of Darvas is quite annihilated by their incredible dirtiness: they do not wash their linen, but wear it until it falls in rags off their shoulders. It is quite natural that, living under such conditions, they swarm with vermin. Vice and dirt breed amongst them a variety of deadly diseases, prominent among which are venereal disorders and affections of the skin and eye. The latter complaints are aggravated by the intense heat and the perpetual dust. During our stay at Kala-i-Kumb, the heat, even at 9 p.m. in the evening, remained at 30° to 31° Celsius (88° Fahrenheit). The dust is raised from the sandy shoals of the river Pandsha. As the villages of Darvas are situated on either side of the banks of the river Pandsha, the current of which is too strong to permit its being crossed in boats, the natives use the inflated skins of goats, sheep, and horses in crossing. These skins are expanded with air. The swimmer, on crossing, grips the skin firmly between his knees, and whilst the left hand is employed to choke up the opening through which the skin has been inflated, the right is used as a rudder. In this manner the swimmer crosses the river. This kind of navigation is, however, fraught with considerable danger, and is only possible among the aborigines, accustomed as these are from childhood to look upon the water as their native element. Heavy articles are transported in the same manner, the skins for this purpose being tied together to the number of twenty, and then overlaid with boards so as to form a raft. A raft of this description is capable of bearing about a ton in weight, and can be

steered by four persons. During the winter months, the water in the river is low enough to admit of its being crossed in the rough boats of Bokhara, called *kaiques*.

The equipment of the expedition for our further journey detained us in Kala-i-Kumb for five whole days. Then we received the first news of the state of affairs in Northern Afghanistan; viz., that the Emir, Abdurahman-Khan, had managed to conquer the provinces of Char-Velâet and Badachman,* and that the Afghan troops were moving towards Shoognan. Fearing that the military operations would interfere with my progress through Shoognan and the Hindoo-Koosh, I entered into correspondence with the ruler of Shoognan, Said Akbar Shah, and quickly pressed in the direction of the upper portion of the River Pandsha. The way lies along the right bank of the river, and is often nothing more than a cutting through the rocks, or a narrow bridge, terminating on one side in a precipice. In some places these ledges are so narrow that we were often compelled to take the packages from the backs of our horses, and carry them ourselves; and even when the animals were unsaddled, we led them with trouble by a halter round their necks and bodies. A fall of rocks, near the boundary of Roshan, had blocked the road for a distance of several miles. It was found impossible to clear it, and we were consequently obliged to pass through the very difficult pass named Akba-e-Oozbay. About the 20th July, we neared the frontiers of Roshan, where we were met by an emissary from Said Akbar Shah, with a letter, in which the ruler of Shoognan informed us that the Afghans had taken possession of half of his country, but that we should nevertheless be his welcome guests. At the same time, Said Akbar Shah warned me that all the roads were occupied by Afghan troops, and that, if I were determined to proceed to the Hindoo-Koosh, it would be necessary for me to obtain the consent of the leader of the Afghan forces. To this end, I immediately wrote a letter

* Badakhshan ?

to the commander of the Afghan armies, Shah-Said-Dsharneilj,* and despatched it with Maston, an Afghan officer whom I had freed from slavery among the Khirgise of the Trans-Alaïsk Mountain Range. This man had been marching in our company for a month and a half, and was therefore convinced of the purely peacable intentions of our expedition, and its scientific purposes. He could thus, if necessary, bear testimony to this effect to the Afghan commander.

We soon received a reply from Shah-Said-Dsharneilj, by which we were informed that our party could not be permitted to proceed into the interior, without permission from the Emir, and requested to retire from the frontiers of Afghanistan. Together with this letter, the Afghan commander despatched a large detachment of cavalry to observe our movements. These took up a position on the left bank of the river Pandsha, exactly opposite our encampment. We were only separated by the river, which in this particular spot is about 80 to 100 sash-janes (560 to 700 feet) wide. Knowing that the Afghan army was excited by war, and fearing an unexpected attack, I decided to avoid this risk, and retreated into the valley of the river Vanch. Here I learned that the ruler of Shoognan had shut himself up in Kala-i-Vamar, the capital of Roshan, and was prepared to make a desperate stand in that city, being surrounded by Afghan troops. There being no road from the valley of the Vanch to Pamir, I was compelled to force myself through the difficult pass of Silaje,† and once more cross the Darvas mountain chain, and thus return to Vachia. This particular pass is covered on either slope by glaciers, the western one being six miles in length. It was not only difficult to make progress over the glacier, but even dangerous, for its surface was broken by innumerable deep fissures, over which we were compelled to construct bridges of planks, and lead our horses across. In concluding my description of Eastern Bochara, I may add that the

* Corruption for "General."

† See map.

population are Tadshek, and that their occupation mainly consists of agriculture. The richest iron mines at the source of the river Vanch also provide the natives with a good livelihood, and every house contains a furnace for smelting iron ore. Vanch iron is so well known that it has a good market, not only in Eastern Bokhara, but in Baduchan* and the Khanates of Pamir. Besides this, the population of Vanch are passionately fond of hunting; the game being the mountain goat, which is numerously represented in the mountains; and for this sport a special breed of coursing dogs is kept.

Shortly after the expedition had left Vachia, I received a letter by special messenger from Shah-Said Dsharneilj, informing me that he had forwarded my letter to the Emir, and would inform me of the result. This fact made me decide to proceed through Karategin and Koodara to Pamir, and then await the reply on the boundaries of Afghanistan. On the road to Koodara, we visited one of the trysting places of the famous Pamir robber-chieftain, Sahib Nazar. The fame of the robber-chieftain and his wonderful life are known for hundreds of miles around, and I expected to meet with a fierce warrior. When he came into our camp, surrounded by his sons and suite, I was exceedingly surprised to find him to be a very sickly and insignificant old man.

There are innumerable legends about him. Almost all the passes of the Pamir are connected with his name in some way or other. Thus, for instance, in Lesser Pamir, there is the "Saudegir Tem," *i.e.*, the "traders' mountain," where Sahib Nazar was wont to conceal himself and his band, and rob the caravans proceeding from Baduchan* to Kashgar. Having learnt one day that a rich caravan was proceeding along this road, under the convoy of forty-six fully-armed traders, he concealed his men in a recess, and himself, dressed as a poor, broken-down native, set out to meet the caravan. Sahib Nazar then made friends with the chief of the caravan, and soon, by small services, wound himself into this man's

* Badakhshán?

heart to such an extent, that he was allowed to graze his horses. On reaching the spot where his men were concealed, the robber chieftain drove away the horses during the night, summoned his men, and massacred the convoy, thus possessing himself of the goods with which the caravan was laden. A fair idea of his daring may be formed from the fact, that, shortly after Russia took possession of the province of Fergistan, he swooped down into the valley of the great Alai, and drove away a thousand horses from the new subjects of the Czâr. After making my acquaintance, Sahib Nazar commenced to talk, and personally related many episodes from his wonderful life. He closed his account with an exceedingly characteristic anecdote, complaining that his field of operations was now much circumscribed owing to his neighbours being powerful kingdoms, such as Russia, China, and Afghanistan; that there was now no more scope for adventure; that the world was too small for him. He also remarked that he had spent all his life in robberies and depredations; but being desirous, in his old age, of making his peace with "God and man," he had dispersed his band, and that, having called his sons together, he had commanded them, under penalty of forfeiting his blessing, to desist from robbing any more!! For the space of three years he had lived in a peaceful and God-fearing manner; but nevertheless, all depredations committed, no matter how far away they may have been from where he was, were invariably attributed to him. His neighbours concluded that his repentance was nothing more than weakness, and endeavoured to revenge themselves for what they had suffered at his hands in former years. One of his sons Hudai Nadir, was captured by the Khirgize in the valley of the Alai, but, fortunately for him, he was not recognised as the son of the Sahib Nazar. He was, however, suspected of being connected with him; and having bound him, his captors resolved to carry him before the local authorities. The youth, knowing well enough that, once before these functionaries, he would immediately be recognised, and that

his fate would not be an enviable one, availed himself of a suitable opportunity, and striking with his sword one of the Khirgize who escorted him, and whose horse was the best of the lot, sprang on the steed, and was soon hidden from sight. This incident particularly exasperated the old gentleman; and he called his sons together once more, gave them his blessing, and commenced the old life of adventure once more. Sahib Nazar, personally, treated us with great kindness, furnishing us with money, with guides, and provisions. Having made presents to the robber chieftain, we parted as friends, and we gathered amongst other information, that Kala-e-Vama was already taken by the Afghans, and that Said Akbar Shah had fled into the boundaries of Bokhara, and that the Afghans were committing untold atrocities in the conquered provinces.

The population of Shoognan, numbering some 2000 families, had fled to Pamir, hoping to find a refuge in the Russian provinces. The local Chinese authorities at Pamir detained the refugees under a variety of pretexts, and on the arrival of the Chinese frontier guard, the refugees were cruelly driven back to Shoognan, where the Afghans, apprised of their arrival, treated them with unparalleled brutality.* After leaving Sahib Nazar, we descended into the valley of the Murg-Obi river, and for three days we were constantly meeting with dense crowds of refugees from Shoognan, trying to make their escape into the frontiers of Russia from the fury of the Afghans. Sick and wounded stragglers brought up the rear of these companies; and the pictures of misery which presented themselves to our eyes were such as are only possible in Asia, where a ruler, having possessed himself of the territory of another, considers himself justified in destroying the entire population. We did all we could to alleviate their sufferings, binding the wounds of the wounded, and sharing our rations with them; but this

* A vivid idea of the state of affairs in Central Asia. Both Russia and England are in comparison to China benefactors of the poor and angels of mercy. May they continue to work side by side!

could only be as a drop of water to the sea. On descending into Pamir, we found ourselves between the cordons of the Chinese and Afghan armies; and it was with great difficulty, and at the expense of much diplomacy, that we avoided coming into conflict with either of them. The Khirgise of the place refused to have any dealings with us, and we were compelled to rely on our fortune and skill in hunting for food. To add to our difficulties, winter was approaching. The whole region around was covered with snow, and it became difficult to procure fuel from under the snow. Added to this, life in the tents was becoming more burdensome with the thermometer at -20° Cels. (-20° Cels. = -16° Réaum., or -4° Fahr.) = 4° below zero. (1° Cels. = $\frac{9}{5}^{\circ}$ Fahr.)

Under such unfavourable conditions as these we spent on the Pamir, constantly moving from place to place, almost two months; viz., August and September. At last, on the 1st October, I received a reply from Abdurahman Khan, in which he categorically refused to permit the expedition to enter Kafiristan.

Seeing that there was nothing more to be done, I proceeded to carry out the second plan of instructions given me by the Geographical Society, and descended into the basin of the river Raskeem-Daria. To conclude with the Pamir, I may add that this table-land extends from the Trans-Alai chain of mountains to the Hindoo-Koosh, at a mean elevation of 12 to 13 thousand feet. The Amoo-Daria pursues its course in this table-land. This river and its principal tributaries drain four valleys, the bottoms of which are covered with good herbage, which provides pasturage for numerous herds of wild sheep (*Ovis Poli*).

In these regions we meet bears, Kaftans (or Asiatic panthers), wolves, wild goats, foxes, weasels, etc.; and on the lakes we saw enormous flocks of ducks, geese, and other water-fowl. Fish was also exceedingly plentiful; for instance, the Lake Bulöu-Kool yielded at one draw with a small net over $2\frac{1}{2}$ poods (90 lbs.) of very delicious fish.

Trees were conspicuous by their absence. The only place where there was any forest growth was along the Murg-Obi river. I term the whole of the table-land "Pamir," in view of the resemblance of the valleys to each other. The natives, however, only apply the name to the valley of the great lake of Pamyra, and the river of the same name. Other parts of the neighbourhood are known under different names; thus the lake of Yashil-Kool, the valley of the river Alechoor, the valley of the Ak-Loo, etc. The most imposing is the lake of Yashil-Kool, which is over thirty versts (20 miles) in length, with an average width of five to six versts. Numerous legends are connected with this lake, in which the fertile imagination of the nomad strives to express its admiration and explain the magnificence of the surrounding scenery.

The Pamir is far from being a wilderness. It contains a permanent population residing in it both summer and winter. The inhabitants are by no means numerous; but this is because the natural conditions of life hinder their increase. The Nomad of Central Asia would not be so hard to please as not to become thoroughly accustomed to the surroundings of life on the Pamir. Having pasturage for his cattle, he would become reconciled to these conditions, were not the natural growth of the population retarded, until quite recently, by the continual raids of the semi-civilized independent tribes of the neighbouring Khanates. The conditions of life have now changed, and the population is increasing to a marked extent. But notwithstanding the proximity of Russia and the comparative civilization of China, slavery on the Pamir is flourishing; moreover, the principal contingents of slaves are obtained from Chatrar, Jasen, and Kanshoot, Khanates under the protectorate of England.

We found the Raskeen mountain range obstructed with snow, and we therefore had to transport our luggage on the backs of Yaks. After descending into the rich forest in the basin of the river Raskeen Daria, we warmed ourselves

and got rid of the oppressive feeling attending continual danger. In our camp there again were heard the merry Cossack melodies, not sung for so long a time. On one of the branches of the Raskeen Daria; viz., at the rivulet Elee-Soo, we found a natural vapour bath, in the shape of hot springs, the temperature of which reached as much as 47° Cels. (117° Fahr.).

We spent October and November in investigating the basin of the Raskeen Daria, and during the space of fifty-five days only twice came across human beings; viz., with the British expedition under the command of Captain Younghusband and a robber band of Kanshootis, these latter being on their way to plunder on the great caravan road between Jarkand and Cashmere. Captain Young-husband was going from India to Kanshoot.* This young man earned for himself a name by his bold journey on horseback from Peking to Cashmere through the whole of China. He was accompanied by a small convoy of Bengal soldiers, pundits, and numerous servants.† We met on the most friendly of terms, and as my expedition had bivouacked earlier than Captain Younghusband's, the captain thus became my guest and remained so for the space of almost three days. The expeditions together presented the interesting spectacle of an assembly comprising twenty different nationalities. Our meeting with the robber band of Kanshootis took place at the sources of the river Saltor, a branch of the Raskeen. In order to husband as much as possible the strength of the men and horses, I made it a practice to leave all the heavy baggage belonging to the expedition on the main road, and to perform all flank excursions with one

* Russians in Central Asia. (Reuter's Telegram.) Simla, September 21st, 1891. The news of the exclusion of Captain Younghusband from Little Pamir by the Russian authorities is confirmed. The Russians, it is further announced, claim supremacy over the Little Pamir and the Alichur Valley.

† Russian officers and soldiers, who have come in contact with our Indian officers, always express surprise at the immense number of servants and articles of luxury attending our military expeditions, a practice which is unknown in the Russian army.

or two followers only. On one of these occasions, when I was only accompanied by a Cossack,* of the name of Matiojeff, I, one evening, unexpectedly came across some fires. As we had not come across a single human being during the space of forty days, the apparition of these fires could not do otherwise than alarm me. I immediately dismounted, and hiding in the underwood, went as near as possible to the encampment of the unknown people, in whom I recognised a band of Kanshoots, numbering about 80 men, who were evidently bent on some pillaging excursion. Being well acquainted with their morals, I did not account it wise to appear before them alone, and having waited until it had become complete twilight, we reversed the shoes of our horses and then led them as carefully as possible along the stony bed of the river, hastening back to the expedition, from which we were about sixty miles distant. After two days had elapsed, the band approached near our encampment, and having caught sight of the expedition sent out their messenger for a parley. We then made it known to the band, that, notwithstanding my friendship for the ruler of their country, my dignity as a servant of the "Great White Czar" could not permit any one to be plundered in my presence. Therefore, notwithstanding that I was convinced that the band had no hostile intentions against the expedition, I firmly demanded, not only that the band should return home, but that its re-appearance within rifle-shot of our expedition would be considered as an opening of hostilities against us. The Kanshoots, having once more sent an envoy with a declaration of loyalty and good-will, turned back. Later on, I heard that my firmness had saved a party of Khirgise, who were returning with the money they had earned for transporting baggage in the expedition belonging to Captain Younghusband. The basin of the Raskeen Daria was investigated by us for a distance of over 1250 versts (about 830 miles). The basin of this river is perfectly adapted for cultivation and bears many traces of it in the form of ruins of villages, tanks, canals,

* These Cossacks are from Turkestan, *i.e.* Tartar Cossacks.

etc. In one spot in this wilderness an immense abandoned burying-ground gave us an unusually melancholy impression. Every pathway, every projection of the rocks here was covered with ruined fortifications. It was apparent that man had fought to the last extremity ; that not wishing to abandon the places he had settled in, he had given way only to force. The basin of the river has been turned into a desert by the systematic raids of the Kanshoots ; but when this occurred, it is difficult to find out, as the dry climate of the country assists in the preservation of the traces of culture. Thus the place looks as if man had only abandoned it yesterday, whereas the most minute inquiries have shown that the Raskeen was already empty within the memory of the parents of the present generation. The hills surrounding the Raskeen are entirely uninhabited, in consequence of the unusually small quantity of rain which falls on them. Vegetation is only possible at the bottom of the valleys, which are the only places capable of being artificially watered. Besides, these shallows are covered with dense growths of mountain topal, willows, gigantic bushes of brambles, tamarisks, wild rose, etc., all of which, being interlaced with climbing plants, form so dense a thicket that we had to use our axes to cut a way through them. Among the animals we met with in the basin of this river may be mentioned the wild sheep (papia), red goats, antelopes, whole flocks of wild asses, Asiatic panthers, wolves, foxes, martens, mountain partridges, various species of ducks, and many kinds of birds, many of which we killed.

Towards the latter portion of November the frost almost the whole time remained at an average of -24° or -27° Celsius. Both shores of the river Raskeen were covered with a thick layer of ice, whilst the middle of the river remained open. In consequence of this, the crossing of the river was an exceedingly dangerous affair.

On the 25th of November we reached the newly-erected Cashmirean fortress of Shachedulla-Chodsha, situated at a height of about 12,500 feet above the level of the sea.

Seeing the utter impossibility of passing through this wilderness of Thibet in the winter months, I addressed a letter to Colonel Nisbet, the British Resident in Cashmire, requesting him to permit the expedition to winter there. I also at the same time commenced, without delay, to collect provisions. In the vicinity of the fortress we met twenty families (tents) of Khirgize, who were occupied in the conveyance of caravans through the Himalayan mountain range into Cashmire. I turned to them for provisions, but they not having any to spare, we were obliged to send men into Cashgar in order to purchase all we required. Taking advantage of the time that elapsed until the stores were forthcoming, I left the expedition at Shachedulla Chodsha, and, accompanied by two guides, set out myself for the Kara Kooroom pass, which is 18,500 feet above the level of the sea. In this high plateau we met with exceedingly inhospitable weather. The frost registered was -35° Celsius (31° below zero, Fahrenheit)! and was accompanied by severe winds, which compelled us to return when halfway on our journey from Kara Kooroom. On this journey we came across literally a valley of death. Here were lying about the bodies of horses, and scattered around bales of goods. There were, however, no traces of human beings. It turned out that a caravan of the Cashmire merchant Chalik-Baja had been overtaken by the cold. Having lost their horses, the men threw away their burdens and fled to Shachedulla Chodsha.

On the 14th September the stores arrived, and rumours reached us that Colonel Nisbet had made arrangements not to permit the expedition to enter into the frontier of Cashmire. I thereupon decided to go in the contrary direction of the river Kara-Kosh, and thus mount the plateau of Thibet, endeavouring in this manner to traverse it and thus reach the inhabited portions of Thibet. After having examined the deposit of nephrite described by Schlagentweit, situated on the road in the vicinity of Shachedulla Chodsha, small in comparison to the quantity I had seen a year previously

on the shores of the river Raskeen-Daria, we, on the 26th of December, bade farewell to the surrounding mountains—the last whose crests were covered with vegetation,—and, after leaving the bed of the river Kara-Kosh, mounted the plateau of Thibet, the average height of which in this spot was about 17,000 feet. This portion of South-west Thibet is a wilderness in the full sense of the word. The country around is undulated and intersected in every possible direction by low, gentle, hilly ridges, deep cavities, and in them there are more or less deep lakes. The soil is salty and sandy; vegetation, with the exception of the roots of the Terskin plant and scanty patches of yellowish coarse grass, does not exist. Moreover, only the above-mentioned growth is found in those hollows and cavities in which flow water originating from the scanty rain or the thawing of the mountain snows. Notwithstanding that the region offered such a scarcity of flora, we came across small droves of wild sheep, red goats, and a distinct species of yak. On the track of these animals wolves followed. As regards bipeds, the only birds we came across were crows. The frost kept at -33° to -35° Celsius (31° below zero, Fahrenheit), and was accompanied with severe winds, which changed into a hurricane at mid-way. It was so cold that the tears, caused by the wind, had not time to flow down the cheeks. They were frozen on the eyelashes. Snow there was none. The springs were all frozen. We managed to obtain water for making tea by melting ice, whilst our poor quadrupeds remained without drink. During these terrible days of privation the expedition reached the utmost limits of physical endurance. From the information I had gathered, I knew that on our road, in the basin of the Yurung Kosh, we should come across some hot springs; but days passed, whilst we travelled from dawn until late at night, without reaching these springs. After three days of marching on the Thibetian plateau, we reached the mountain chain dividing the river Yurung Kosh from the basin of the river Kara Kosh. Having discovered a passage across this range at a height

of 19,000 feet, as soon as it was day-break we pushed on farther. The horses were enfeebled from thirst. I felt that our end was approaching. Nevertheless, we were obliged to push forward, no matter what happened. If I turned back without obtaining water, neither horses nor men would be capable of performing another passage through this wilderness. Until the 29th December, 1889 (o.s.) we proceeded without stopping, and only at one o'clock at night we managed to reach the hot springs; having, in the meantime, lost one-third of our horses, and having abandoned in the desert a portion of our baggage. The water we procured from the springs turned out to have such a loathsome taste that it was drunk even by the horses with aversion. On the following day the dropping down of the horses continued. To add to our misfortunes, a snow-storm commenced to rage. The wilderness was covered with a thick carpet of snow. Our guide refused to conduct us. Having rested several days at the hot springs, I determined to go back. As it was impossible for us any longer to lift our baggage, we were compelled to pick out from it all those things which were absolutely necessary, and make them up into separate bundles, which we covered with felt and fallen stones, in order to save them from the wind and the curiosity of the wild animals of the country. All the articles of less importance we threw away. All that I took with me consisted of my diary, photographic plates, instruments, guns, and an insignificant sum of money that still remained to me.

On the 31st December we started on our return journey, and pitched our quarters for the night at an elevation of 18,000 feet, at the entrance to the pass we had lately come through, to which I gave the name "Russian." The snow-storm and the hurricane roared about us with incredible fury. We all gathered together in the sole remaining tent that was entire, one which had been presented to me prior to my departure from St. Petersburg by His Imperial Highness, the Grand Duke Dmitry Constantinovitch, and did our best to warm ourselves by our own breathing. Our Cossack

orderly became afflicted with hallucinations. I do not know what my fellow-travellers felt, but it seemed to me that we were freezing to death, and that there was no hope of saving the expedition. Knowing from long experience that in the mountains the most violent snowstorms leave off before the dawn, we, exactly at midnight, after collecting our last strength, dragged ourselves to the pass, to the summit of which there remained about twelve versts (nine miles) to traverse. It commenced to be light at seven o'clock in the morning; consequently, by moving at the rate of two versts an hour, we might reach the highest point of the pass at the time of sunrise. For once fortune befriended us. As we ascended the inclined plane of the pass the snow-storm became more quiet, and when we reached the top, it was almost a complete calm. Having clambered up to the top of the pass, I awaited all my companions, and having let them go on before, followed. Almost all of us had our extremities frost-bitten.

We had only just commenced to descend the pass when the snow-storm began to rage with increased strength; but it did not any longer present to us its former danger, as we were partially sheltered by the surrounding hills.

On the 4th January, after passing eleven days at an altitude of not less than 17,000 feet, we again approached the bed of the river Kara Kosh, that is to say, the place which we had left on the 26th December. Immediately after this I entered into communication with the Khirgize, wandering about Shachedulla-Chodsha, who, after receiving us in the most friendly manner and supplying us with tents and provisions, set out with five camels to fetch the things we had thrown away in the desert. The Khirgize brought with them a Cashmirean officer, who gave me three letters from the British resident in Cashmire, Colonel Nisbet. These letters were all of the same tenor, and had been sent to me by different roads. They contained the refusal of the East Indian Government to permit a Russian expedition to enter the confines of Cashmire. The Cashmireans confirmed the

knowledge we were already in possession of, viz., that the entrances into Cashmire had already been occupied by Cashmirean troops.

As the expedition was completely disorganized, we again returned to Shachedulla-Chodsha. Thence through the Kiljan Pass we entered into the kingdom of Kashgar, where, after eight months' camping out in tents, we quartered ourselves for the first time under a roof. Out of the thirty-six horses with which I had left Shachedulla-Chodsha in the middle of September, I brought back with me to Keljan only eight, and even these were of no use for further journeying. The equipment of the expedition had partly been thrown away and partly rendered entirely useless. Our money was all spent, and we were in such straits that we should even have been satisfied if we could only have succeeded in reaching Margellan in safety. From this difficult position we were extricated by the Secretary of the Russian Consul in Cashgar, who, notwithstanding that he did not know whether I should ever be in a position to repay him, sent me as a loan Rbs. 4,000 (£464). This money permitted us again to equip ourselves and set out for further work. I determined that, as we had come to grief in entering Thibet from the west, we would endeavour to enter it from the north. In the middle of February we proceeded further eastwards along the northern declivity of the Kooen-Loon mountains. Whilst amidst the heights of Khotan I learned that the expedition of Colonel Pjevtzoff was wintering in the oasis of Nija, and that one of the members belonging to this expedition was to be found in Khotan. I of course hastened to Khotan, where I was heartily received by the mining engineer, Bogdanovitch, the Geologist of the expedition. As my instruments had received serious damage, I set out for Nija (see map, "No. 18") in order to verify them, and also chiefly to verify my astronomical observations by those of Colonel Pjevtzoff.

On the 7th of March I arrived at Nija, where I was met with real heartiness and hospitality by the members of the

Thibet expedition. Among my dear fellow-workers I passed a whole week, and thanks to the touching attention of all the members of the expedition, was able to rest myself both in soul and in body. Colonel Pjevztzoff personally corrected my instruments and entered the corrections in the journals of the expedition.

On the 15th of March, after having bid farewell to Colonel Pjevztzoff and his followers, I marched south to the gold washings of Söoorgak. Notwithstanding the early time of the year, the washings were occupied with crowds of people. Most of the gold in these regions is found in the old dried-up beds of the rivulets of rivers, or by sinking shafts in the gold-bearing sands, sometimes to a depth of 60 arsheens* (140 ft.).

From Söoorgak (see "No. 19" in map) I set out for Poloo along the hills of Tokoos Davan, where Nicholai M. Preshevalsky, of never-to-be-forgotten memory, had been before me. The inhabitants of Poloo met us with exceeding joy, and bore with them a long way in front of the village a photograph of His Majesty the Czar and the Imperial family, which had been presented to them by the late Colonel Preshevalsky. I was much touched at this meeting; and there at once sprung up the most friendly relations between the expedition and the inhabitants, which neither the enmity of the Chinese authorities in Kerija, nor the strictest orders directed against the expedition, could shake.† Easter we spent at Poloo, in the greatest possible festivity; and at the same time a great holiday was arranged for the inhabitants.

On the second day of Easter, having left my baggage at

* 1 Arsheen = $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet English. (?)

† The Chinese authorities, during the Captain's sojourn at Poloo, posted up an order on the wall, forbidding the inhabitants to supply his expedition with food or provisions. This order the Captain tore down, and brought back with him to St. Petersburg. It is a very interesting document, and printed in Chinese and another language. The Captain showed me this and also one or two letters he had received from Capt. Younghusband. From the latter, the two explorers seem to have "chummed" like old friends.

Poloo, I set out for Kerija, being invited there by the Kerjan Amban. This official, making a pretence of indisposition, declined to have a personal interview, and at the same time gave orders forbidding the inhabitants of the country to sell us anything whatever. The Chinese soldiers now assumed towards us an insolent and impudent manner, apparently wishing to come into collision with us. Knowing the cowardice of the Chinese soldiers, I came to the conclusion that they were acting from orders, and on that account encamped on an open spot outside the town, where I might at least be able to have recourse to self-defence. At the same time I received information from the Cossack orderly Jozjakaeff, who had been left behind with our baggage, that a Chinese official had made his appearance at Poloo, and, together with the assistance of the inhabitants of that place, was destroying the road between Poloo and Thibet. The road leads through a narrow defile with perpendicular sides; the pathways leading over precipices by means of beams, the destruction of which disconnects all communication. Naturally, I immediately hastened to Poloo. The Chinese official, having learned of my arrival, fled through the hills to Kerija, whilst I then, with the active assistance of the population, commenced the repair of the road, which the Chinese had spoilt. Soon after this I became involved in a tiresome correspondence with the official of the Kerijesk district, who obstinately demanded my return, whilst categorically refusing my entrance into Thibet, on the ground that I was "not in possession of a Chinese passport." As I unconditionally refused to fulfil the demand of the Kerijan Amban and energetically made preparations for the journey, this official then sent out against the expedition a body of horsemen, ordering them to take us by force if we did not in the space of three days leave Poloo of our own accord. I knew that, as we possessed a large supply of cartridges, we might defend ourselves for some time, but also had to confess that the Chinese, sooner or later, would be victorious. To surrender myself of my own free will to the Chinese I natu-

rally could not think of, for that would be risking the loss of our journals, our plates, and other materials of scientific importance, obtained by us so dearly. At this critical moment, the sympathetic inhabitants of Poloo came to our assistance, and agreed to furnish us with the necessary quantity of baggage—animals and carriers, also to take upon themselves the wrath of the Chinese for the assistance they had given us. In return for these services, I gave the inhabitants of Poloo all my remaining store of silver, amounting to about 5 jamb (*circa* £75).

On the 5th of May, at sunrise, we set out on our journey, and on the 10th inst. were already on the Thibetan table-land.

It transpired however that we had mounted at an inopportune moment. The table-land attains an altitude of more than 16,000 feet, and life on it had as yet not commenced. The ice and the snow had not begun to thaw; and the procuring of water from beneath the ice was accompanied with incredible difficulties. The frost kept at -20° to -24° Celsius, and was felt by us the more, as only a few days previously, we were residing in Kerija and enjoying the heat at a temperature of 31° Celsius in the shade.

These swift changes of temperature especially affected our baggage animals, which commenced to fall. Nevertheless, we obtained some light on the country for a considerable distance, and verified our work in this portion of South-western Thibet by astronomical observations. The character of this table-land quite reminded us of the more western portions of this same table-land, which we had visited in the winter. It consists of the same salty, sandy wilderness, intersected with low, hilly ridges, forming deep hollows with immense lakes. The only difference consists in that there is here incomparably more grass and more animals, especially wild yaks, which keep together in large herds. Besides, our journey made it evident that through Poloo from South-western Thibet, there was a road leading to the more inhabited portion of Thibet, only presenting difficulties the first three

days, *i.e.*, along the bed of the river Kooraha, being perfectly convenient farther on. This road is however only accessible for travelling three months in the year, from 1st of July to the end of September. Not being in a position to live long enough in this table-land to await the event of a warmer season, we turned to Poloo, and on the 5th of June proceeded further into Khotan, where we arrived in the very midst of the influenza. This sickness, after going the round of Europe, reached Turkestan in the winter months, and in the spring broke out behind the Tjan Shan mountains, and after moving farther and farther to the east, at last reached Khotan. There were several separate cases of this epidemic even reported in Poloo, at an altitude of about 9,000 feet. The influenza hardly spared a single one of my followers, finding a fruitful soil in their constitution, weakened by privations. As regards myself, it attacked me with great severity, since I was not quite restored from the heavy sickness which had afflicted me in the autumn. July, August, and September we spent in investigating the basin of the river Teznaff, the central stream of the river Yarkend Daria, and the eastern slope of the Kashgar mountain range, that is to say, places almost completely uninvestigated by Europeans. The basin of the river Teznaff afforded an especially large harvest for science, being almost densely inhabited by settlements of tribes of mountaineers, highly interesting (in an ethnographical respect). The first intimation of the existence of these mountaineers was given to the learned world by the Forsyth expedition (1873-1874). This information is however very inaccurate, because none of the members of that expedition personally visited them; but made their statements concerning them from information founded on inquiries from others. I visited these mountaineers in the winter, and afterwards, during the summer of the following year, studied their customs in detail and gave full information concerning their most important peculiarities in my letters to the Russian Geographical Society, in December, 1889.

During the latter portion of August we arrived at the town

of Yarkand, where we were again met by the expedition of Capt. Younghusband; which, having returned into India in 1889, had been in the spring again liberally * equipped by the East Indian Government, and, together with a large suite, had been sent out to Kashgar. This time, Capt. Young-husband arrived before me in Yarkand, and endeavoured to repay me for the hospitality shown him a few months before in the deserted basin of the river Raskeen.

After having visited the eastern shores of the Kashgar mountain range, we, at the end of September, arrived at Kashgar, whence, having rested somewhat and partaken of the hospitality of the Russian Consul, we proceeded to Osh, in Fergistan, along the right shore of the river Kizool-Soo, and through the upper branches of the river Markan-Soo.

The following are the results of this journey :—

1. Investigations made for a distance of 7,200 versts (about 5,000 miles) of which more than 5,000 (3,315 miles) were in places formerly never investigated by Europeans.
2. These bearings corroborated at seventy-three different astronomical points, and verified with the observations of Colonel Pjevtzoff, also with the labours of the Pamir expedition and the contemporary works of Englishmen.
3. 350 altitudes fixed with the assistance of the aneroid barometer, etc.
4. During all this exploration the expedition made systematic meteorological observations three times a day.
5. Rich geographical and ethnographical materials have been collected, illustrated by 240 photographic plates of types and views of the places visited.
6. Notwithstanding that a large portion of the collection had to be abandoned on the Thibet plateau, the expedition brought back with it three large boxes of geographical specimens, a collection of eggs, a collection of reptiles, (crawling and invertebrate) a small herbarium, an entomo-

* Capt. G. seemed very much impressed at the liberality shown by our Government in fitting out our expedition, as regards both its scientific and other apparatus. He said he looked like a beggar or a vagabond, when first met by his fellow-travellers—to such straits had he been brought.

logical collection, a small geological collection, and specimens of the various beds of nephrite to be found in Kashgar, and also the tools employed by the aborigines for working this mineral.

7. The whole time a journal was kept by the expedition, which consists of 4 volumes.

All the scientific material acquired by me has been put at the disposal of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society."

And thus ends the account of the travels of this comparatively young and energetic explorer. Others may have done more than he ; but few have accomplished so much with the scanty resources and means at his command. Capt. G.—now Colonel, has returned to Fergistan to the scene of his former labours, and it is not improbable that we shall hear more of him should his life be spared, and that he will be a worthy follower of the great Col. Preshevalsky.

Every sane Englishman will admit that his country cannot hope to engage Russia successfully without the aid of allies. A conflict between these two countries would now no longer be correctly described in the words of Bismarck, as "A struggle between a whale and an elephant," but rather as "a struggle between an elephant and a not over-fed lion"—the lion being our handful of soldiers in India and the few men England might spare from Home and the Colonies. Even at the present moment, the Indian army has enough to do in keeping order in Burmah and the turbulent hill tribes of the frontier. What would happen, should a formidable insurrection take place, and attack us in the rear while the hardy troops of Russia, unspoilt by civilization, engage us in the front, is terrible, but not difficult to imagine.

A wise people prepares itself for every contingency.

It does not rely on Afghan buffers, subsidies to treacherous Asiatics, Chinese walls, consisting of useless restrictions and over-zealous officials, to guard the frontiers of its possessions. It should not deem it becoming to be constantly in trepidation as to the intentions of another Power, but should set about raising a force of armed men, numerous enough to

protect its interests. If England is to be supreme among the nations of the earth, it is not enough that she be the first naval Power. She must also be, as in days, alas ! gone by, the first military Power. She would then have no need to be inhospitable to a Russian explorer who craves permission to winter in a Cashmere village. Not only would it be deemed undignified to cast about for absurd reasons for refusing such permission, but she would welcome Russian merchants into the Indian Empire. Indian tea would be drunk in Russia, and so further improve the commercial relations between the two countries ; and the two countries would be able to work side by side at the civilization of Asia.

That Central Asia stands in great need of being reduced to order, the narratives of Colonel Grambcheffsky and other travellers amply show ; and if this region be, indeed, as philologists tell us, the locality in which our ancestors in the far and dim past resided, it is only fitting that we should take its civilization in hand. Much of it is habitable, and could be colonized by our surplus populations. A learned Asiatic with whom I was conversing on this subject, the other day, who had travelled all over Europe, and was well acquainted with its peoples and their political life, gave expression to the following prophecy : " You people of Europe, you have come from the East, and when you cannot live in Europe any more, you will go back to the East. Here you are all cramped up, cutting one another's throats for a paltry strip of territory, while in Asia there is room enough for you all." There is little doubt that in these words there is much truth. Half the quarrels and wars of Europe are of economic origin. If the French and the Germans possessed large colonies in Asia, to which they could send their surplus populations, they would not be so ready to slaughter one another by hundreds of thousands for the sake of a strip of land, which, were it in Asia, would not be found marked on an ordinary sized map. If, however, war is to be a thing of the past, the struggle for existence in Europe will become so intensified, that not only the Jews, but also large portions of those

nationalities whose ancestors came to Europe before the dawn of history, will prefer to return to the countries whence they came, rather than to remain in Europe and die of starvation.

England and Russia should, each of them, recognise the fact that they have, together, a mission to perform in the East, and that each, by seeking no undue advantage over the other, will benefit humanity at large. A struggle for supremacy would be madness; for whichever might be the victor, the other would be so weakened that the semi-civilized hordes of China would soon snatch from him the fruits of his hardly-won victory; and would govern the provinces now subject to English and Russian dominion with unheard-of rigour. Sooner than that England and Russia should come to blows over Constantinople or the Persian Gulf, it would be better that they should, in conjunction with China and France, annex the whole remaining portions of Asia, and thus do away with the robbery, violence, and oppression chronic in the States lying between the British, Russian, and Chinese frontiers.

These ideas will be laughed at by short-sighted people. They will be called visionary. But a very important fact is apt to be overlooked. The Chinese are an intelligent people, and should they ever turn their attention to the modern art of war, England and Russia, in order to retain their Eastern possessions, would have to keep quartered permanently in Asia an enormous army. It is folly to give way to useless apprehension. But, on the other hand, it is greater folly to cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace"; and no one who takes an interest in the political equilibrium of Asia will be found to deny that a struggle between Russia and England, whatever the result, would be suicidal, so far as their Asiatic interests are concerned—that it would mean practically handing over the whole of Asia to the Chinese.

W. BARNES STEVENI.

NOTE ON "RECENT EVENTS ON THE PAMIRS."

It has not transpired yet whether the treatment to which Colonel Grambcheffsky was subjected the winter before last at the hands of our Indian authorities has any bearing on the recent incidents which have occurred in the Pamirs. As has been stated in the papers, the Colonel had not, as was at first surmised, any hand in the arrest of Captain Younghusband. Those who have read my article in the preceding number of this Review will have been prepared for this announcement. The warm feelings of friendship which the Colonel entertains for the Indian officer made it antecedently probable that he would avoid being employed on so distasteful a duty.

No doubt the Russian authorities, notwithstanding their politeness, took a malicious delight in arresting Captain Younghusband and Lieutenant Davison; but it would be folly to assume that the attitude which they have taken up with regard to the Pamirs has been provoked by our treatment of Colonel Grambcheffsky. Their real object is to checkmate, if possible, the endeavours which they believe the Indian Government are making "to lock together the frontiers of Afghanistan and China." Such indeed is the assertion made in a recent interesting article in the *St. Petersburg Novosti*. "It was," says this paper, "after General Abramoff succeeded in taking his detachment across the Trans-Alaïsk range, with the object of passing through the Pamir in the direction of Tchatral, and in carrying his artillery through the highest mountain passes, that the English have begun to evince particular concern with regard to Vachan, through which it is possible to enter the Tchatral valley by the Barogelsk pass. The English regard this possibility as a matter of some importance in reference to the defence of India.

"The expedition of the English Agent, Younghusband, had for its object, as is well known, the formation of an understanding between the Chinese, the owners of the eastern portion of the Pamir, and the Afghans, whose

western frontier extends to this region. In other words, the English desired to lock together the frontiers of Chinese and Afghan territory, to seize the intervening portion of the Pamir, which was thoroughly surveyed by the Russians in 1883, and in this way to bar the road to Tchitral.

“ From the facts which have transpired concerning our movements in the Pamir, we have reason to think that Russia's action was the logical reply to the intrigues of the English, and that the appearance of the much-talked-of Goorkhas from Gilgit was powerless to hinder the further prosecution by Russia of her constant policy of firmness in Central Asia.”

This probably represents the official view in Russia about recent events. It is evident that whatever may be the opinion of an uninformed section of Englishmen, who pooh-pooh the idea of attaching importance to those events, not only the Russians, but also our Indian authorities are alive to their significance, and to the fact that the Little Pamir is not, as stated, practically useless and impassable as an approach for an invading army. Englishmen, disinclined from considerations of expense, or slow to realize that there is need to make a much larger provision for the defence of their Indian Frontier than at present exists, may persuade themselves that there is no need for apprehension; but before many years have passed they will awake to the fact, patent enough to those who study the question, that their policy is penny wise and pound foolish.

The *Novosti*, in the article from which I have quoted, gives some further information about the Pamirs, which will be of interest. “ Many travellers,” they say, “ have recently given us explanations of the word ‘ Pamir.’ According to some of them, all those regions are called *Pamirs* which are visited by the Khirgize during the summer months for pasturage purposes. The foundation for this definition is supported by the Tadsheks of Tashkoorgan and the Vachaji of the Pamir. These tribes divide the Pamir into the large and small Pamir. In remote times, two brothers, of the

names of Alichur and Pamir, wandered, so some of these nomad aborigines relate, in these regions, and gave their names to the Table-lands. Other travellers trace the word to the designation '*Bam-e-dunyah*' (*Anglicè*)—'*The Roof of the World.*'"

The frontiers of the Pamir are, properly considered, on the north, the Trans-Alaïsk Mountain Range; on the east, the Sarikolsk Hills; on the south, the Hindu Kush; and on the west, the river Pandsha. The rivers watering the table-land are the Moorgab, the Vachan Darya, the Shaeh Darya, and the Gunta. These rivers have innumerable tributaries, which, being fed by the melting of the snows, begin in the autumn to dry up in their upper reaches, if not throughout their whole course. The average height of the Pamir is 14,000 ft. above the level of the sea. The mountain chains, however, rise to a height of 19,000 ft., and isolated peaks to 25,000 ft.

The Pamir has only two seasons—a severe winter and a hot summer. The latter lasts only four months. During the remainder of the year intense frosts prevail. In winter the intensity of the cold is such that -20° R. ($= -13^{\circ}$ F.) is reached. In support of our statements as to the climate, we will give the experiences of the members of the English expedition under Forsyth. These affirmed that on reaching an altitude of 12,000 ft. above the sea, many of them were seized with giddiness, sickness, and a singing in the ears, accompanied by a flow of blood from the nose.

Among the numerous pretensions of the English in respect of Afghanistan, may be mentioned those relating to Vachan, a region of about 400 versts (265 miles) long, and situated in the valley of the Vachan Darya. The inhabitants of this district number 1,700, and resemble the Tadsheks in their outward appearance. They have their own peculiar dialect, and a good knowledge of Persian. The men are tall. Like the generality of mountaineers, they are splendid pedestrians, warlike, and expert marksmen. They are admirers of the Russians, and always

speak of the Russian Empire with great enthusiasm. The women boast fine features and beautiful forms. Contrary, however, to the usual Eastern custom, they do not, when in the society of men, cover their faces, but preserve the utmost freedom."

W. BARNES STEVENI.

We regret that so eminent an explorer as Col. Grambcheffsky should endeavour to make capital out of a commonplace incident. He had made it quite clear to the Indian Government that he was not a mere ordinary traveller on a scientific expedition, and when he *demandé* passage for himself and his guard through Kashmir, the Government of India declined permission, Col. Nisbet being, of course, merely their mouthpiece.

It seems to us that no one has a right to enter a foreign State with soldiers, and so Col. Grambcheffsky has only himself to blame if his demand was not complied with. That he was not a mere scientific explorer recent events in the Pamir have abundantly shown. At the same time we regret that the intense cold which the Colonel experienced on his return journey from Leh should have injured his constitution. He is suffering from an affection of the spine which necessitates his going about on crutches. He is now Secretary to the Agricultural Commission of Turkistan.

The Russians further complain that the Indian Authorities had also been unnecessarily suspicious as regards Prince Galitzin, who, "although he has lost his right arm, and was attended only by three peasant servants, was not allowed to return by the Karakorum pass on his way back to Tashkand." All we can say is that Prince Galitzin was allowed the exceptional privilege of attending the Aligurh manœuvres. The Russians also laugh at the English Topographical Department having published maps marked secret, when Russia had better maps and on a much bigger scale of the regions which are regarded with such jealous suspicion. To this we can only reply that it is perfectly true that the Russian Foreign Office has always been able to get our maps when they might be denied to English applicants, some of whom, indeed, could have given more information, say to the War Office, than they expected to receive in return. Col. Grambcheffsky himself seems to be an instance of what we affirm. His invaluable autograph map, which we publish in this issue, has the serious mistake of putting "Hunza" on the wrong side of the river, and does not mention Nagyr at all, which is on the opposite side. Yet Col. Grambcheffsky is supposed to have been in Hunza. A second map of his, which we have seen, repeats the mistake. The Royal Geographical Society, which is supposed to be supplied with all non-confidential information by the War Office, published a map of Mr. Littledale's journey, that puts, it is true, Hunza on the right side, but also omits Nagyr. *Now*, the *Russian* Geographical Society has published a map which puts these matters perfectly right, and in this, as also in many other particulars, is evidently based on the last English official maps. The Russians state that if England would carry out their interpretation of the alleged treaty obligations made by Lord Loftus at Livadia and St. Petersburg, the Central Asian question could be settled peaceably. It seems to us that Russia is far less prepared to go to war at present than we are, and that there is a complete reply to the articles in the *St. Petersburg Herald* on the origin, history, and bearings of the Pamir question.—*Editor.*

MIR), OF NAGYR. AND OF YASIN



SAYAD ALI,
OF NAGYR.

HUNZA, NAGYR, AND THE PAMIR REGIONS.*

I WISH to record how from small beginnings, owing to carelessness, exclusiveness, and official desire for promotion, Northern India may be lost and British interests in Europe and Asia become subordinate, as they have often been, to Russian guidance; how statesmanship has laboriously invited dangers which physical barriers had almost rendered impossible; and how it may still be practicable to maintain as independent States the numerous mountain strongholds which Nature has interposed between encroachment and intrigue from either the Russian or the English sphere of action in Asia, much to the benefit of these two Powers and of the peace of mankind.

When, after an enormous expenditure of men and money and during campaigns which lasted over thirty-six years, Russia had conquered independent Circassia—a task in which she was largely aided by our preventing provisions and ammunitions from reaching by sea the so-called rebels, although we ourselves were fighting against her in 1856, *quorum pars parva fui*, it was easy to foresee that our conduct, which some called chivalry, others loyalty, and some duplicity or folly, would give her the present command of the Black Sea and lead to the subjugation of Circassia. The same conduct was repeated at Panjdeh, and may be repeated on the Pamir, much to the personal advantage of the discreet officers concerned. We have also recently discovered that the holding of Constantinople by a neutral Power is not essential to British interests, as we had long ago found out that neither Merv nor Herat were keys to India. Indeed,

* I began to write this paper as an introduction to an academical treatment of the history, language, and customs of Hunza-Nagyr, when the apparently, sudden, but, probably, calculated complications on that frontier compelled me to abandon my task for the present and to discuss instead the ephemeral news as they were published from day to day in the press.

as we give up position after position, a crop of honours falls to those who bring about our losses and, like charity, covers a multitude of political sins of ignorance or treason.

It seemed, however, that there was one obscure corner which the official sidelight could not irradiate. Valley after valley, plateau after plateau, high mountains and difficult passes separate the populations of India from those of Central Asia. Innumerable languages and warlike races, each unconquerable in their own strongholds if their autonomy and traditions are respected, intervene between invaders from either side who would lead masses of disciplined slaves to slaughter and conquest. It is not necessary to draw an imaginary line on Lord Salisbury's large or small Map of Asia across mountains and rivers, and dividing arbitrarily tribes and kingdoms whose ancestry is the same, call it "the neutral zone." No sign-board need indicate "the way to India," and amid much ado about nothing by ambitious subordinates and puzzled superiors settle to the momentary satisfaction of the British public that Russia can go so far and no farther. Where the cold, the endless marching over inhospitable ground, and starvation do not show the frontier, the sparse population, the unknown tongue, and the bullet of the raider will indicate it sufficiently, without adding to the number of generals or knights for demarcating impossible boundaries.

The reassurances given by Lords Lansdowne and Cross to the native Princes of India indicate the policy that should be adopted with regard to all the Mountain States beyond India proper. It is by everywhere respecting the existing indigenous Oriental Governments that we protect them and ourselves against invasion from without and treachery from within. The loyalty of our feudatories is most chivalrous and touching, but it should be based on enlightened self-interest in order to withstand the utmost strain. The restoration of some powers to the Maharaja of Kashmir came not a minute too soon. Wherever elsewhere reasonable claims are withheld, they should be gene-

rously and speedily conceded. The Indian princes know full well that we are arming them, at their own expense, against a common foe who is not wanting in promises, and who is already posing as a saviour to the people of Raushan, Shignan, Wakhan, Hunza, and even Badakhshan, whose native dynasties or traditions we have either already put aside or are believed to threaten.

As for the small States offering a fruitful field for intrigue, their number and internal jealousies (except against a common foreign invader) are in themselves a greater safeguard than the resistance of a big but straggling ally, whose frontier, when broken through at one of its many weak points, finds an unresisting population from which all initiative has disappeared. The intrigue or treachery of a big ally is also a more serious matter than that of a little State. What does it matter if English and Russian agents intrigue or fraternize among the *ovis poli*, and the Kirghiz shepherds of the Pamir, or advocate their respective civilizations in Yasin, Chitrál, Wakhan, Nagyr, Hunza, etc. Ambitious employes of both empires will always trouble waters, in order to fish in them; but their trouble is comparatively innocuous, and resembles that of Sisyphus when it has to be repeated or wasted in a dozen States, before the real defences of either India or of Russia in Asia are reached. Indeed, so far as India is concerned, the physical difficulties on our side of the Himalayas or of the Hindukush, except at a few easily defensible passes, are insuperable to an invader, even after he has crowned the more approachable heights when coming from the North.

The only policy worthy of the name is to leave the Pamir alone. Whatever line is drawn, it is sure to be encroached upon by either side. Races will be found to overlap it, and in the attempt to gather the fold, as with the Sarik and Salor Turkomans, a second Panjdeh is sure to follow. Intrigues will be active on both sides of the line; and, as in Kashmir, the worried people will hail the foreigner as a saviour, so long as he has not taken posses-

sion, when they find his little finger heavier than the whole body of the indigenous oppressor. I have suffered so much from my persistent exposure of the misrule and intrigues of Kashmir by those who now hail the *fait accompli* of its practical annexation, that I may claim to be heard in favour of at least one feature of its former native administration. With bodies of troops averaging from 20 to 200, the late Maharaja, who foresaw what has happened after his death, kept the Hunza-Nagyr frontier in order. It certainly was by rule of thumb, and had no dockets, red tape, and reports. Indeed, his frontier guardians were, as I found them, asleep during a state of siege in 1866, or, when war was over, were engaged in storing grain *outside* the forts ; but peace was kept as it will never be again, in spite of 2,000 Imperial troops, first-rate roads, and suspension bridges over the "Shaitan Naré," instead of the rotten rope-way that spanned "Satan's Gorge," or of boats dragged up from Srinagar over the mountains to enable a dozen sepoys to cross the Indus at a time, or to convey couriers with a couple of bullets, some dried butter-cakes, and an open letter or two, who ran the siege at Gilgit and brought such effective reinforcements to its defenders !

Nor has our diplomacy been more effectual than our arms, as the encounter at Chalt with Hunza-Nagyr, hereditary foes, but whom our policy has united against us, has shown. To us Nagyr is decidedly friendly ; but a worm will turn if trodden on by some of our too quickly advanced subalterns. That, however, the wise and amiable Chief of Nagyr, a patriarch with a large progeny, and preserving the keenness of youth in his old age, is really friendly to us in spite of provocation, may be inferred from the following letter to me, which does credit alike to his head and heart, and which is far from showing him to be our inveterate foe, as alleged by the *Pioneer*. His eldest son began to teach me the remarkable Khajuná language, which I first committed to writing in 1866, during the siege of Gilgit, and another son continued the lessons in 1886.



KASHMIR SOLDIER (HIGHLANDER),
(Wearing a Great Lama's Hat.)]



A BALTI (LITTLE TIBET).



The latter is a hostage in Kashmîr, to secure the good behaviour of his tribe, which is really infinitely superior in culture and piety to those around them. The father, who is over 90, writes in Persian to the following effect, after the usual compliments :—" The affairs of this place are by your fortune in a fair way, and I am in good health and constantly ask the same for you from the Throne which grants requests. Your kind favour with a drawing of the Mosque has reached me, and has given me much pleasure and satisfaction. The reason of the delay in its receipt and acknowledgment is due to the circumstance that, owing to disturbances (*fesâd*) I have not sent agents to Kashmîr this year. After the restoration of peace, I will send [a letter] with them. In the meanwhile, I have caught your hem [seek your protection] for my son Habibullah Khan, a beloved son, about whom I am anxious ; the aforesaid son is a well-wisher to the illustrious English Government. —ZÂ'FAR KHAN." [The letter was apparently written in June last, when *The Times* reported a "rising," because the British Agent was at Chalt with 500 men.]

It seems to me that none but a farseeing man could, in the midst of a misunderstanding, if not a fight, with us, so write to one in the enemy's camp, unless he were a true man alike in war and peace, and a ruler whose good-will was worth acquiring. As for his son, I know him to be indeed well-disposed to our Government. He was very popular among our officers when I saw him in Kashmîr, owing to his modesty, amiability, and unsurpassed excellence at Polo. In fact, my friendship with several of the chiefs since 1866 has aided our good relations with them ; and it is a pity if they should be destroyed for want of a little "*savoir*," as also "*savoir faire*," on our part.

Between the States of Nagyr and Hunza there exists a perpetual feud. They are literally rivals, being separated by a swift-flowing river on which, at almost regulated distances, one Nagyr fort on one bank frowns at the Hunza fort on the other. The paths along the river sides

are very steep, involving at times springing from one ledge of a rock to another, or dropping on to it from a height of six feet, when, if the footing is lost, the wild torrent sweeps one away. Colonel Biddulph does not credit the Nagyris with bravery. History, however, does not bear out his statement; and the defeat inflicted on the Kashmír troops under Nathu Shah in 1848 is a lesson even for the arrogance of a civilized invader armed with the latest rifle. The Nagyris are certainly not without culture; in music they were proficient before the Muhammadan piety of the Shiah sect somewhat tabooed the art. At all events, they are different in character from the Hunzas with whom they share the same language, and their chiefs the same ancestry. The Hunzas, in whom a remnant of the Huns may be found, were great kidnappers; but under Kashmír influence they stopped raiding since 1869, till the confusion incidental to our interference revived their gone occupation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority, that even our ally of Chitrál, who had somewhat abandoned the practice of selling his Shiah or Kalásha Kafir subjects into slavery, and who had so disposed of the miners for not working his ruby mines to profit, has now returned to the trade in men, "with the aid of our present of rifles and our moral support." Nor is Bokhara said to be behind Chitrál in the revival of the slave-trade from Darwáz, in spite of Russian influence; so that we have the remarkable instance of two great Powers both opposed to slavery and the slave-trade, having revived it in their approach to one another. Nor is a third Power, quite blameless in the matter; for when we worried Hunza, that robber-nest remembered its old allegiance to distant Kitái and arranged with the Chinese authorities at Yarkand to be informed of the departure of a caravan. Then, after intercepting it on the Kulanuldi road, the Hunzas would take those they kidnapped from it back for sale to Yarkand!

As a matter of fact, we have now a scramble for the regions surrounding and extending into the Pamirs by

three Powers, acting either directly or through States of Straw. The claims of Bokhara to Karategin and Darwáz—if not to Shignán, Raushan, and Wakhan are as little founded as are those of Afghanistan on the latter three districts. Indeed, even the Afghan right to Badakhshan is very weak. The Russian claims through Khokand on the pasturages of the Kirghiz in two-thirds of the Pamirs are also as fanciful as those of Kashmir or China on Hunza. As in the scramble for Africa, the natives themselves are not consulted, and their indigenous dynasties have been either destroyed, or dispossessed, or ignored.

In an Indian paper, received by to-day's mail (29 Nov., 1891), I find the following paragraph : " Col. A. G. Durand, British Agent at Gilgit, has received definite orders to bring the robber tribes of Hunza and Nagar under control. These tribes are the pirates of Central Asia, whose chief occupation is plundering caravans on the Yarkand and Kashgar. Any prisoners they take on these expeditions are sold into slavery. Colonel Durand has established an outpost at Chalt, about thirty miles beyond Gilgit, on the Hunza river, and intends making a road to Aliabad, the capital of the Hunza chief, at once. That he will meet with armed opposition in doing so is not improbable."

For some months past the *mot d'ordre* appears to have been given to the Anglo-Indian Press, to excite public feeling against Hunza and Nagyr, two States which have been independent for fourteen centuries. The cause of offence is not stated, nor, as far as I know, does one exist of sufficient validity to justify invasion. In the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* I find vague allusions to the disloyalty or recalcitrance of the above-mentioned tribes, and to the necessity of punishing them. As Nagyr is extremely well-disposed towards the British, and is only driven into making common cause with its hereditary foe and rival of Hunza by fear of a common danger,—the

Digitized by Google

loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country ; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond of dances, polo, ibex *battue*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises ; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons ; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the country, will continue to protect it.

The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater



than the physical obstacles to which I have already referred. Here, between the Russian and the British spheres of influence in Central Asia, we have not only the series of Pamirs, or plateaux and high valleys, which I first brought to notice on linguistic grounds, in the map accompanying my tour in Dardistan in 1866 (the country between Kashmir and Kabul), and which have been recently confirmed topographically ; but we have also a large series of mountainous countries, which, if left alone, or only assured of our help against a foreign invader, would guarantee for ever the peace alike of the Russian, the British, and the Chinese frontiers. Unfortunately, we have allowed Afghanistan to annex Badakhshan, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, at much loss of life to their inhabitants ; and Russia has similarly endorsed the shadowy and recent claims of Bokhara on neighbouring provinces, like Darwáz and Karategin.

It is untrue that Hunza and Nagyr were ever tributaries of Kashmír, except in the sense that they occasionally sent a handful of gold dust to its Maharaja, and received substantial presents in return. It is to China or Kitái that Hunza considers itself bound by an ancient, but vague, allegiance. Hunza and Nagyr, that will only unite against a foreign common foe, have more than once punished Kashmír when attempting invasion ; but they are not hostile to Kashmír, and Nagyr even sends one of the princes to Srinagar as a guarantee of its peaceful intentions. At the same time, it is not very many months ago that they gave us trouble at Chalt, when we sought to establish an outpost, threatening the road to Hunza and the independence alike of Hunza and Nagyr.

Just as Nagyr is pious, so Hunza is impious. Its religion is a perversion even of the heterodox Mulái faith, which is Shiah Muhammadan only in name, but pantheistic in substance. It prevails in Punyál, Zebak, Darwáz, etc. The Tham, or Raja, of Hunza used to dance in a Mosque and hold revels in it. Wine is largely drunk in Hunza, and like the Druses of the Lebanon, the "initiated" Muláis

may consider nothing a crime that is not found out. Indeed, an interesting connection can be established between the doctrines of the so-called "Assassins" of the Crusaders, which have been handed down to the Druses; and those of the Muláis in various parts of the Hindukush. Their spiritual chief gave me a few pages of their hitherto mysterious Bible, the "Kelám-i-Pir," in 1886, which I have translated, and shortly intend to publish. All I can now say is, that, whatever the theory of their faith, the practice depends, as elsewhere, on circumstances and the character of the race.

The language of Hunza and Nagyr solves many philological puzzles. It is a prehistoric remnant, in which a series of simple consonantal or vowel sounds stands for various groups of ideas, relationships, etc. It establishes the great fact, that customs and the historical and other associations of a race are the basis of the so-called rules of grammar. The cradle, therefore, of human thought as expressed in language, whether of the Aryan, the Turanian, or the Shemitic groups, is to be found in the speech of Hunza-Nagyr; and to destroy this by foreign intervention, which has already brought new diseases into the Hindukush, as also a general linguistic deterioration, would be a greater act of barbarism than to permit the continuance of Hunza raiding on the Yarkand road. Besides, that raiding can be stopped again, by closing the slave-markets of Badakhshan, Bokhara, and Yarkand, or by paying a subsidy, say of £1,000 per annum, to the Hunza chief.

Indeed, as has already been pointed out, the recrudescence of kidnapping is largely due to the state of insecurity and confusion caused by our desire to render the Afghan and the Chinese frontiers conterminous with our own, in the vain belief that the outposts of three large and distant kingdoms, acting in concert, will keep Russia more effectively out of India than a number of small independent republics or principalities. Afghanistan may now be big, but every so-called subject in her outlying districts is her

inveterate foe. As stated in a letter from Nevsky to the Calcutta *Englishman*, in connection with Colonel Grambcheffsky's recent explorations :

"One and all, these devastated tribes are firm in their conviction that the raids of their Afghan enemies were prompted and supported by the gold of Abdur Rahman's English protectors. They will remember this on the plateau of Pamir, and among the tribes of Kaffiristan."

However colourable this statement may be as regards Shignán, Raushan, and perhaps even Wakhan, I believe that the Kafirs are still our friends. At the same time it should not be forgotten that, owing to the closing of the slave-markets in Central Asia, the sale of Shiah subjects had temporarily stopped in Chitrál. The Kafirs were being less molested by kidnapping Muhammadan neighbours; the Hunzas went back to agriculture, which the Nagyris had never abandoned; Kashmír, India, and the Russian side of Central Asia afforded no opening for the sale of human beings. The insensate ambition of officials, British and Russian, the gift of arms to marauding tribes and the destruction of Kashmír influence, have changed all this, and it is only by a return to "masterly inactivity," which does not mean the continuance of the Cimmerian darkness that now exists as to the languages and histories of the most interesting races of the world, that the peace and pockets of three mighty empires can be saved.

In the meanwhile, it is to the interest of Russia to force us into heavy military expenditure by false alarms; to create distrust between ourselves and China by pretending that Russia and England alone have civilizing missions in Central Asia, with which Chinese tyranny would interfere; to hold up before us the Will-o'-the-wisp of an impossible demarcation of the Pamirs, and finally, to ally itself with China against India. For let it not be forgotten, that once the Trans-Siberian railway is completed, China will be like wax in her hand; and that she will be compelled to place her immense material in men and food at the disposal of an

overawing, but, as far as the *personnel* is concerned, not unamiable neighbour. The tribes, emasculated by our overwhelming civilization, and driven into three large camps, will no longer have the power of resistance that they now possess separately.

Let us therefore leave intact the two great belts of territories that Nature has raised for the preservation of peace in Asia—the Pamir with its adjacent regions to the east and west, and the zone of the Hindukush with its hives of independent tribes, intervening between Afghanistan on the one side and Kashmīr on the other, till India proper is reached. This will never be the case by a foreign invader, unless diplomatists “meddle and muddle,” and try to put together what Nature has put asunder. What we require is the cultivation of greater sympathy in our relations with natives; and, comparing big things with small, it is to this feeling that I myself owed my safety, when I put off the disguise in which I crossed the Kashmīr frontier in 1866 into countries then wrongly supposed by our Government to be inhabited by cannibals. This charge was also made, with equal error, by one tribe against the other. Then too, as in 1886, the Indian Press spoke of Russian intrigues; but then, as in 1886, I found the very name of Russia to be unknown, except where it had been learnt from a Kashmīr Munshi, who had no business to be there at all, as the treaty of 1846, by which we sold Kashmīr to Ghulab Singh, assigned the Indus as his boundary on the west. Now, as to the question as to “What and where are the Pamirs?” I have already stated my view in a letter to the Editor of the *Morning Post*, which I trust I may be allowed to quote :

“As some of the statements made at the Royal Geographical Society are likely to cause a sense of false security, as dangerous to peace as a false alarm, I write to say that ‘Pamirs’ do not mean ‘deserts,’ or ‘broken valleys,’ and that they are not uninhabitable or useless for movements of large bodies of men. They may be all this in certain places, at certain periods of the year, and under

certain conditions; but had our explorers or statesmen paid attention to the languages of this part of the world, as they should in regard to every other with which they deal, they would have avoided many idle conjectures and the complications that may follow therefrom. I do not wish them to refer to philologists who have never been to the East, and who interpret 'Pamir' as meaning the 'Upa-Meru' Mountain of Indian mythology, but to the people who frequent the Pamirs during the summer months, year after year, for purposes of pasturage, starting from various points, and who in their own languages (Yarkandi, Turki, and Kirghiz) call the high plain, elevated valley, table-land, or plateau which they come across 'Pamir.' There are, therefore, in one sense many 'Pamirs,' and as a *tout-ensemble*, one 'Pamir,' or geographically, *the* 'Pamir.' The legend of the two brothers, 'Alichur and Pamir,' is merely a personification of two plateaux. Indeed, the obvious and popular idea which has always attached to the word 'Pamir,' is the correct one, whether it is the geographical 'roof of the world,' the 'Bám-i-dunya' of the poet, or the 'Pamir-dunya' of the modern journalist. We have, therefore, to deal with a series of plateaux, the topographical limits of which coincide with linguistic, ethnographical, and political limits. To the North, the Pamirs have the Trans-Altaic Mountain range marking the Turki element, under Russian influence; the Panja river, by whatever name, on the West is a Tadjik or Iranian Frontier [Affghan]. The Sarikol on the East is a Tibetan, Mongolian, or Chinese Wall, and the South is our natural frontier, the Hindukush, to go beyond which is physical death to the Hindu, and political ruin to the holder of India, as it also is certain destruction to the invader, except by one pass, which I need not name, and which is accessible from a Pamir. That the Pamirs are not uninhabitable may be inferred from Colonel Grambcheffsky's account [which is published at length elsewhere in this issue of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW]. A few passages from it must now suffice:—'The Pamir is far from being a wilder-

ness. It contains a permanent population, residing in it both summer and winter.' 'The population is increasing to a marked extent.' 'Slavery on the Pamir is flourishing: moreover, the principal contingents of slaves are obtained from Chatrar, Jasen, and Kanshoot, chanates under the protectorate of England.' 'On descending into Pamir we found ourselves between the cordons of the Chinese and Affghan armies.' 'The population of Shoognan, numbering 2,000 families, had fled to Pamir, hoping to find a refuge in the Russian Provinces' (from 'the untold atrocities which the Affghans were committing in the conquered provinces of Shoognan,' etc.). 'I term the whole of the tableland "Pamir," in view of the resemblance of the valleys to each other.'

"The climate of the Pamirs is variable, from more than tropical heat in the sun to arctic cold in the shade, and in consequence, is alike provocative and destructive of life. Dr. G. Capus, who crossed them from north to south, exactly as Mr. Littledale has done, but several months in the year before him, says in his 'Observations Météorologiques sur le Pamir,' which he sent to the last Oriental Congress,— 'The first general fact is the inconstancy of severe cold. The nights are generally coldest just before sunrise.' 'We found an extreme amplitude of 61 deg. between the absolute minimum and maximum, and of 41 deg. between the minimum and the maximum in the shade during the same day.' 'The thermometer rises and falls rapidly with the height of the sun.' 'Great cold is less frequent and persistent than was believed to be the case at the period of the year dealt with' (March 13 to April 19), 'and is compensated by daily intervals of elevation of temperature, which permit animal life, represented by a fairly large number of species, and including man, to keep up throughout the winter under endurable conditions.' Yet 'the water-streak of snow, which has melted in contact with a dark object, freezes immediately when put into the shadow of the very same object.' . . . The solution of political difficulties in Central Asia is not in a practically impossible, and certainly unmain-

tainable, demarcation of the Pamirs, but in the strengthening of the autonomy of the most interesting races that inhabit the series of Circassias that already guard the safety alike of British, Chinese, and of Russian dominion or spheres of influence in Central Asia."

WOKING, Nov. 29.

It is not impossible that the tribes may again combine in 1892 as they did in 1866 to turn out the Kashmir troops from Gilgit. The want of wisdom shown in forcing on the construction of a road from Chalt to Aliabad, in the centre of Hunza, as announced in to-day's *Times*, must bring on, if not a confederation of the tribes against us, at any rate their awakened distrust. It is doubtful whether it was ever expedient to establish an outpost at Gilgit, and the carrying it still farther to the traditional apple of discord, the holding of Chalt, which commands the Hunza road, is still more impolitic. As in Affghanistan, so here, whatever power does *not* interfere is looked upon as the saviour from present evils. Once we have created big agglomerations under Affghanistan, or China, or Kashmir, we are liable to the dangers following either on collapse, want of cohesion, treachery from within, the ambitions of a few men at the respective courts, or, as with us, to serious fluctuations in foreign politics due to the tactics of English parties. The change, therefore, from natural boundaries to the wirepulling of diplomatists at Kabul, Peking, or Downing Street is not in the interests of peace, of our empire, or of civilization. Besides, it should not be forgotten that we have added an element of disturbance, far more subtle than the Babu, to our frontier difficulties. The timid Kashmtri is unsurpassed as an intriguer and adventurer among tribes beyond his frontier. The time seems to have arrived when, in the words of the well-known Persian proverb,* the sparseness of races round

* "Agàr qahàt rijál uftad az-sî qaum kam gîrî.

Yakùm Affghan, doyum Kambó, soyùm bad-zât Kashm'ri."

If there (ever) should be a scarcity of men, frequent little (beware of) three peoples: one the Affghan, the second the Kambó, and the third the

the Pamirs should bid us to be on our guard against the Affghan, the "bad-raced" Kashmīrī, and the Kambó (supposed to be the tribe on the banks of the Jhelum beyond Mozafarabad). Perhaps, however, the Kambó is the Heathen Chinese; and the proverb would then be entirely applicable to the present question. After the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Russia will be able to exert the greatest pressure on China. The Russian strength at Vladivostok is already enormous, and when the time comes she can hurl an overwhelming force on what remains of Chinese Manchuria, before which Chinese resistance will melt like snow. Peking and the north of China are thus quite at the mercy of Russia. She will find there the most populous country of those she rules in Asia, and with ample supplies. China has a splendid raw material, militarily speaking; and Russia could there form the biggest army that has ever been seen in Asia, to hold *in terrorem* over a rival or to hurl at the possessions of a foe.

It is against such possibilities that the maintenance of "masterly inactivity," qualified by the moral and, if need be, pecuniary or other material support of the Anglo-Indian Government is needed. This is the object of this paper, before I enter into the more agreeable task of describing the languages, customs, and country of perhaps the most interesting races that inhabit the globe.

The Times of the 30th November publishes a map of the Pamirs and an account of the questions connected with them that, like many other statements in its articles on "Indian affairs," are incorrect and misleading. Having been on a special mission by the Panjab Government, in 1866, when I discovered the races and languages of "Dardistan," and gave the country that name, and again having been on special duty with the Foreign Department of the Government of India in 1886 in connection with the Boorishki language and race of Hunza, Nagyr, and a part of Yasin, regarding which I have recently completed



Part I. of a large work, I may claim to speak with some authority as regards these districts, even if I had no other claim. The point which I wish to specially contradict at present, is the one relating to the Russians bringing themselves into almost direct contact with "the Hunza and other tribes subject to Kashmír and, as such, entitled to British protection and under British control."

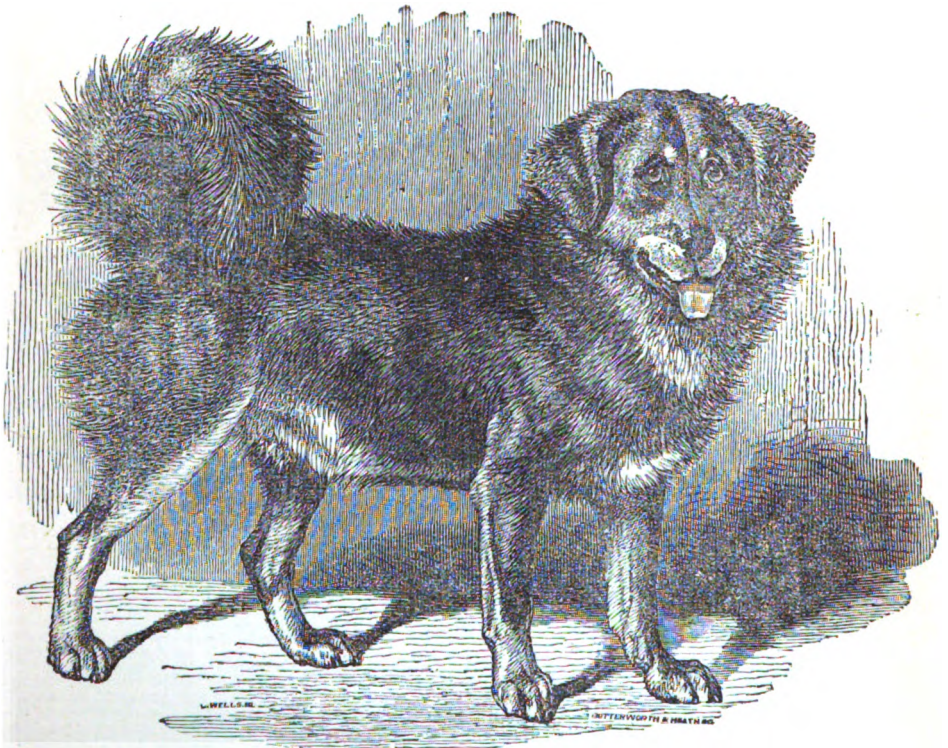
When I crossed the then Kashmír frontier in 1866, in the disguise of a Bokhara Maulvi, armed with a testimonial of Muhammadan theological learning, I found that the tribes of Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Yasin, and Chitrál had united under the leadership of the last-named to expel the Kashmír invaders from the Gilgit Fort. My mission was a purely linguistic one; but the sight of dying and dead men along the road, that of heads stuck up along the march of the Kashmír troops, and the attempts made on my life by our feudatory, the late Maharaja of Kashmír, compelled me to pay attention to other matters besides the languages, legends, songs, and fables of the interesting races with whom I now came in contact under circumstances that might not seem to be favourable to the accomplishment of my task. I had been warned by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, Sir Donald McLeod, whose like we have not seen again, not to cross the frontier, as the tribes beyond were supposed to be cannibals; but as I could not get the information of which I was in search within our frontier, I had to cross it. My followers were frightened off by all sorts of wild stories, till our party was reduced from some fifty to three, including myself. The reason for all this was, that the Maharaja was afraid that I should find out and report his breach of the Treaty by which we sold Kashmír to him in 1846, and in which the Indus is laid down as his boundary on the west. In 1866, therefore, at any rate, even the tenure of Gilgit, which is on the other side of the Indus, was contested and illegal, whilst the still more distant Hunza and Nagyr had more than once inflicted serious punishment on the Kashmír

troops that sought to invade districts that have preserved their autonomy during the last fourteen centuries, as was admitted by *The Times* of the 2nd November, 1891, before its present change with the times, if an unintentional pun may be permitted.

Then, as ever, the Anglo-Indian newspapers spoke of Russian intrigues in those regions. I am perfectly certain that if, instead of the fussiness of our statesmen and the sensationalism of our journals, the languages, history, and relations of these little-known races had been studied by them, we should never have heard of Russia in that part of the East. It is also not by disingenuousness and short cuts on maps or in diplomacy, but by *knowledge*, that physical, ethnographical, and political problems are to be solved; nor will the bold and brilliant robberies of Russia be checked by our handing over the inhabitants of the supposed "cradle of the human race" to Affghan, Kashmtr, or Chinese usurpations. Above all, it is a loss of time to palm off myths as history in order to suit the policy or conceal the ignorance of the moment.

Just as little as Darwaz and Karategin are ancestral dominions of Bokhara, and, therefore, under Russian influence, so little did even Badakhshan, and much less so, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, ever really belong to Affghanistan. As for the Chinese hold on Turkistan, we ourselves denied it when we coquetted with Yakub Khush Begi, though Kitái was ever the acknowledged superior of Eastern Turkistan. If Hunza admits any allegiance, it is to China, and not to Kashmtr; and the designations of offices of rule in that country are of Chinese, and not of Aryan origin, including even "Thàm," the title of its Raja.

As a matter of fact, however, the vast number of tribes that inhabit the many countries between the Indus and the Kuner own no master except their own tribal head or the tribal council. From kidnapping Hunza, where the right to plunder is monarchical, hereditary, and "ayeshó" = "heaven-born," to the peace and learning of republican Kandíá or



DR. LEITNER'S TIBET DOG, "CHANG."

Gabrial, all want to be left alone. If a neighbour becomes troublesome, he is raided on till an interchange of presents restores harmony. It is impossible to say that either side is tributary to the other. The wealthier gives the larger present; the bigger is considered the superior in a general sort of way, and so two horses, two dogs, and a handful of gold dust are yearly sent by Hunza to Kashmr or to Yarkand as a cloak for much more substantial exactions in return. Nagyr sends a basket of apricots instead of the horses and dogs. In 1871 Chitrál still paid a tribute to Badakhshan in slaves, but it would be absurd to infer from this fact that Chitrál ever acknowledged the suzerainty of Jehandar Shah, or of the Affghan faction that dispossessed him. Nor were the Khaibaris, or other highway robbers, our rulers, because we paid them blackmail, or they our subjects because they might bring us "sweetmeats."

The points in which most Englishmen are as deficient as Russians are generally proficient, are language and a sympathetic manner with natives. That, however, linguistic knowledge is not useless may be inferred from the fact that it enabled me, to use the words of my Chief, Commissary General H. S. Jones, C.B., during the Russian War in 1855, "to pass unharmed through regions previously unknown and among tribes hitherto unvisited by any European."

Also in topography and geography linguistics are necessary; and the absurd mistakes now made at certain learned societies and in certain scientific journals, regarding the Pamirs, would be avoided by a little study of the Oriental languages concerned. In 1866, the map which accompanies my philological work on "Dardistan" shows, on linguistic grounds, and on the basis of native itineraries, the various Pamirs that have been partially revealed within the last few weeks, or have been laboriously ascertained by expensive Russian and British expeditions between 1867 and 1890. The publication of my material, collected at my own expense and which shall no longer be delayed, would have saved many complications; but when, *e.g.*, I pointed out,

in 1866, that the Indus, after leaving Bunji, ran west instead of south, as on the then existing maps, I got into trouble with the Topographical Survey, which "discovered" the fact through its well-known "Mulla" in 1876. The salvation of India that is not made "departmentally" is crucified ; and whoever does not belong to the regular military or civil services has no business to know or to suggest. Mr. Curzon, when presiding at a meeting of the late Oriental Congress, assured us that a new era had risen ; but only the other night, at the Royal Geographical Society, a complaint was made of the reluctance of official departments in giving the Society information. As a rule, the mysteriousness of offices only conceals their ignorance, of which we have an instance in Capt. Younghusband being sent to shut the passes after the Russians had already stolen a march on, or through, them.

The neutralization of the Pamirs is the only solution of a difficulty created by the conjectural treaties of diplomatists and the ambition of military emissaries. Left as a huge happy hunting-ground for sportsmen, or as pasturage for nomads from whatever quarter, the Pamirs form the most perfect "neutral zone" conceivable. That the wanderings of these nomads should be accompanied by territorial or political claims, whether by Russia, China, Affghanistan, Kashmir, or ourselves, is the height of absurdity. As for Hunza-Nagyr, the sooner they are left to themselves the better for us, who are not bound to help Kashmir in encroaching on them. Kashmir managed them very fairly after 1848 ; and when it was occasionally defeated, its prestige did not suffer, for the next summer invariably found the tribal envoys again suing for peace and presents. The sooner the Gilgit Agency is withdrawn, the greater will be our reputation for fair dealing. Besides, we can take hostages from the Chiefs' families as guarantees of future tranquillity. Hunza-Nagyr are certainly not favourable to Russia, whilst Nagyr is decidedly friendly to us. The sensational account of

Colonel Grambcheffsky's visit to Hunza, which he places on his map where Nagyr is, seems to be one of the usual traps to involve us in great military expenditure and to alienate the tribes from us. It is also not creditable that, for party or personal purposes, the peaceful and pious Nagyris,—whom our own Gilgit Resident, Colonel Biddulph, has reported on as distinguished for "timidity and incapacity for war," "never having joined the Hunza raids," "slavery being unknown in Nagyr,"—should be described as "kidnappers," "raiders along with Hunza," "slave-dealers," "robbers," and "scoundrels,"—statements made by a correspondent from Gilgit in a morning newspaper of to-day, and to all of which I give an unqualified contradiction.

The establishment of the Gilgit Agency has already drawn attention to the shortest road for the invasion of India ; and it is significant that its advocate at Gilgit should admit that all the tribes of the Indus Valley "sympathized with the Hunzas," from whose depredations they are erroneously supposed to have suffered, and that they were likely "to attack the British from behind by a descent on the Gilgit road" to Kashmîr. Why should "the only other exit from Gilgit by way of the Indus Valley be through territories held by tribes hostile to the British"? Have the Gilgit doings already alienated the poor, but puritanical Chilâsis, tributaries of Kashmîr, who adjoin our settled British district of Kaghan? Are we to dread the Republic of Muhammadan learning, Kandîâ, that has not a single fort; pastoral Dareyl; the Koli-Palus traders; agricultural Tangir, and other little Republics—one only of eleven houses? As for the places beyond them, our officials at Attock, Peshawur, Rawalpindi, and Abbottabad will deal with the Pathan tribes in their own neighbourhood, which have nothing to do with the adjoining Republics of quiet, brave, and intelligent Dards, on both sides of the Indus, up to Gilgit, to which I have referred, and which deserve our respectful study, sympathy, and unobtrusive support.

G. W. LEITNER.

16th December, 1891.

The following account, published by Reuter's Telegram Company, will supplement the preceding article:—

“WOKING, Dec. 13.

“A representative of Reuter's Agency interviewed Dr. Leitner at his residence at Woking to-day, with the object of eliciting some information on the subject of the Hunza and Nagyr tribes, with whom the British forces are at present in conflict.

“Dr. Leitner, it is needless to say, is the well-known discoverer of the races and languages of Dardistan (the country between Kabul and Kashmir), which he so named when sent on a linguistic mission by the Punjab Government in 1864, at a time when the various independent tribes, including Hunza and Nagyr, had united in order to turn the troops of the Maharaja of Kashmir out of Gilgit. At that time it was considered that the treaty of 1846, by which Great Britain sold Kashmir to the Maharaja, had confined him to the Indus as his westward boundary, and had therefore rendered his occupation of Gilgit an encroachment and breach of treaty.

“Dr. Leitner, although the country was in a state of war, which is not favourable to scientific research, managed to collect a mass of information, and a fine ethnographical collection, which is at the museum at Woking. He has also made many friends in the country, and is doubtless the highest, if not the only, authority regarding these countries.

“Dr. Leitner, who was quite unprepared for to-day's visit, said that the relations which he had kept up with the natives of Gilgit, Hunza, Nagyr, and Yasin forced him to the conclusion that a conflict had been entered into which might have easily been avoided by a little more sympathy and knowledge, especially of the Nagyr people. Indeed, it was not a light matter that could have induced the venerable chief of Nagyr to make common cause with his hereditary foe of Hunza, unless he feared that the British threatened their respective independence.

“Not many weeks ago Dr. Leitner received a letter from the chief of Nagyr, in which he recommended to his kind attention his son, now in Kashmir, on the ground that he, even more so than any other member of his numerous family, was a well-wisher to the British Government. At that time the chief could not have had any feelings of animosity, although he might have protested, together with his rival of Hunza, against the British occupation of Chalt. In fact, it was not true that Nagyr and Hunza were really subject to Kashmir, except in the vague way in which these States constantly recognised the suzerainty of a neighbouring power in the hope of getting substantial presents for their offerings of a few ounces of gold dust, a couple of dogs, or basket of apricots, etc. Thus Chitrál, the ally of Great Britain, used to pay a tribute of slaves to the Ameers of Badakshan; but it would be absurd on that ground to render Chitrál a part of Afghanistan, because Badakshan now, in a manner, belongs to Abdurrahman. Hunza, again, sends a tribute to China; and, in a general way, China is the only Power that ever had a shadow of claim on these countries, but it is a mere shadow. Dr. Leitner said, the only policy for Great Britain is, in the words of the Secretary of State or Viceroy, ‘to maintain and strengthen all the indigenous Governments.’ This policy he would extend to the triangle which has Peshawar for its base, and thereby interpose a series of almost impregnable mountainous countries, which would be sufficiently defended by the independence of their inhabitants. If Circassia could oppose Russia for thirty years, even although Russia had the command of the Black Sea, how much more effective would be the resistance of the innumerable Circassians which Providence had placed between ourselves and the Russian frontier in Asia? We ought to have made these tribes look upon us as a distant but powerful friend, ready to help them in an emergency; but now, by attacking two of them, we caused Russia to be looked upon as the coming Saviour; indeed, the people of Wakhan, on the Pamir side of Hunza, were already doing so, whilst Shignan and Koshan, which had been almost depopulated by our friends, the Afghans, had already begun to emigrate into Russian territory. Here Dr. Leitner added that the Russian claims through Bokhara were as illusory as those of Kashmir, and historically even less founded than those of China. Indeed, no one had a right to these countries except the indigenous peoples and chiefs who inhabited them; and in this scramble for the regions round the Pamir, great Britain was simply breaking down her natural defences by stamping out the independence of native tribes and making military roads; for it was the absence of those roads on the British side that rendered it impossible to an invader to do England any real harm or to advance on India proper.

Asked why the trouble had broken out at the present time, Dr. Leitner said, that he had been kept without information of the immediate cause, but he felt certain that it was owing to the attempt to construct a military road to Hunza, whereby England would only facilitate the advent of a possible invader from that direction, besides making Hunza throw in its lot with that invader. It was perfectly untrue, as alleged in some of the Indian papers, that the Nagyris were kidnappers, and that our attack would be an advantage to the cause of anti-slavery. The fact was just the other way. Kidnapping had been stopped in 1869 as far as Hunza was concerned.

The Nagyris never raided at all; Chitrál also gave up selling its Káfir or Shiah subjects into slavery when the markets of Badakshan were closed; but now that confusion had caused the English and Russian advance, Hunza had again taken to raiding, and Chitrál to selling slaves. As for Nagyr, the case was quite different; they were an

excellent people and very quiet, so much so that Colonel Biddulph, the Resident, described them as "noted for timidity and incapacity for war," whereas in his "Tribes of the Hindu Kush" he also states that the people of Hunza are not warlike in the sense in which the Afghans are said to be so. No doubt the Nagyris dislike war, but would fight bravely if driven to do so. Colonel Biddulph adds: "They are settled agricultural communities, proud of the independence they have always maintained for fourteen centuries, hemmed in by lofty mountains, and living under rulers who boast of long, unbroken descent from princes of native blood." He also bears testimony to the fact that "the Nagyr people were never concerned in these raids, and slavery does not exist among them." At the same time Dr. Leitner fully admitted that the Hunza people were not a model race, since they used to be desperate raiders and kidnappers, and very immoral and impious. The father of the present king used to dance in a state of drunkenness in the mosque; but, on the other hand, we were not bound to be the reformers of Hunza by pulling down one of the bulwarks to our Indian Empire. Hunza was a picturesque country in every sense; it was nominally governed by fairies: ecstatic women were the prophetesses of the tribe, recounted its past glories, and told what was going on in the neighbouring valleys, so they were its historians and journalists as well as its prophetesses. No war was undertaken unless the fairies gave their consent, and the chief fairy, Yudeni, who protects the "Tham" (a Chinese title), has no doubt already struck the sacred drum in order to call the men of the country to defend the "Heaven-born," as their chief is called. The two "Thams" of Hunza and Nagyr, who have a common ancestry, are also credited with the power of causing rain, and there would certainly appear to be some foundation for this remarkable fact.

The two tribes are great polo players; archery on horseback is common amongst them; and they are very fair ibex hunters.

The people of Nagyr are as pious and gentle as those of Hunza are the contrary. Their language went back to simple sounds as indicative of a series of human relations or experiences, and clearly showed that the customs and associations of a race were at the basis of so-called rules of grammar. Nothing more wonderful than their language could be conceived; it went to the root of human thought as expressed in language, but the language had already suffered by foreign influences between 1866, when one son of the Rajah of Nagyr taught him, and 1886, when another son of the Rajah continued his lessons.

As regards religion, the Hunzas are Mulais, a mysterious and heretical sect, akin to the Druses of the Lebanon, practising curious rites, and practically infidels. He had obtained a few pages of their secret Bible, the Kelam-i-pir, which throws much light on the doctrines of the so-called "assassins" during the Crusades. The Nagyris are pious Muhammadans of the Shiah denomination.

Dr. Leitner then showed the map accompanying his linguistic work on Dardistan. After comparing it with the most recent Russian and British maps, that of Dr. Leitner gives the fullest and clearest information, not only as regards Hunza-Nagyr, where all the places where fighting has occurred are marked, but also as regards the various Pamirs, thus anticipating in 1866 on linguistic grounds and native itineraries the different Pamirs that have recently been settled geographically. It shows that the ethnographical frontier of the Pamirs to the north are the Turki-speaking nomads of the trans-Altai range (now Russian); to the west the Persian, or Tajiks (now Afghan); to the south the Aryan Hindu Kush [British]; and to the east the wall of the Serikol Mountains, dividing or admitting Chinese, Tibetan, or Mongolian influence. The indeterminate river courses through the Pamir, or a line stretched across its plateaux, valleys, and mountains, are obviously an unmaintainable demarcation, which is liable to be transgressed by shepherds under whatever rule; but the whole of the Pamirs together, as a huge and happy hunting-ground, are, no doubt, if neutralized by the three Powers concerned, the best possible frontier, as "no man's land," and a perfect neutral zone. "What matter," continued Dr. Leitner, "if the passes are easy of access on the Russian side, it is on the descent, and on the ascent on our side that almost insuperable difficulties begin. Where we are now fighting in Hunza-Nagyr only the low state of the river which divides Hunza from Nagyr enables us to make a simultaneous advance on both. Otherwise we should have to let ourselves man by man down from one ledge of rock to another, and if we miss our footing be whirled away in the most terrible torrent the imagination can conceive. Why, then, destroy such a great defence in our favour if Hunza is kept friendly, as it so easily can be, especially with the pressure exercised on it by the Nagyris, whose forts frown on those of Hunza all down the river that separates their countries? I cannot conceive anything more wanton or suicidal than the present advance, even if we should succeed in removing one of the most important landmarks in the history of the human race by shooting down the handful of Nagyris and Hunzas that oppose us. They preserve the pre-historic remnants of legends and customs that explain much that is still obscure in the life and history of European races. A few hundred pounds a year judiciously spent and the promise of the withdrawal of the Gilgit Agency, which was already once before attacked when under Colonel Biddulph, would be a far better way of securing peace than shooting down with Gatlings and Martini-Henry rifles people who defend their independence within their crags with bows, arrows, battleaxes, and a few muskets; and the promise of the withdrawal of the Gilgit Agency might be made con-

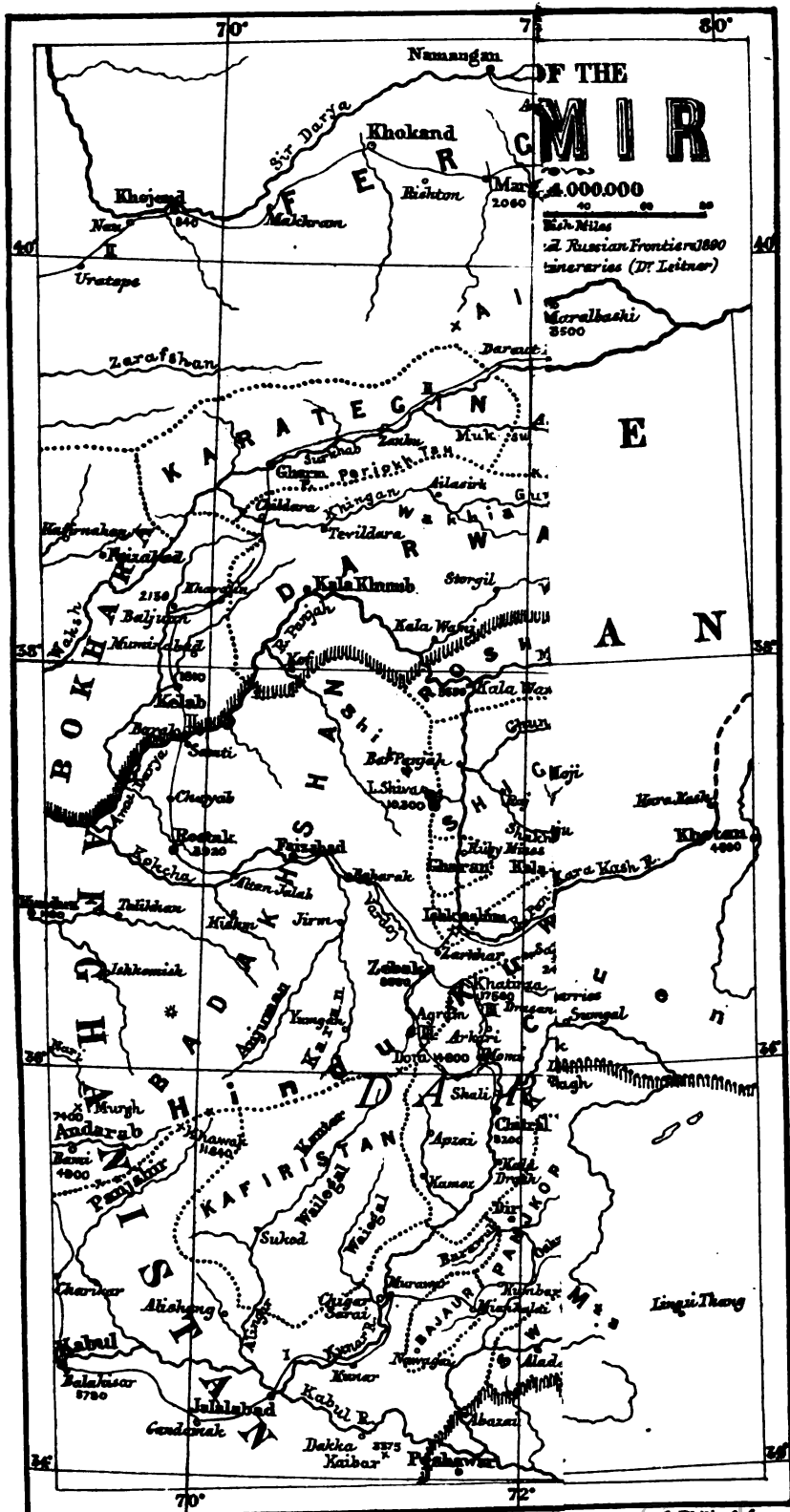
tingent upon the increase of the number of hostages belonging to the chiefs' families that are now annually sent to Kashmir as a guarantee of friendly relations.

The Hunzas and Nagyris are not to be despised as foes; they are very good marksmen. In 1886, when the Kashmir troops thought they had cleared the plain before the Gilgit Fort entirely of enemies, and not a person was to be seen outside it, the tribesmen would glide along the ground unperceived behind a stone pushed in front of them, and resting their old flint muskets on them shoot off the Maharajah's Sepoys whenever they showed themselves outside the fort. Indeed, it was this circumstance that induced Dr. Leitner to abandon the protection of the fort and make friends with the tribesmen outside. All the tribes desired was to be left alone in their mountain fastnesses. They had sometimes internecine feuds, but would unite against the common foe. It was merely emasculating their powers of resistance to subject them, either on the one side to Bokhara, which meant Russia, or to Afghanistan or Kashmir, which meant Great Britain, or to China, which meant dependence on a Power that might be utilized any day against Great Britain after the completion of the trans-Siberian railway. Diplomats, frontier delimitation commissions, and officers, both British and Russian, anxious for promotion, had, continued Dr. Leitner, created the present confusion; and it was now high time to rely rather on the physical obstacles that guaranteed the safety alike of the British, Russian, and Chinese frontiers than on the chapter of political accidents.

Dr. Leitner, who is going to give a lecture at the Westminster Town-hall to-morrow afternoon on "The Races, Religions, and Politics of the Pamir Regions," then showed our representative Col. Grambcheffsky's map, which put Hunza where Nagyr ought to be, and ignored the latter place altogether, just as did the last map of the Geographical Society in connection with Mr. Littledale's tour. Grambcheffsky's map, however, had since been corrected by evidently an English map, and it was strange that Russians had easier access to English maps than Englishmen themselves. In fact, all this secrecy, Dr. Leitner maintained, was injurious to the acquisition of full knowledge regarding imperfectly known regions. Attention was then directed to a number of maps, that of Mr. Drew, a Kashmir official, showing Hunza-Nagyr to be beyond Kashmir influence. This was practically confirmed by several official maps and the statements of Colonels Biddulph and Hayward, the latter of whom placed the Kashmir frontier towards Hunza at Nomal, whilst the British are now fighting sixteen and a half miles beyond in front of Mayun, where the first Hunza fort is. The Nagyr frontier Dr. Leitner places at Jaglot, which is nineteen miles from Nilt, where we are simultaneously fighting the first Nagyr fort.

Dr. Leitner, in conclusion, expressed his conviction, from his knowledge of the people concerned, that any one with a sympathetic mind could get them to do anything in reason; but that encroachments, whether overt or covert, would be resisted to the utmost. Indeed, England's restlessness had brought on the present trouble.

In 1866, he stated, the very name of Russia was unknown in these parts, and in 1886 was only known to a few. Yet the English Press in both these years spoke of Russian intrigues among the tribes. He did not fear them as long as the Indian Empire relied on its natural defences, its inner strength, and on justice to its chiefs and people, and as long as its policy with the tribes was guided by knowledge and good feeling.



DARWAZ AND KARATEGIN :

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

LOOKING southwards from the citadel of Kokan, over the dark green plains of Fergana, the snowy ranges of the Alai mountains are seen on the horizon, their tall white summits marked out like lace against the sapphire sky.

The country beyond Alai, limited eastward by the heights of the Pamir, is held between the two mighty arms of the Oxus, the Kyzyl-Su to the north, and the Pyanj to the south.* The territory, drained by these two great rivers, slopes westward from the lofty glaciers and icy peaks of the Pamirs, descending gradually to the plains and desert wastes of Bokhara. It is seamed by huge granite ridges, towering up into the eternal snows, from whose margins mountain-torrents descend through the slate and clay of the valleys, to swell the waters of the Pyanj and Kyzyl-Su. The Kyzyl-Su bears various names, alluding to its ruddy stream, being called also Surkh-ab, the Red River; and, on its lower waters, Vaksh, under which name it joins the Pyanj at Sarai-Katagon, in the Bekdom of Kurgan-Tyupet; thence the united streams flow west toward the Sea of Aral, under the names of Oxus, Amu Darya, or Jai-Khun. The Kyzyl-Su and Pyanj rivers are walled off from each other by the Darwaz Mountains, running almost due east and west, and dividing the waters northward to the Kyzyl-Su and southward to the Pyanj.

The Bekdom of DARWAZ stretches southwards from the Darwaz mountains, across the Pyanj, to the highlands of Badakhshan, with a breadth varying between forty and eighty miles. Eastward, Darwaz is bounded by Roshan-Shugnan; and westward, by the Bekdoms of Kulyab (Kōláb) and Baljuan, its greatest length being about 270 miles. Darwaz is divided into two wide valleys, the valley of the Pyanj to the south, and that of the Khing-ab—a

* Our "Kizil-Su" and "Panj." † Tépé.

tributary of the Kyzyl-Su—on the north. Some of the streams of Darwaz, the Khing-ab, the Sagrydasht, the Yazilon and the Kufau, bring down fine grains and flakes of gold, sought for amongst the broken conglomerate of the banks by the Darwazan mountaineers; the Khing-ab has also layers of sulphur, and the river Vanch, a tributary of the Pyanj, supplies rich deposits of iron ore.

Trees and vegetation generally are very scarce in all the mountain Bekdoms, including Darwaz; here and there a birch, sycamore, wild apple, pear, or silver poplar breaks the monotony of the wild scenery; and, in the villages of the mountaineers, apricots, plums, pears, and cherries are common enough, with, more rarely, a few carefully tended vines. Barbary-bushes, white thorn, and almonds are occasionally met with; but vegetation in general is so scarce that almost the only fuel is cow-dung. There is, however, a rich zone of grass along the rivers, especially on the banks of the Khing-ab in Darwaz, to which great herds of cattle are driven for the summer pasturage from Hissar, Baljuan, Kulyab, and Boisun. The summer pasturage lasts from the middle of May till the middle of September, when vast flocks of sheep gather along the Khing-ab, while herds of horned cattle and horses graze in the valley of Dasht-Bidon, below the junction of the Khing-ab and Kyzyl-Su.

The horses are large, big-boned, and broad-nosed, and are sought after by merchants from Bokhara and Samarkand, who buy them from the mountaineers for strips of calico and cotton, combs, mirrors, bracelets, and necklaces, the price of a good horse being from £2 to £4.

The merchants drive their herds by the old roads across the mountains, reaching Karategin and Baljuan by the Nurak bridge across the Surkh-ab (Kyzyl-Su), or descending to Bokhara through Hissar-Pirshad. At these two points a toll is levied upon the herds, at the rate of about sixpence for a horse, threepence a head for horned cattle, and a penny for a sheep; the sum realized every year being about £6,000.

The absence of trees, the severity of the winter, lasting from the middle of September till May, the temperature often reaching 35° C. of cold, especially during the season of storms, and the rugged, inhospitable mountains, all act together to produce a wild, hardy people, full of the rugged power of the nature around them. Their mountains give shelter to leopards, brown bears, wolves, foxes, wild sheep and goats, boars, and hares, whose skins are sent to Bokhara, Afghanistan, and India.

Birds are scarcer; a few jackdaws and rock pigeons nest among the mountains; and in the villages are sometimes found peacocks, brought from India.

KARATEGIN lies to the north of Darwaz, and occupies the narrow valley of the Kyzyl-Su, running along both sides of the river for about 230 miles. In climate and natural conditions, Karategin is much like Darwaz, though perhaps rather more fertile, especially along the river banks.

Darwaz and Karategin, both by their position behind the Alai and Altai mountains, and by their rugged, inhospitable climate and six-months snow-bound winter, have been shut off from the migrations and raids which spread again and again over Turkestan. The Arab, Mongol, Turk, and Uzbek tribes, who successively dominated Central Asia, have never found a footing in Darwaz and Karategin, where the aboriginal population remains almost intact. The history of these two Bekdoms is, briefly, as follows:—Almost the earliest notice of their existence we have, is the fact that for a brief period Darwaz was subject to the Bokharan Khan, Abdulla Khan, who reigned from 1538 to 1597 of our era; and to his son Kyrgiz-Khan, who named his residency in Darwaz Kaloi-Kumb, from a *Kumb*, or jar of granite, supposed to have been left by Alexander the Great. Darwaz, which did not fulfil Abdulla Khan's expectations of mineral wealth, soon succeeded in casting off the Bokharan yoke, and from that time was harassed by intrigues between opposing parties of indigenous Shahs, who alternately seized the citadel of Kolai-Kumb. The Darwaz Shahs at various

times managed to subjugate Karategin, Baljuan, Shugnan, and Roshan, in which similar intrigues were constantly carried on. This state of things went on till about twenty-five years ago, when Ismail Shah succeeded in not only subjugating Karategin and Shugnan, but even, for a time, Hissar and Kulyab. In trying to push his dominion still further to the west, Ismail Shah was taken prisoner by Sary Khan, the ruler of Kulyab, and Darwaz lost not only Karategin, but even its own provinces on the Khing-ab (Vahia and Kulyas). Then the Khan of Darwaz sought the protection of Bokhara, and became the vassal of the Bokharan Emir. Subsequently Hissar and Kulyab, in 1868, and Karategin, in 1869, came under the power of Bokhara, and were occupied by the Emir's troops in 1877. At present, Darwaz is governed by a Bek, who has his headquarters at Kolai-Kumb, and is supported by a battalion of Bokharan infantry (Sarbazis).

At the present time the Darwazans are making frequent raids into the territories of Pyanj, Khing-ab, Surkh-ab, and Shugnan, to supply the slave markets of Bokhara. With the power of Bokhara, a thin veneering of Mussulmanism was introduced into Darwaz and Karategin; and the Bokharans have made the wives of the mountaineers wear the *chashban*, or horse-hair veil. But in spite of these innovations, the life of the mountaineers remains almost exactly the same as it was a thousand years ago.

M. G. A. Arandarenko, a member of the Turkestan administration, who recently visited Darwaz and Karategin, has published a very interesting account * of the life and customs of the mountaineers of the two Bekdoms, from which I have extracted the following details. "The mountaineer," writes M. Arandarenko, "is the child of wild, fierce nature. His type, his character, and conception of life, reflect the influence of the physical characteristics of the country, with which he has to wage a perpetual war, and to which he is compelled to adapt himself. Driven

* St. Petersburg. 1889.

hither by unknown historical events, probably religious persecutions, the old aborigines of Central Asia have not lost even now the typical character of the old Persian tribes. The mountaineers must by no means be considered half-breed Tajiks, whose representatives, the inhabitants of Khodjent, Urgut, and other settlements in Turkestan, are sharply separated from the Karategin and, even more, the Darwaz mountaineers, not only in type, but also in the structure of their language, which has become so much differentiated among the mountains, that the inhabitants of Central Darwaz hardly understand the pure Persian speech of Karategin, comprehend with difficulty the Vanch mountaineers, and are quite unable to understand the speech of the neighbouring Shugnan.

“The type of the mountaineers of Darwaz and Karategin is very similar : dusky skin ; straight, thick, black, red, or brown hair ; eyes, black or light-brown ; features, regular and expressive, with an open, perpendicular, or low forehead, and straight nose ; generally above middle height, with powerful physique, well-developed chest, powerful muscles, and fine calves ; well-knit frames, often thin, but always strong. We also saw a number of women in Darwaz and Karategin, and many of them were very handsome.

“The character of the country, the Alpine climate, with its chilly summer and extremely cold winter, when the snow is often twenty feet deep, with its frequent rain-storms, have habituated the mountaineer to a confined laborious life, which, in turn, has attached him thoroughly to his native land ; and has endowed him with a patient, taciturn, though kindly character, a strong will, great endurance and courage, as well as the capacity of travelling from fifty to eighty miles a day across the mountains, carrying a leather sack of provisions on his back, or a package weighing a hundred pounds.

“This capacity for mountain travelling arose of course from the necessity of reaching the ledges and terraces of the mountains to sow their corn ; from the necessity of climbing for weeks among the ravines and precipices in pursuit of wild

sheep, mountain goats, and bears ; and from the necessity of travelling hundreds of miles during the winter to Kulyab, Hissar, Kokan, and even Bokhara, for winter work, from the proceeds of which—some £2 or £4—the mountaineer will buy cotton stuffs, kerchiefs for his wife, flour, and salt.

“ If you ask one of these mountaineers, wintering in Bokhara, why he does not bring his family there, as life is better, and money more easily gained, you receive this answer : ‘ We know that, in Bokhara and Samarkand, life is better, there is arable land, and rice, and sheep bigger than ours ; but still our sweet home (*shirin voton*) is dear to us ; and when we have to live in Bokhara we feel it wearisome, like a prison (*zindon*), and we are in a hurry to return.’

“ Everywhere in Darwaz and Karategin arable and irrigated land is held in full possession by the owner, while pasture belongs to the whole village in common.

“ The density of the population in both Darwaz and Karategin shows that civilized life has been long established here ; and agriculture has occupied every space that can be reached by a plough, up to the height of 9,000 feet ; still, the holdings in general are small. Land is very scarce in the south of Darwaz, on the Pyanj River. The produce here is so limited that it does not suffice for the wants of the inhabitants ; and the mountaineers, instead of wheat and barley flour, use a flour made from the mulberry, or from the root of the wild *tatarok*, resembling a turnip in taste ; while the Bokharan battalion quartered in Kolai-Kumb receive supplies of grain from Vahia or Karategin, where the tilled land is comparatively more extensive.

“ In both Karategin and Darwaz, agriculture is possible only during the summer months ; ploughing and sowing take place in May, and the harvest is reaped in September.

“ In Karategin there are about 500 villages, with 10,000 houses, and about 60,000 inhabitants ; in Darwaz, 350 villages, with 6,000 houses, and 40,000 inhabitants.

“ The chase, carried on in the mountains under great

physical difficulties and dangers from the deep snow and the inaccessible rocks, is nevertheless the mountaineer's favourite occupation. Among them it is either carried on in bands (*khalk-shikar*), or by single hunters (*duzy-shikar*)."

The former method of hunting is only practicable in the mountains near the villages, on the appearance of a large herd of wild sheep and goats. In this case, in order to bring home as many as possible, all the young and old men of a village gather together, then divide themselves into parties, and, under the direction of leaders experienced in the chase, surround a large district with their dogs, trying to turn the quarry in the direction of the ambushade, whose duty it is to shoot the advancing game with matchlocks, at a distance of from forty to eighty paces. If this results in the slaughter of five or six head of game a day, a feast is celebrated by all the villagers, and the feat forms a topic of conversation for months to come. This form of the chase is not so difficult, as it generally lasts only a single day, beginning before sunrise. Much more dangerous and difficult are the expeditions of hunters who start off alone amongst the mountains, carrying on their backs a leather sack of bread, with a few cakes of mulberry flour and a supply of sulphur matches; regardless of the weather and the season, these hunters pierce the mountains for hundreds of miles, following the tracks of bears, leopards, or sheep, which they never miss, firing only at close quarters. In case of speedy success, the hunter drags his game home; but if he only succeeds in shooting a few sheep or goats after several days' pursuit, he buries them, and goes home for help to bring them back.

In case of failure, the mountaineer advances among the mountains, crossing deep snows, and sleeping in burrows or under rocks, for a week or more, as long as his provisions last. A serious danger menaces the hunter, if he comes unexpectedly on a bear while his matchlock is unprimed; or if he misses a leopard, which will attack him without warning, often with a fatal result. Fox-hunting is univer-

sal in Karategin through the autumn and winter ; the mountaineers chase the foxes with dogs, carefully trained not to injure the skins, which sell for about 2s. each. Martens are caught in traps, their skins being worth about 6s. each ; while a leopard skin costs about 4s., and a bear skin, 10s.

Probably about 3,000 foxes, 1,000 martens, 100 bears, 40 leopards, and 1,000 wild sheep and goats are killed in Darwaz and Karategin every year. The pursuit of mountain partridges and of ducks, with falcons, on the banks of the rivers is also common, especially in Karategin and Kulyas on the Khing-ab. Conies, that live together in considerable numbers in burrows at the edge of the snows, also supply a large number of skins for furs and carpets.

The villages of Darwaz and Karategin are situated either on the banks of the great rivers and their tributaries, or in the mountains, almost at the summit of the eternal snows, always on such a declivity that the danger from landslips and avalanches is minimized. The villages are not large, generally containing from ten to a hundred houses ; but the number of the inhabitants of each house is considerable, because amongst the mountaineers the married sons do not leave their father's household, but live together in undivided families. The type of the mountain villages is somewhat different from those in the valleys, having almost the appearance of a single widely-extended dwelling, as the houses of the different families are joined together for better protection against the cold.

" The domestic utensils of a Darwaz or Karategin mountaineer consist of an indispensable iron kettle ; an iron *kungon* for boiling water ; several different sized clay pots for water, or sour milk, and for cooking ; two or three rough clay cups ; bags, culinary and medicinal herbs ; a moderate supply of home-made soap ; a piece of half-tanned leather, used as a baking board ; and a leather sack for provisions—the inseparable companion of the mountaineer in any prolonged absence from home. In the mountaineer's hut you may also find a matchlock, a sword, some thin boards for

crossing crevasses, annular snow-shoes of willow, high wooden pattens for winter, a small, old-fashioned loom, placed in the corner of the room, over a hollow for the weaver's seat, and a supply of five or six pine torches.

"The mountaineer generally marries at about the age of sixteen, and gives his daughters in marriage at about the age of twelve, which is rather early, considering the severity of the climate, as the women grow up more slowly than in warmer regions; but they also grow old more slowly, in spite of the hard circumstances of their lives. Either the parents betroth their daughters in infancy—a custom which gives rise to much litigation in case the girl refuses to accept the chosen bridegroom; or the betrothal takes place when the girl comes of age, without the intervention of the parents.

"Divorce takes place very rarely amongst the mountaineers, and only in case the woman is ill-natured, a bad worker, and unable to live in peace with her husband's other wives.

"The mountaineers of Darwaz and Karategin are Muslims of the Sunni sect, but they are not very devoted to their religion, and their mosques are often neglected.

"Like all aboriginal, unsophisticated peoples, the character of the mountaineers is marked by a kind-hearted consideration for orphans, quarrelsomeness, obstinate blood-feuds, respect for elders, for the property of others, straightforwardness, faithful adherence to promises, courage in danger, unbounded contempt for cowards, patience, stoical endurance of every privation in the struggle with nature and the course of events, a willing hospitality, and a general readiness to divide even the last crust with any chance guest.

"The mental qualities of the mountaineer find expression in keen powers of observation, a retentive memory, which the Darwaz and Karategin mountaineers manifest especially in knowledge of their genealogies and legends, and in the study of Eastern sciences in the *medreses* of Samarkand and Bokhara, where the sons of the mountaineers always learn the Scriptures, laws, and philosophies of the East more rapidly and better than the natives of the lowlands.

“ The conceptions of life held by the mountaineers, coloured by their complete isolation and absence of a correct understanding of the laws of nature, are full of superstition and the fear of evil spirits.

“ In Darwaz they know neither the Muhammadan era nor the names of the months, nor the names of the divisions of the world. They consider the sun as the source of life and light ; the moon, as the home of the dead ; and the pole-star, as the indicator of the way. They consider lightning and thunder as the attempts of the devil to ascend to heaven, when the angels pelt him with fiery stones. Spring and summer are sent by God from Paradise, and autumn and winter from hell ; and they believe that the frequent earthquakes that threaten their villages are caused by the souls of sinners writhing in Purgatory.

“ The imagination of the mountaineers finds an outlet in songs, stories, fables, and proverbs ; in sentimental poems on the joys of flowers, the songs of the love-lorn nightingale, and the family happiness of affectionate doves.”

A word in conclusion. These Bekdoms of Darwaz and Karategin are, as we have seen, tributaries of Bokhara ; and it can hardly be doubted, as Bokhara comes more and more under the power of the Tsar, that Darwaz and Karategin will ultimately be absorbed into the Russian Empire. For this reason I have marked them as potentially, if not actually, within the boundary of the Russian protected area in the accompanying map,* in which, for the sake of completeness, I have also included the Sares, Alichur, Tagdumbash, Khurd, Kalyán, Rangkul, and Khargosh Pamirs, which Russia will probably claim as former vassals of Kokan.

It is startling to note how close the Russian and English boundaries will be,—in one place separated by only thirty-five miles,—should these probabilities become actualities.

CHARLES JOHNSTON,
Bengal Civil Service.

* This map has reached us too late for publication.

THE AGRICULTURE OF THE ARYAN TRIBES IN THE SUB-PAMIRIAN REGION.

IN drawing up an ethnographical map of the Sub-Pamirian region, it becomes clear that the ethnical grouping of races of various anthropological origin has followed a rule determined by the topographical configuration of the country. In fact, the peoples of Aryan origin are shown to hold the high valleys which give access, directly or indirectly, to the Pamirs, whereas the tribes of Turco-Mongol origin hold the plain, and the very high valleys of the Pamirs themselves. The Aryan tribes are all sedentary, and cultivate the soil; whereas the others are mostly nomads and shepherds in search of pasturages to feed their flocks, in other words, their movable goods. I do not know a single nomad tribe of Aryan origin in Central Asia, except the Tzigans, or Loullis (Mazangués). It is also evident that the Aryan or Iranian tribes of the high valleys have preserved, comparatively speaking, the purity of their racial characteristics, their customs, religious beliefs, and social tendencies. From this standpoint they have an interest of the highest order for the anthropologist or ethnographer. It is among the tribes that inhabit the southern buttresses of the Hindu-kush and the adjacent secondary chains,—tribes of which some may be included in the denomination of DARDS, that Messrs. Leitner, Biddulph, etc., have made their interesting studies on comparative linguistics and ethnography. Though, in the plain, a fertile soil under the vivifying action of abundant water, gives extraordinarily great yields, the wealthy man is not the agriculturist but the nomad, the proprietor of flocks. When the Kirghiz becomes poor—as for instance has been seen in the steppes of the Lower Syr Daria and of Kazolinsk—he reluctantly takes to agriculture. The Turcoman *Barantas* of the Tekkés of Akhal and Merv were undertaken for the most part, and with the

greatest ardour, by the sedentary agricultural class, which were less rich than the nomads, and were more forced to enrich themselves by the sale of kidnapped Persians. The agriculture, which might be called "Aryan," of the Sub-Pamirian regions is, mostly, little remunerative. It demands constant effort and considerable labour. The climatic conditions in which it exerts itself, and the land it employs, are not very favourable to the normal development of the cultured produce which man entrusts to them. The highest altitude at which I have found the soil sown with cereals does not exceed 10,500 feet. Elsewhere, as in Tibet, man cultivates the soil at still higher altitudes, but he also finds there more propitious conditions. Nearly all the valleys of the Sub-Pamirian region are very narrow, and are fed by torrent-like and intermittent streams or rivers. Such are, for instance, the Panj, the Yarkhanna, the Kunar, the Yasin, the Bartang, the Zarafshan, the Yagnau, etc.

Almost all these narrow valleys have received, during the quaternary geological period, deposits of conglomerate or of ancient alluvia, in which the actual river has cut itself a, generally, very deep bed. The results are unilateral or bilateral terraces of feeble width, on which, thanks to a more rapid process of exhaustion and of kaolinization, to a lightening of the deeper soil, cultivated lands may be established. As their greater part does not depend on the possibility of irrigating them by means of canals derived from a water-course, but are fed by rainfall, the difference of level with the river does not enter into consideration, contrary to what takes place in the plain, without estival rains. These cultivated lands, called "bagarra," are seen, *inter alios*, among the Yagnaons of the Kohistan, and among the Wakhis of the high valley. Elsewhere, *e.g.* among the Chitrális and the Yakhunis, cultivation is almost everywhere established on the cones of deflection of streams, rivulets, and torrents, the lateral affluents of the principal artery. These more recent alluvia form Deltas ever-growing in surface by new additions, and their fertility is easily

stimulated by the artificial irrigation accorded by the very stream which has deposited them. The greater part of the villages of Chitrál are thus installed on a fertile Delta.

As the disposal of the soil permits the formation of slightly raised terraces, the abundance of water joined to climatic conditions renders possible even the troublesome cultivation of rice. Rice fields are frequent at Drassoune Mastoudi, and in the neighbourhood of Chitrál. When there is a want of the natural soil, lightened alluvia, cones of defection, one can occasionally see the sedentary Aryan entirely create his cultivated field by his bodily bringing to it the earth to which he wishes to confide the seed. This is how the Siah-Posh Kafirs often proceed, one of the most ancient Aryan tribes of the Hindukush, as also the so-called Tájiks of the mountains. The tillage of the soil is very trying at these altitudes; the primitive plough, a simple piece of bent wood, whether armed with a plough-share or not, is employed concurrently with the spade; but neither the ploughing nor the digging is deep.

The cereals cultivated almost exclusively by the tribes of the high valleys are: wheat, barley, and beans; further, flax and common kitchen-produce, like carrots, turnips, and even melons, wherever the climate permits it. It is curious to see the bean (*Faba vulgaris*, L.) reappear among the mountaineers. They call it "bockala,"* on the two slopes of the Pamir, whilst it is not found cultivated in the plain. This plant, indeed, is very hardy, and replaces the other less resisting legumina, just as buckwheat often replaces elsewhere the ordinary more exacting cereals. The greater part of our fruit-trees grow in the valleys up to variable altitudes. In the protected and warm valleys up to 2,500 feet, the apricot tree in abundance furnishes a precious nourishment. The fruit is dried for winter consumption. The pomegranate and the fig-tree are already found in the fields of Drassoune, above Chitrál.

Cattle-breeding is an indispensable compensation for the

* The "bakla" of Turkey.—Ed.

meagre produce of the land in the high valleys. The sheep, the goat, the ox, the yák, are met especially on the extreme limit of the cultivated lands, thus profiting by the pasturages situated above (*en amont*). The produce of the flocks and cattle aid the native to live and to clothe himself. In short, the love of the soil, this passion of the agriculturist, is developed to an extraordinary degree in the poor Aryan mountaineer of the Sub-Pamirian region. When one sees him hold obstinately to his little patch of land, of which he has at last succeeded in making a cultivated field ; when, sometimes at considerable distances from his village, one finds him toiling with an ardour that no obstacle can rebut, then one can understand the profound and characteristic difference of racial propensity between the Aryan and the Turko-Mongolian in Central Asia.

GUILLAUME CAPUS.

MILITARY OBJECTIONS TO THE HUNTERIAN SPELLING OF "INDIAN" WORDS.

THE present time seems to be opportune for a few remarks on a subject which has not yet received much attention in Great Britain, but which is of far greater importance than many that have from time to time occupied the public attention.

The pronunciation of "Indian" words has always been a difficulty with people who have not studied Oriental languages; indeed, there are not a few who have lived long in the East, and who can read and write more than one Eastern language well, but who are utterly unable to pronounce many of the most common words correctly. And who is there that has not heard, from some one reading aloud from a newspaper or a book, the exclamation, uttered partly in anger and partly in shame: "Oh, here is one of those horrid Indian names, how *do* you pronounce it?" Surely that is not as it should be.

Up to within the last ten or twelve years, there was never any officially recognised system for the transliteration of Hindoostanee, that is to say, of the generally accepted colloquial language of British India, which in that country is known as "Oordoo;" but during the time that Dr. W. W. Hunter was a member of the Vice-regal Council, the subject was so persistently and so urgently pressed by him on the notice of the Government of India, that at last definite orders were issued regarding the manner in which the names of people and places should be spelt in official correspondence. These orders are believed to have been based upon rules drawn up by Dr. Hunter. Obviously some rules were desirable, if not actually necessary, in order to obtain uniformity in the spelling of names; and it was with that object that the rules were framed—and, theoretically, they

were good ; but inasmuch as they gave no clue,—either to the trained official in India, who was not always an Oriental scholar, or to the outside world, which was totally ignorant of the language,—of the way in which those names should be pronounced, they were practically bad.

Formerly, although there were no hard-and-fast official rules on the subject, yet there were two recognised systems which were well understood ; one being that which was taught in Cheltenham College and at the East India Company's military College at Addiscombe, in which the words were to a great extent, though not entirely, phonetically spelt ; and the other being the so-called scientific system, which to a great extent, but not universally, was used by Civilians, but was never used by military men ; and it is on the latter that the rules for the present system were based, which has been on trial for some ten or twelve years now, and which appears to have failed in giving satisfaction to many.

The former system, which is often termed the "common-sense" system, was purposely adopted because of the difficulty in giving the full value to the different vowels, and the great confusion and danger that would arise in military operations, owing to a name being wrongly spelt or wrongly pronounced ; moreover, it was recognised that, the majority of readers in England not being Oriental scholars, it was desirable that all words should be so spelt as to present some difficulty in pronouncing them wrongly.

A careful analysis of the Oordoo (Urdū) alphabet here would be out of place ; but a few remarks regarding the vowels are necessary, because it is almost entirely in connection with them that the difficulties arose. The problem was, How should the different forms of the vowels—namely, the long, the short, and the mixed—be so written in the English characters as to enable the unlearned reader to pronounce them as nearly correctly as possible? and it was solved, in what appeared to be a satisfactory manner, as follows :—

The long "a" is pronounced in the vernacular like the "a" in the English word "ball," therefore it was ordered to be so written; the short "a" having quite a different sound, which is more like the "u" in "but," it was (almost) invariably so written. The long "e," being pronounced as in the English word "feel," is the equivalent of the Italian vowel "i," and was invariably written "ee"; the short "i," being pronounced as in "fill," was so written. In like manner the long "u," which in the vernacular is formed from the "o" by the addition of a particular accent, is pronounced as "oo" in "fool," and the short "u" as in "full," and consequently they were always so written. The mixed vowel "ai," which is formed from "e" by the addition of an accent, is pronounced like our "i" in "bite;" but, in order to avoid confusion, it was either written as "ai" or as "y;" and the mixed form of "o," being pronounced like "ow" in "cow," was either so written or was expressed by "au." The two forms "ai" and "au" are admittedly weak points to an English reader, on account of the way in which the common words "fail" and "cause" are pronounced.

In the present system, the long and short vowels are all written exactly alike, and only very occasionally does a particularly careful writer trouble himself to insert the accents over them, which alone can distinguish one from another; it appears to be taken for granted that everybody knows in some mysterious manner where to place them himself, consequently the greatest difficulty is experienced in reading anything which is connected with India; and the most absurd and serious mistakes are made constantly by all kinds of people, from the greatest orator in Parliament down to the youngest boy at school. In fact, under this system the object would appear to be to write the Indian words in such a manner as to render it highly improbable, if not impossible, that the ordinary reader or speaker shall pronounce them correctly; and had it been consistently enforced in its entirety, the names of many places would have been altered beyond recognition, such for instance as Cal-

cutta, Bombay, Lucknow, Meerut, and very many others. It was therefore considered absolutely necessary to make numerous exceptions in the names of places, and for this we have to thank the energetic protests that were raised by the military authorities ; but in the names of people and all other words no exceptions were allowed, consequently the old familiar Baboos, Pundits, and Moonshees now appear to the astonished Britisher as Babus, Pandits and Munshis, and so on.

It is impossible not to admire the originality and boldness of the man who first started this so-called "correct" method of writing Hindoostanee words ; but at the same time it is equally impossible not to perceive the deplorable want of tact, and the indifference to the feelings and wants of others, of those who, by forcing such a system on India, attempted to lay down laws for the world.

It may be, and has been urged, that this is a matter of very trifling importance, inasmuch as it is well known that there are few Englishmen who know, and can tell you off-hand the correct pronunciation of the places Athy, Cavan, Omagh, and Youghal in Ireland ; or Aroch, Muthven and Kirkcudbright in Scotland ; or who are agreed as to the correct way of pronouncing Bath ; not to speak of the almost impossible Welsh names ; but it is scarcely logical to put forward one form of ignorance as an excuse for another.

There is no intention in this paper of touching on the peculiarities of our own language ; they are so numerous and so outrageous, that the wonder is, that any foreigner can ever master them ; nor have we any concern here with the exceptional manner of pronouncing Latin words, which is the rule in England only—not in Scotland or Ireland.

The only question which it is here desired to submit for public opinion is, whether it is desirable that the names of people and of places in India should be spelt as nearly as possible phonetically, according to rules which can be easily fixed hereafter, or whether the system now in force in that country should be allowed to continue to perplex and mystify all

who wish to read and to learn about that most important portion of the Empire ?

In reality, the organization of "Oordoo" in all its details, renders the pronunciation of that language of easy acquisition, by theory, to educated people ; to some people, especially to Italians, it comes very easily, both in theory and in practice ; but, strange to say, to the average Englishman it presents many great difficulties. We know how difficult it is for him to understand how to pronounce the long vowel "a" even when it is marked with a broad accent. The English orthography is so barbarous, each vowel varying its sound so arbitrarily, that it is almost impossible for an Englishman to form an adequate idea of the real value of a vowel in Oordoo ; therefore, to prevent him from being misled by the erratic notion of letters that he has obtained from his mother tongue, it was found necessary, in former days, to write phonetically, and in that way a tolerably correct pronunciation was arrived at. So much for the vowels.

Fortunately the consonants present few difficulties to a man who knows English thoroughly ; but to this, there are some very important exceptions, in the "dentals" and in the mixed letters chiefly : for instance, there are many men who find it impossible to approximate to a correct pronunciation of the double letters "kh" and "gh," or of that peculiar form of "k" which, in the Bombay Presidency, was formerly expressed as "q" "Q," that being the only English letter that sounds at all like it.

The orthography of the English language having little or nothing to do with its pronunciation, it is easy to understand that many men pronounce many common English words differently. How can you then expect them to agree in the pronunciation of foreign words, even when spelt phonetically, without any complications of accents ? In Oordoo everything depends on the value given to the vowels ; but in the so-called scientific system, the accents, which should, and which alone can, denote that value, are almost invariably omitted ; therefore it is impossible for any ordinary reader

to tell how words so written should be pronounced. It is not necessary that every one in India, or in England either, should be an Oriental scholar; but it is undoubtedly necessary that every one should know how to pronounce correctly what he reads. Many cavillers will object to all this, on the plea that there is nothing new in it, and that they have heard it all before; quite true, but it is not for such that these lines are written, but rather for the millions of English-speaking people throughout the world who do not care to pose as scholars, but who wish to read and speak intellectually and intelligibly.

A few examples, illustrative of the apparent necessity for a change back to the old lines, may be useful here. One day, some few years after the new system had been in force, a certain learned member of the Council of the Government of India was travelling along a well-known road in the Himalayas. Arrived at one halting-place, he consulted his route book and found that his next day's march would take him to a place called "Kukkerhuttee"—so it was written, and so it was pronounced; but he was a learned man and a great scholar, so he called together the men who were hired to carry his baggage, and informed them in the most pompous manner that on the following day they would proceed to "Kooker-hootee," that being, in his opinion, the correct pronunciation of the word. The poor ignorant coolies were so tickled at such an unexpected and unprecedented display of ignorance, that they forgot for the moment their Oriental manners, and roared with laughter. The writer was present on that occasion. The great man is the author of many works dealing with India.

On another occasion the heads of three Government Departments were engaged in the official discussion of a momentous question connected with an important frontier railway station called "Rook"—so it was pronounced, and so it used formerly to be written. We will call these officials A, B, and C. None of them had ever been to the place in question. On receiving the file of correspondence from "A,"

in which the word appeared as "Ruk," "B" expressed the utmost indignation at the ignorance—as he termed it—of his colleague; and in his written opinion on the subject, he spelt the word "Rak," and dilated to some extent on the great danger attendant on carelessness in spelling the names of important places. When the papers reached "C," he was fairly puzzled; but he was wise enough to take counsel with a subordinate who knew the place, and so the matter ended happily by the adoption of the spelling "Rūk," which is scientifically correct. The original omission of the accent had caused the difficulty, which might possibly have led to serious results; and that same accent is now invariably omitted. If the word had been written phonetically, no mistake could have possibly occurred, and the name would to-day be correctly pronounced by everybody.

A third example is still before us in the correspondence on the Manipur disaster; and the two names which catch the eye more often than any others are "Manipur" and "Senaputty." The correct way of pronouncing the first name is like the two English words "Money poor," but how many of the millions who read the daily papers know that? The old way of spelling it was "Munneepoor"; but of late years that has been changed to the more scientific "Manipur"—*Cui bono?* Strange to say, the second word has been all along, either accidentally or designedly, spelt phonetically, the consequence of which is, that it has been correctly pronounced by everybody. The one notable exception to this rule has been Sir Richard Temple, who, in his able article in the *Contemporary Review*, spells the word "Senapati"; but it is fortunate for the general reading public that his scientific method of rendering the word was not adopted by any other contributor to the discussion.

Progress is good so long as it is made in the right direction; but when it is found that the direction is wrong, and that further progress only leads to still deeper water, then retrogression becomes expedient, in order that a fresh start may be made along a safer and less intricate course.

The great mass of educated English-speaking people throughout the world do not like to be made ridiculous by having to confess an inability to pronounce words that are written for them ; and surely their tastes and feelings should have been consulted by the pedagogues who framed the rules which have occasioned so much annoyance.

A careful consideration of the arguments on each side of the question may possibly lead to a recognition of the fact, that if a word is so written that it cannot be mispronounced by any ordinary reader, the chances are that it will also be correctly pronounced by every one else ; in which case it is to be hoped that the present rules may be revised.

The old difficulty about the long "a" will remain in Oordoo, as it does still in English ; but the pronunciation of the other vowels will be much facilitated.

For some years past it has been considered by some people that it is an unmistakable sign of superiority in Oriental scholarship to be able to write Hindoostanee words in such a way as to render intelligent and intelligible reading almost impossible to their less gifted brethren ; but there does not appear to be any good reason why those ideas should not now be exploded, and the intellectual standard of the few be reduced to a level which will be easily attainable by the masses. There need be no fear that a graceful relinquishment of the high stand taken by the scholars will make them appear in the eyes of the world to be less scholarly than they formerly were ; on the other hand, it is probable that a timely acknowledgment of the hopelessness of their self-imposed task, which apparently aimed at the sudden and forcible raising of the national linguistic standard without the necessary previous education, and a resolution to abandon some of their dignity, with the object of assisting their fellow-creatures, will earn for them the gratitude of many whose wish or whose duty it is to know all about India, but for whom a complete knowledge of the language is unnecessary if not impossible.

M. J. KING-HARMAN,
Colonel, Indian Army.

THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT IN PERSIA.

ON leaving Ispahan, I secured as my companion a pensioned non-commissioned officer of the Royal Engineers who had just retired from the Telegraph Department after a residence of about twenty-five years in Persia. I naturally thought that after such a long residence I should find in him a fund of information about the country; but he turned out to be utterly ignorant of anything beyond the limited sphere in which his official duties had run, while, as to the country lying a few miles off the line of telegraph, it was as unknown to him as any part of unexplored Africa. I do not say that this was his fault, for he appeared to be a fairly good specimen of his class, and had evidently taken some pains to learn the language of the country; it was rather that of the system to which he was subjected.

It is astonishing to think that all the attention of the subordinates of the Department should have been restricted by the British authorities in such a country as Persia to the mechanical discharge of their official duties; for, as my companion informed me, when I taxed him with not acquainting himself with the country in which he had spent so many years, "The orders of my Director are, that no subordinate may go off the direct line of telegraph without obtaining leave and paying for all the expenses of his transport." In consequence of this insane red-tapeism, even the immediate vicinity of a place in which he had lived by himself for seventeen years, without a European neighbour within seventy miles, was unknown to him.

He also complained of the effect of such an order in limiting the few recreations possible in the way of shooting and fishing excursions, by which the dreary monotony of the life of the subordinates, in many of these out-of-the-way places, might have been varied. I believe, however, that the Telegraph Department is not entirely responsible for this culp-

able neglect of an important means of exercising an honourable influence in the country; for even if its Directing Officers were willing to encourage its employes to give an intelligent attention to the circumstances of the country and population amidst which many of them are destined to spend their lives, such a policy would probably only provoke disagreeable criticisms on the part of the Legation, who resent any infringement of what they consider their special province, namely, local information of every description. Yet in this they seem, as a general rule, woefully deficient; it is notorious that the British Legation at Teheran is the last place to which a traveller should apply for any information regarding Persia. This state of affairs recalls the absurd position formerly taken up by some of our frontier officials, when, on crossing the western frontier on duty or pleasure, one found oneself watched, ordered to travel by a particular route, and forbidden to go to this or that place. The vague and alarmingly suggestive plea used was, "fear of political complications;" the truth being, that the political authorities were jealous to the last degree of any intruders upon their especial preserve—a more extended acquaintance with which would lessen, as they feared, their importance in the eyes of Government.

Whatever the cause of such a short-sighted policy, the fact is, that for the last quarter of a century we have had, scattered over the line of the telegraph, numerous Englishmen, many of them, particularly the civil members of the Department, of a very high class of intelligence, each one of whom, if properly utilized, might have become a mine of information on all local subjects, and a source of considerable influence among the surrounding population; and that we have more than simply neglected, one might say, determinedly declined, to turn to any practical use this valuable material. I should qualify these sweeping remarks with the observation, that at last we seem to have recognised the error of our ways, and have apparently endeavoured to atone for past neglect by taking one, at any rate very marked, step in

recognition of the value of the services of which the Telegraph Department is capable, by appointing, as Consul at Ispahan, a senior officer of the Department.

This is indeed a good move, and one which has revived the drooping spirits of those of the employés who are of a more studious and enterprising disposition, and have devoted their leisure time—of which those stationed along the line have no lack, their duties taking up only a few hours in the day—to making themselves acquainted with the languages, and manners, and various subjects of interest of the people among whom they are living. Let us hope that this step may be followed by that of appointing men of this stamp, on their retirement from the Telegraph Department, as Vice-Consuls in various parts of Persia. Where could any body of men be found more suited for such a position than they who have spent many years of their lives in almost complete isolation from their fellow-countrymen, but in constant and,—as far as is possible between Europeans and Asiatics,—almost intimate intercourse with the people of the country; the more so as thereby they have become unfitted for life in England, and would prefer, in many cases, to remain, if only a slight inducement were forthcoming, in the land of their adoption.

The great misfortune of the Telegraph Department in Persia is, that, though its duties are now of an essentially civil nature, it has been thought necessary to adhere to an appearance of military control in its administration. This again is a piece of red-tapeism, which might with advantage be done away with. There may have been many reasons, when originally constructing the line, for entrusting the work to a scientific branch of the military service. Persia was then a comparatively unknown country, and it would have been difficult to organize a Civil Department to carry out the work; but now that the Department is practically worked by civilians,—the military forming but a minute percentage of the whole,—it seems absurd to keep up a military organization.

That the interests of the Department would be best considered by offering all the higher appointments to civilian employés, is self-evident. What can be more discouraging than for the Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents to work conscientiously for years, leading the while a life of many hardships, to find that promotion, beyond a comparatively subordinate grade, is closed to them, and that as fast as one Director or Assistant Director retires or is promoted, his place is supplied by a Royal Engineer who may be transferred from the Public Works Department in India or the Sappers and Miners or any other branch of the service, and is probably ignorant of anything connected with electricity and the telegraph, beyond what he learned as a Cadet, whereas the Civilians have had a thorough technical education? These, however, are only grievances similar to those which constitute almost a scandal in the Public Works Department in India. In both cases the mixture of the military and civil elements in these Departments is detrimental to the public service, as the source of all petty jealousies and tyrannies. No military man can efficiently control a number of subordinates of mixed civilians and soldiers; for he cannot understand that his civilian subordinates should demur to a treatment which is accepted by military subordinates, bound by their rules of discipline to submit without dissent to his orders; consequently misunderstanding and ill-feeling are bred between the two elements, to the detriment of the public service.

The plea that the presence of privates and non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers in the Department necessitates military control, is too absurd to require serious consideration, for out of the total number of employés, only an infinitesimal proportion come under this category, and these would be more suitably employed elsewhere; for their duties in the Telegraph Department are far more efficiently performed by the civilians who have had a special and technical training.

A CRISIS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

IN spite of the efforts on the part of Europe to penetrate the Central Sudan, this remote region continues to remain the stronghold of Muhammadan fanaticism and of Negro barbarism. Protected on the north by a deep zone of pitiless desert, its approaches on all other sides barred by countless impediments, created either by nature or man, the silent Sudan is a field of martyrdom for the oppressed pagan and an earthly Paradise for the sons of the Prophet.

From the West Coast of Africa serious attempts are being made—if, indeed, their futility has not already been proved—to effect a pacific lodgment in the Muhammadan Sudan. The British, from the Niger, have quite recently tried, but failed to convince the Sultan of Bornu of the advantage and comfort of wearing the Western yoke; the Germans, from the Cameroons, are doggedly engaged on the same hopeless task; whilst the French, from the Congo, have been seriously repulsed and their envoys assassinated. On the East Coast, owing to the force of political circumstances, the agents of Britain have recently met with an unexpected success—not, indeed, in penetrating Muhammadan Africa, which is as inaccessible as ever, but in the pacific occupation of what may be regarded as an important outwork—Uganda. But the enthusiasm, or spur of foreign competition, which has carried or driven them so far, has left them much in advance of their base on the Coast. It is now feared that this valiant band of pioneers—not the missionaries, of course—must be recalled. The reason for this retrograde measure appears to be, that we are not yet prepared to support such an advance.

This is the crisis: Shall we, having succeeded so far, proceed to fulfil our responsibilities, or shall we fall back on the old policy and—scuttle? The position requires explanation. It is doubtless serious, and involves far-reaching consequences, which any statesman might hesitate to accept;

but it also offers distinct advantages to those who have the courage to seize them.

Ever since the partition of Africa entered the phase of an insensate scramble, the Powers of Europe have barely had time to consider the serious national responsibilities involved by the wholesale annexation of territory. Now, however, they are beginning to realize their position. Germany has again met with a serious rebuff on the East Coast, and openly acknowledges the comparatively slight value of her possessions in South-west Africa. Italy has given up her dreams of empire on the Red Sea Littoral, and is rapidly withdrawing her forces; soon she will be left only with Massowah to safeguard. Finally, not to mention other African bubbles, Britain has abandoned the so-called race to Lake Chad, and now threatens to evacuate her strategic position on the Upper Nile, in Uganda.

If, as we are aware, the advance of a European Power into Africa is not accomplished without suffering, in some form or another, to the natives who are dispossessed of their lands, a retreat is fraught with still more disastrous consequences. The Europeans, numerically weak, very naturally support their advance by entering into treaties with the most powerful native chiefs; nor do they scruple to take advantage of local animosities and tribal feuds. Tribes, factions, and individuals are pitted against one another. In Europe such action establishes a balance of power; but among African savages a breath of conspiracy will destroy the equilibrium. Those who rely on the promises of European protection are, it is true, generally the stronger; but, should the European protector suddenly withdraw his aid, they are left in a critical position. The house of cards, built up with paper treaties, immediately collapses, and the unhappy natives are left to their fate. The European loses nothing, perhaps, except prestige and the reputation for honest dealing, as valuable in Africa as in any other continent. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, since the advance of Europe into Africa can be greatly facilitated,—

and in some instances is only possible,—by securing the confidence of native tribes, it is of the utmost importance that the European should never repudiate his bond nor prove false to his engagements. These remarks apply with special force to Uganda.

Probably there is no other district in Africa that can show a more striking picture of Christian and European influence than Uganda; none in which missionary enterprise, considering the obstacles, has been more successful, or, considering the opportunities, less satisfactory. This paradoxical statement is borne out by the facts that, on the one hand, we have witnessed in Uganda hundreds of native converts to Christianity dying for their faith; and, on the other hand, we have seen this advanced native State torn asunder by rival factions and plunged into civil wars owing in a great measure to the political intrigues of the Arab, Catholic, and Protestant parties. The English and French missionaries, instead of uniting to stamp out the conflagrations of barbarism that more than once have threatened their very existence, have each worked for their own political ends, though in supreme moments they have stood back to back and boldly faced the devouring elements. The cruel boy-king Mwanga, who murdered Bishop Hannington and tortured to death hundreds of native Christian converts, after being deposed by his Arab rival, was restored to power by the Protestant party, into whose arms he consequently fell. The latest news from Uganda was to the effect that the country still resembled an armed camp: the rival factions were ranged in order of battle, and an expedition was pending against the Muhammadan party. Captain Lugard, the emissary of the British East Africa Company, having forced Mwanga into accepting British suzerainty, and having strongly entrenched himself and his party, appeared to hold the balance of power in his hand; but he does not speak with confidence. Thus the fate of Uganda still trembles in the balance. The issue is of the highest importance. Uganda is the most civilized native State in that part of Africa. Under European tute-

lage, and nominally under Christian influence, it might be made the nucleus of a new order of things in Central Africa. Its advantageous geographical position, its comparatively organized administrative machinery, its large and intelligent population, are all factors of importance to any European Power having a dominant position in the country. At the same time, no Power, with insufficient material strength behind it, can hope to regulate the barbaric passions of the native population. As in other parts of Africa, so in Uganda, it is essential for the Suzerain European Power to be in complete touch with a base on the Coast, whence supplies and reinforcements can be received with safety, regularity, and despatch. In any case the maintenance of such an advanced inland post as Uganda, if it is to serve as a secondary base for operations in the Interior, would tax the utmost available resources of any European Power, and far more of any Chartered Company in Africa. To build and maintain a railway over 400 miles in length, from the Coast to the Victoria Nyanza, to launch a steamer or steamers on the Lake, and to hold the restless Waganda,—not to speak of neighbouring tribes and the Masai,—in check, is a task quite beyond the strength and means of the British East Africa Company, constituted as it is at present, and dependent simply on its own resources. Nevertheless, it is precisely this task which the Company have undertaken.

From the port of Mombaza, their settled base on the Coast, over which they have now unfettered proprietary rights, the Company have actually commenced the construction of a light railway in the direction of the Victoria Nyanza. A fund has been started for the expenses of placing a steamer on the Lake. Captain Lugard, to whose presence in Uganda allusion has already been made, has not only coerced the tyrant Mwanga into accepting British suzerainty, and strongly entrenched himself in the country, but he has also instituted a line of fortified stations along the Sabaki route from the Coast to Uganda. Everything is therefore ready for the consolidation of British political rule on a firm and wide

basis in East Africa. At the last moment, however, we learn, with something like consternation, that the Company intend to give up their advanced position in Uganda and recall their agents, unless they are materially supported by Her Majesty's Government. The nature of such support, and the grounds on which it is claimed, have been clearly set forth in *The Times* and elsewhere, evidently by "inspired" writers.

As the representatives of British interests in East Africa, the Company do not hesitate to make an appeal to the nation : an appeal which, if we may trust those communications, carries also a threat in the event of its failure. The subject is therefore one for legitimate discussion. The issues raised are truly national: they involve not merely the success or failure of the Chartered Company, but, as we shall see, are closely bound up with the whole of our policy in the Sudan. Moreover, the success of this appeal would set a precedent, the danger of which should be fully understood. Such being the case, we must be permitted to examine the question fearlessly and impartially, irrespective of any individual interests. Judgment will be pronounced by Parliament, when the matter again comes up for discussion, unless it settles itself by the collapse of the Company, or at least in the withdrawal, voluntary or otherwise, of the Company's claims over Uganda.

What, then, are the precise claims of the Imperial British East Africa Company? They claim that they are the trustees for the nation; that, owing to the competition of Germany, they have been forced to advance more rapidly than they would otherwise have done; and that this advance, to be permanent, necessitates the immediate construction of a railway from the Coast to Uganda. They also complain that, whilst Germany gives the support of her Government, they themselves have to rely solely on their own resources, and cannot cope with their rivals on a fair footing. They therefore demand Government aid in the construction of the aforesaid railway, threatening to relinquish their dearly-bought success if it be refused.

Let us examine this *ultimatum* point by point.

It is true the Company are the trustees for the nation, since the Government chose to work by Chartered Companies in Africa. But if so, the nation, or its representative Government, should at least have the right of veto in all questions involving national responsibilities. If the Company, foreseeing the consequences of a dash to occupy Uganda, did not first sit down and reckon the cost, and their own capacity to meet it, they were guilty of mismanagement of their affairs. Figuratively speaking, they have got out of their depth, and now call upon H.M.'s Government to rescue them from a critical position. But the Government, unless they gave their assent to such a bold move in the first instance, may reasonably be exonerated from its consequences. What those may be, we shall see later on.

Why was there such perfervid haste? It is stated that it was essential to anticipate German action in the same direction. But this argument is not quite tenable. Germany agreed with Britain (July, 1890), to make no annexations of territory, and to accept no treaties, etc., north of the Anglo-German boundary. So that Germany is clearly excluded from Uganda, unless she wilfully ignores all treaty obligations. It is scarcely necessary to add, that no other European Power is in a position to interfere with the gradual expansion of the British sphere of action in East Africa. It is true that Emin Pasha—like an African Don Quixote—is wandering about the Lake region of Central Africa, tilting at windmills. He was heard of on 13th May last, at the southern end of the Albert Edward Nyanza, and is reported to have returned to Equatoria, but he certainly has no letters of marque to raise difficulties and disputes between Germany and Britain.

Another argument urged for the construction of this railway is, that it would destroy the Slave Trade in Central Africa. But the truth is, that such a railway would have no appreciable influence on this Traffic; it would only affect the very slight Trade existing in British East Africa. The two chief centres of the East Coast Slave Trade are Tabora and

the Nyassa district. None of the Slave Trade routes from these centres to the Coast pass through British East Africa. To the north, the chief routes lead to the Nile basin and the Red Sea, and in the south they pass through German territory. The Slave Trade in Nyassaland has its outlets in Portuguese territory, and has no connection whatever with British East Africa. It is quite obvious, therefore, that the Company's claim in this respect cannot be allowed, although the feelings of the public, always ready to listen to such arguments, are being enlisted on these false premises.

As to the point whether Uganda could or could not be held without a railway leading to the Coast, that depends entirely on the nature of its relations with the Company. If these relations were slight, a well-kept and well-patrolled caravan-road should meet all the requirements of commercial and administrative intercourse. If a railway were made, with the object of attracting the trade of the Upper Nile region, the cost of maintaining the line—quite apart from the expense of its construction—would be very great indeed. It would be difficult to convince the wandering Masai that the metals were not intended for their special use : such a railway would be to them a "gold-mine." Nor is it quite so certain that a railway would create trade, to any compensating extent, in the absence of more settled political conditions on the Upper Nile, not to speak of the Sudan.

Finally, the Company may or may not have reason to complain of the insignificant aid given them by Her Majesty's Government, in comparison with that which the Germans receive from their Government. But the conditions are totally different. Germany is a young Colonial Power, feeling her way to the establishment of colonies ; whilst Great Britain, with colonies in every part of the world, can afford to leave their expansion to the private enterprise of individuals. Germany has not at her disposal the surplus capital, the trained energy, and the opportunities which have built up the British Empire. Moreover—and this is a point of the highest importance—if Her Majesty's Govern-

ment were to set the precedent of subsidizing the British East Africa Company, or any other Chartered Company in Africa or elsewhere, there might be no end to such a policy. Other Companies with equally good claims might reasonably demand assistance from Government. Besides, the increased responsibilities resulting from the construction of a railway through British East Africa, which we have dimly foreshadowed, would doubtless involve a very large annual expenditure, quite out of proportion to trade-returns and altogether beyond the resources of the Company. It is true that the Germans are engaged in the construction of a railway from Tanga Bay—an excellent harbour—to Usambara, the richest lands in their Possessions. But Usambara is within a few miles of the East Coast and subject to German jurisdiction. As to the more ambitious enterprise of placing a steamer on the Victoria Nyanza, the latest advices are that, in consequence of the serious reverse in Uhehe, Major Wissmann has left for Lower Egypt to recruit soldiers, and the transport of the steamer has been postponed. It is clear that the Imperial Government, having recalled Baron von Soden and entrusted Major Wissmann with this new mission, are seriously reconsidering their policy in East Africa: events, with recurrent disasters, are proving too strong for them, and may necessitate a more cautious advance into the Interior.

Meantime, a Commercial Company, headed by Herr Lucas, has been founded in Germany, with a provisional capital of two million marks, to construct railways between the Coast and the Victoria Nyanza, and otherwise to develop the intervening lands. One might put the very pertinent question, Why should not the British Company do likewise? If they are convinced of the sound commercial policy of constructing a railway through their territories, why should they be unable themselves to raise the necessary capital?

Not to proceed at greater length into this inquiry, it is clear, from what has been said, that the only claim which

the Company can reasonably support, is their trusteeship for the nation. We have no desire to minimize this claim; on the contrary, we shall now endeavour to show that it deserves the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government.

If the Government are prepared to subsidize a railway through British East Africa at a cost of £40,000 a-year ("for a limited period," *The Times** correspondent adds; but we may let that pass), well and good. But the Government should clearly see that such a subsidy, given on the part of the nation towards national ends, and not to benefit a close Company, would involve the acceptance in principle of a distinct policy for the Sudan. Lord Salisbury has openly approved the proposed grant—not the subsidy—being given to the Company for a preliminary survey; but Sir William Harcourt, speaking from his place in Parliament, opposed it as a contentious matter, not to be rushed through. We are bound to admit that Sir William Harcourt took a statesmanlike course in causing the postponement, under the circumstances, of so very serious a decision; though it was much to be regretted that the matter was not brought forward until the fag-end of the last session of Parliament. To embark with a light heart on enterprises in Africa has been too common an experience.

The question, therefore, as to whether or not the Government should materially support, either by a grant or a subsidy, the construction of a railway through British East Africa is before the nation. What should be the answer given by Parliament? To understand the issues at stake, we must extend our horizon. Let us assume, for the sake of argument if not for the credit of our statesmen, that the British Foreign Office has adopted a definite programme for Egypt and the Sudan. We cannot even guess at what that programme may be; we can only argue from the analogy of accomplished facts. What, then, are the facts?

Great Britain still occupies Lower Egypt, and refuses to

* 28th Sept., 1891.

fix a term for the duration of such occupation ; the utmost concession France, in her position as the disappointed suitor, and the Sultan of Turkey, as the puppet of Europe, can force the Foreign Office to make, is, that Egypt will be evacuated as soon as she can "stand alone." That is to say, Egypt must prove herself capable of self-government and of maintaining her complete independence. Those who know Egypt and the capacities of Orientals shrewdly opine that such a time will never come. It is not our purpose to inquire whether the British Government is acting in perfect good faith and in its popular *rôle* as the policeman of Europe ; but, if there be one point on which English statesmen are fairly unanimous, it is, that the route to the East by the Suez Canal must be under British control. It is needless to add that, for this end, Egypt must not be allowed to fall into the power of any other European State, nor must she run the risk of again lapsing into anarchy. Similarly, our Possessions on the Gulf of Aden must be maintained in a state of efficiency, to secure the other end of the Canal, and the southern entrance to the Red Sea.

If this were the Alpha and Omega of British policy in North-east Africa, we could understand that the affairs of British East Africa might cause but slight anxiety to the Foreign Office, so far as the protection of our route to India were concerned, though even in this respect alone the value of a port and harbour like Mombaza is not to be overlooked. But there are other factors to be taken into account. When a nation or individual embarks on an equivocal line of action, a host of embarrassing circumstances, leading deeper and deeper into the mire, are sure to be encountered. We have alluded to the very natural jealousy of France in Lower Egypt ; and it is morally certain that she will never relinquish her opposition nor her rivalry so long as Britain strives for mastery in the Mediterranean. But France has also an establishment of her own at the southern entrance of the Red Sea : she also has an Eastern Empire to protect. It is true that, so far, she has been unable to hamper our policy

from this base and, were the *status quo* maintained, it might be blissfully ignored. A new circumstance has, however, come to light: France, in her new-born zeal for an alliance with Russia, is at the present moment lending herself—no doubt *con amore*—to the realization of a Russian intrigue in Abyssinia, with the obvious intention of planting a thorn in the side of the British lion. Russia, it would appear, being too easily baffled in her schemes of aggrandisement in Central Asia, is desirous of finding in Africa—of all places in the world!—a new lever against British obstinacy. This lever she has apparently discovered in Abyssinia.

The public are scarcely aware that Italy has already withdrawn her inland posts on the Red Sea Littoral and has virtually abandoned her claims over Abyssinia. This retrograde action is no surprise to those who study Italian politics. The Italians, after the British campaign in the Sudan, were too rash in their precipitate occupation of Massowah: they erred by overrating their power as an ally to Britain in Africa. The early evacuation of the Sudan consequently left Italy to her fate. Repeated disasters on the Red Sea Littoral, drawing her deeper and deeper into the slough of African politics, have exhausted her strength and her enthusiasm for colonial enterprise. Italy, therefore, only consults her true interests by retiring from a false and untenable position. The treaties which she concluded with the new Negus, Menelik, and other chieftains, were, however, perfectly valid, and must remain so until repudiated by the contracting parties. We assume that they have been allowed to lapse, otherwise it would be difficult to understand, as it would be impossible to condone, the recent joint action of Russia and France.

A correspondent of *The Times*, in a short series of remarkably well-informed articles, the first of which appeared on 25th July, 1891, exposed the nature and extent of this new Russo-French *entente*. Briefly stated, it is simply this: Russia, with the connivance and active co-operation of the French authorities in Lower Egypt and at Obock, has de-

spatched an expedition to Abyssinia under the command of a certain Lieutenant Mashkoff, accompanied by a monk named Tikhon ; but the latest news of its operations was that the monk and the lieutenant had quarrelled, the former proceeding direct to Petersburg to report on the affair, the latter remaining in Abyssinia to carry out single-handed, except for his escort, the Russo-French programme. From what has transpired it would appear that neither Russia nor France aims at establishing a sphere of influence over Abyssinia, which would instantly raise international questions : the objects of the expedition are simply moral,—perhaps we should say, immoral. They are no less than to convince Menelik that the Russian Orthodox Church is not only similar to, but even identical with, the so-called Christian Church in Abyssinia. If, indeed, this were the case, we should feel inclined to deplore the degradation of the Russian Orthodox Church. But, matters of orthodoxy apart, it will doubtless be a simple matter for the Russian envoy to convince Menelik and the Abyssinian Aboona, or High Priest, as he may be called, of the confraternity, based on deep religious sympathy, existing between the Tsar and the Negus, and consequently between their respective subjects. Whatever the nature of their mutual understanding may be, it is confidently declared, and may readily be believed, that Russia has it in her power to establish a spiritual, and consequently a temporal, influence over Abyssinia. Neither the pursuit of science—the reputed aim of the expedition—nor the avowal of other objects can blind us to the fact that this new move of Russia, acting conjointly with France, is calculated to raise difficulties for Great Britain in the Sudan. We are, it is true, helpless to checkmate it at the present stage of its progress, except in a measure through Italy, whose treaties with Abyssinia might easily be upheld ; but Italy would appear to refuse the inglorious part of a “ political buffer.” Such being the case we must look elsewhere for support.

It scarcely requires demonstration to prove that disturb-

ances in the Eastern Sudan would seriously affect the administration of Lower Egypt. Russia, as we know only too well, is an adept at raising political disturbances; her experiences in Central Asia and in South-east Europe would stand her in good stead in the case of Abyssinia—a country with immense resources for good or evil. Not only that: it is even asserted that Lieutenant Mashkoff, after visiting Shoa, intends to journey north in the direction of Khartum! Perhaps, however, the wish is father to the thought. From the fact that Russia is uniting with France, not only in this Abyssinian move, but also in Lower Egypt, to hamper the policy of Great Britain, it is evident that the British Foreign Office cannot afford to abandon any point of vantage in North-east Africa. Such a point may be found in Uganda, provided always we are prepared for extensive operations in the Nile basin. It is conceivable that, with British influence paramount in Uganda, with the ultimate prospect of its extension over the countries of the Upper Nile, no movement on the part of Abyssinia could endanger our position as it exists at present in Lower Egypt. Of course, a still simpler and certainly cheaper diplomatic move would be to outwit France and Russia in Abyssinia itself, where the memory of British arms is not likely yet to have faded. If, however, in order to encourage commercial enterprise, we elect to embark on the more ambitious programme of establishing British influence over the source-country of the Nile,—a policy which some day may be forced on us,—then, undoubtedly, we cannot afford to view with equanimity the prospect of the withdrawal of the British East Africa Company from Uganda.

With the object of supporting the claims of the Company in their capacity as trustees for the nation, we have, it must be confessed, opened up a field of controversy which may be hotly contested by the disputants of rival parties. It is more than doubtful whether Great Britain, with her increasing responsibilities, would be justified in entering Tropical Africa with so difficult a mission to perform. Still, under

the circumstances, we can quite understand Her Majesty's Government embarking on a forward policy in British East Africa. If, on the other hand, it is the honest intention of Great Britain eventually to evacuate Egypt, then under no conceivable pretext, in the region of high politics, can Her Majesty's Government undertake to guarantee, far less subsidize, a railway through British East Africa, except it may be that of pure benevolence.

And this brings us to the last point in our argument. We do not assert, in spite of what has been said, that Her Majesty's Government should refuse to support the commercial undertakings of the British East Africa Company. What we have endeavoured to show is, that the Company have absolutely no claim, under its present Charter, to material assistance, except on the ground of benevolence. Allusion has, however, already been made to the danger of setting such a precedent. Consequently, should the Government give way, it would be absolutely essential for them to revise the terms of the Charter and to place the Company on a subordinate footing. In other words, British East Africa would have to be made a Crown Colony or something very closely resembling one.

The question naturally arises, Is it worth it? If the political programme be disallowed, would it prove a profitable investment for the British public? We think not; but to answer this question would open up a subject which could not be dealt with in the space at our disposal. Unless the public has reason to be satisfied with the prospects of the investment, as such, the construction of a line of railway through British East Africa would resemble the course of a river that loses itself in the sand.

ALPHA.

FIJI.

IT is not surprising that European nations generally should profess ignorance of the little islands of Fiji, which occupy but a small space on the map, in the region of the South Seas, and are situated some 12,000 miles from our own continent.

Our intercourse with the natives has hitherto been limited, as our acquisition of the islands only dates back to 1875, and yet an experience of sixteen years has enabled visitors to these lovely spots to gain an insight into the customs of the natives, and their natural character.

The main idea after annexation which inspired the existing policy, consisted in giving to the natives first rights and first consideration, to which, from their tenure of the land, they were justly entitled. In other words, the interests of the white settlers were considered secondary to those of the natives. The white was not permitted to usurp the natural rights and privileges of the native.

The colonists recognised the rights of the colony, and Fiji, in this respect, has received from the wise policy of its first Governor—Sir Arthur Gordon—privileges which, unfortunately, have been denied to larger and more important dependencies. It is impossible to over-estimate the character of the native population. They are singularly ingenuous, and their reputation for hospitality is proverbial. The communal right, whereby equal rights exist as to the tenure of land, creates a reciprocal link between all classes, and tends to cement and organize them.

The inhabitants of the islands are law-abiding. Crimes of a heinous character are rare, whether affecting the rights of property or of person; and no country with a population of 100,000 can boast of so small a police force, such as is sufficient to sustain order, and maintain the dignity of the

law. It is almost impossible to make a stranger realize by hearsay evidence to how high a standard of civilization this little dependency has attained, though the natives might almost be said to be semi-barbarous in origin, with regard to their cannibal ancestry. Yet with all this, former generations have transmitted to them a spirit of dignified independence, which certainly would not disgrace communities who arrogate to themselves the title of pioneers of progress and advancement.

The group of islands are divided into thirteen provinces, each of which is under the control of a native Lieutenant-governor. He is responsible for the administration, discipline, and good order of the province.

The feeling of the natives towards England is decidedly friendly. They have but a vague idea of the little island of "Pritania," as they term it; but they are aware of its strength and dominion, and no colony is more loyal in their devotion to our Queen, whom they regard with feelings little short of veneration.

If only Fiji could be transplanted, and its picturesque and varied beauty of scenery brought within easier reach of European travellers, Monte Carlo and other luxuriant spots on the Riviera would find that they had met with a compeer ready to hold her own, as regards climate and natural attractions.

Contagious illness is rare, and the population enjoy, in these tropical regions, a singular immunity from serious disease.

In many respects, though their position on the face of the world is so divergent, the natives of the South Sea Islands may be said to resemble the hardy Norsemen, and those who dwell in the land of the midnight sun; for with both an innate good breeding is an essential characteristic, which certainly does not always advance at a rate proportionate to civilization, as it is termed.

It is impossible in a short sketch to do more than give the vaguest of outlines of the customs and habits of this

interesting little dependency ; but if only my words shall quicken a desire on the part of others to explore its beauties for themselves, then I shall not have written in vain.

ON THE FIJIAN LANGUAGE.

Perhaps the most interesting, as well as the richest of Polynesian languages, is that spoken by the natives of the Fiji Islands. It is essentially Papuan, soft and melodious to the ear. Thanks to the successful efforts of the Wesleyan Mission, it retained its purity, although at one time this was greatly threatened by the influence of powerful neighbours, the Tongans or Friendly Islanders.

Before considering the grammar, it may be worth noticing a few of the leading characteristics of Fijian.

The language now accepted by all the natives and taught in the schools is in reality but one of the many dialects spoken, in former times, by the islanders. It was the dialect of a small island called *Bau*, in the olden days the seat of the most powerful chiefs in the group. These eventually became its kings, and thus imposed their language, as well as their rule, on all the surrounding tribes, influencing all the group by their prestige as chiefs. The ascendancy of the Bau dialect over all the others was secured when the missionaries adopted and taught it in their schools ; and at length, when the islands were annexed, it was established and recognised by the Government as the official language.

The vocabulary is, for a native language, extensive. It comprises some 8,000 words ; and the richness of the language mainly lies in its ability to express the same thing in various ways. One weakness it certainly has, and that weakness is to be found in the abstract nouns, which are made up either by the composition of names of tangible objects, or by the simpler means of using the adjectives as nouns. The following examples will suffice to illustrate my meaning. The word for "strength" is "*kaukauwa*." "*Kaukau*" is the name of a certain tree possessing a vine

well known to the natives for its powers of enduring great strain, and "*wa*" means any rope or cord, so that the composition of the two words denotes this particular kind of vine, and conveys the idea of strength.*

The pronunciation of the language is of great importance, and notice should be taken of the following rules regarding consonants :—

B is always pronounced *mb*; *d* always *nd*; *g* always *ng*, as in "*ing*"; *q* always *g*, as in "*gate*," "*greet*," etc.; and *c* is pronounced "*th*."

The vowels are open, as in Italian.

The language is full of idioms; nor can any one who has not mastered, at least, the most important ones, speak good colloquial Fijian.

With these few preliminary remarks, I shall endeavour to convey some idea of the etymology of the language by a brief glance at the various parts of speech.

According to the compilers of the Fijian Dictionary and Grammar (members of the Wesleyan Mission Society), the alphabet is said to contain but twenty letters, the sounds represented by the letters H, X, and Z not occurring in the language, and F, J, and P being only used in introduced words.

Articles.—There are, strictly speaking, two articles, *ko* and *na*; but these are liable to be used under different forms, such as *o*, *oi*, *koi*, *a*, *na*, and *nai*. They are always placed *before* the personal pronouns, and, generally speaking, before all proper names; thus, for instance, alluding to Mr. N., you would say, "*Ko Misi N.*," "*The Mr. N.*," as is the custom in some European languages.

Nouns.—The nouns may be classed under three headings, viz. :—

(1) Names of natural objects, which are generally undervived words.

(2) Abstract nouns, which, as we have already seen, are

* The adjective "*vinaka*," good, also means goodness; "*levu*," great, also means greatness, etc.

expressed principally by adjectives ; and, in fact, it can be laid down, as a rule, that *all* adjectives are used as abstracts.

(3) Nouns, and they are by far the greater number, which are formed from verbs.

There are various modes of turning verbs into nouns, but perhaps the commonest way is by prefixing *dau*, or by reduplicating, or partly reduplicating, the verb, viz. :—

Butako, to thieve ; *daubutako*, a thief. *Vosa*, to speak ; *dauvosa*, a chatterer. *Lako*, to go ; *lako lako*, a departure. *Tiko*, to sit ; *tiko tiko*, a seat ; and so on.

There is yet another class of nouns, namely those which take the possessive pronouns appended instead of prefixed ; these are either names of parts of the human body, or nouns expressing relationship. It is not possible, for instance, to say in Fijian “noqu ulu,” *my head*, it must be “uluqu,” *head mine* ; in the same way, “luvequ,” *child mine*, and not “noqu luvena,” *my child*. But as these nouns are all names of natural objects, they really belong to the first heading.

Adjectives.—Besides the primitive or underived adjectives, there are (1) those formed by the reduplication of nouns, (2) those formed from different parts of the verbs either by reduplication or by prefixes, and (3) those formed from nouns with the prefix *Vaka*. This latter is a very favourite class of adjective, and almost any noun can be turned into an adjective, at the speaker's own convenience, by the use of this prefix. *Vaka* implies either *similitude* or *possession*, and it corresponds in its first meaning to our suffix “ly.” *Tamata* is man, *Vaka tamata* is manly. *Vaka* is used less frequently in its second meaning of implying possession. *Vale* is a house, and a man who is *vaka vale* is possessed of a house, otherwise a *housely* man.

Adverbs.—The same rule applies to adverbs, or, at least, to adverbs of manner, which are all formed by the prefix *Vaka* and the noun. Adverbs of time, place, cause, etc., are very numerous, and have to be learnt separately by the student.

Verbs.—Verbs in Fijian take so many different forms, and

are so difficult to classify, that in the short space that can here be devoted to them they can only be touched upon in a very cursory manner. They are mainly derived, however, (1) by adding *na* to the primitive noun, as *Siga*, the sun ; *Sigana*, to bask ; (2) from some of the adverbs ; and (3) from adjectives by prefixing *Vaka* (unless the adjective already has the particle) and affixing *taka*. This rule will be found very useful by the beginner, who, with a certain number of adjectives at his command, need scarcely ever be at fault for his verb. The following are instances :—

Levu, great, adjective ; *Vaka levu taka*, to magnify.

Loaloa, black, adjective ; *Vaka loaloa taka*, to blacken.

Transitive, intransitive, and passive verbs are very marked in Fijian, owing to the changes they undergo to express these distinctions :—

Au sa cakacaka (intr.), I work. *Au sa cakava na ka ogo*, or *Au sa caka ogo* (trans.), I work at this thing. *Sa cakavi na ka ogo* (pass.), This thing is being worked.

Besides *Vaka*, the prefixes *Dau* and *Vei* are of great importance in connection with verbs : the former implies *intensity* or *frequency*, and the latter conveys an idea of *reciprocity*, and therefore of *plurality* :—

Cata, to hate ; *Daucata*, to hate intensely ; *Veicati*, to hate one another.

Lako, to go ; *Daulako*, to go often ; *Veilakoyaki*, to go backwards and forwards.

These particles will always be found of great convenience, not only in connection with verbs, but also with nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

Pronouns. The pronouns, to a beginner, are perhaps the most difficult of all the parts of speech to acquire, owing to the large class of words which they form in the language. The pronouns have four numbers : singular, dual, triad, and plural. The dual, triad, and plural have, moreover, an inclusive and exclusive sense in the first person, thus :—

Kedaru, we two ; *Kedatou*, we three ; *Keda*, we.

(Including the one addressed).

Keivau, we two ; *Keitou*, we three ; *Keimami*, we.

(Excluding the one addressed).

They are still more complicated by there being special possessive pronouns for food and drink, for instance :—

Noqu, mine,—my anything, except food and drink.

Kegu, mine,—my food only.

Mequ, mine,—my drink only.

This runs all through the possessive pronouns, both in the inclusive and exclusive sense. The triad is generally used instead of the plural in general conversation, but the latter is always made use of in speeches, in prayers, and in addressing a Chief of rank. It thus corresponds to the French "*vous*." *Exclamations* are numerous in the language, and play a very important part in all rites and ceremonies, each ceremony having its established exclamations. The commonest are *Sobo*, *Suru*, *Veka veka*, and *Uene*.

The "*Tama*," by which respect and reverence is shown to a Chief, is made up of shouts, such as, *Muduo wo ! Mai mai wo !*

Before concluding this paper I should have wished to say something about the natives themselves, of their character, of their customs, and of their present form of government, so happily inaugurated by Governor Sir Arthur Gordon. But were I once to begin, I feel I should be exceeding my time and trespassing on your patience. I will therefore only add that I know of no finer race of people, whether morally or physically ; and all who live among them for any length of time have the same admiration and partiality for them and for the lovely islands nature has given them for their home.

F. C. FULLER.

THE HUMOUR OF THE HEBREW BIBLE AND ITS ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

(BY THE REV. DR. CHOTZNER, OF HARROW.)

It is perhaps not universally known that the first and most ancient version of the Hebrew Bible that is still extant under the name of "The Septuagint," was not received, at the time of its first appearance in Alexandria (about 285 B.C.), with equal favour by *all* the Judæans living at that period. These were then divided into two principal sections, commonly styled the Palestinian and the Egyptian Judæans, who, although professing the same creed and holding the Hebrew Scriptures in great veneration, differed seriously in respect to the latter's treatment and interpretation. The Egyptian Judæans of those times hailed with satisfaction and delight the aforementioned first version of the Bible, in spite of its various incorrect renderings of several passages of the Hebrew text; and the chief argument they used in its favour was the following. They said that the Septuagint was the most proper means to convey thereby an idea of the contents of the Bible to those who were not familiar with the sacred tongue; and this fact alone, they thought, was already sufficient to justify its existence. On the other hand, the Palestinian Judæans were of opinion that, unless the Bible is studied in the original Hebrew, its contents cannot be properly and fully understood and appreciated by the reader. Hence they regarded the Septuagint, not as a boon, but rather as a calamity, inasmuch as they feared that it might do more harm than any real good to the interest of Judaism at large.

Now, although many centuries have passed since the merits or demerits of the first of all the other versions of the Bible now in circulation have been discussed, the question has as yet not been finally and decisively answered, whether it is possible or not to obtain a

thorough knowledge of the Bible by merely using a translation of it, made either in an ancient or modern language.

The present paper is by no means intended to settle that question in one way or another, but its only purpose is to point out a few instances in which a translation generally fails to satisfy such Biblical students as may be desirous of obtaining more than a superficial idea of the contents of the original. There are, for example, numerous passages in the latter which are full of pathos, and there are also some in which words are played upon ("Wortspiele"), as well as such words the very sound of which appear to have been intended by the writer that they should give special force to the sense and sentiment expressed in those passages in which they occur. All these idiomatic peculiarities of the original Hebrew must needs be lost in a translation, however faultless it may be in many other respects.

As a specimen of the last-named instance, the verses 19 to 26 in the 39th chapter of the Book of Job, and especially the 24th and 25th, may be mentioned here, which, referring as they do to a fiery war-horse, indicate by their very sound the spirited and excited movement of a horse amidst the clamour and noise of a fierce battle. They remind us vividly of Virgil's lines in *Georgicon*, iii. 83-85 :

"Tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere,
Stare loco nescit, micat auribus, et tremit artus,
Collectum premens volvitur sub naribus ignem."

And yet, who will be prepared to assert that the characteristic sound expressed in those few Hebrew lines is faithfully imitated in any ancient or modern version ?

But there is another striking feature in the Hebrew Bible which is very seldom, if ever, perceptible in a translation, and this is the light humour and satire one meets with here and there in its pages. These will naturally not bear comparison with the same broad, deep humour and satire as found in the works of comparatively modern authors, such as *Cervantes*, *Voltaire*, *Sterne*, and *Heine*, but they are certainly as good as the humour and satire one meets with in

the best-known classics of Greece and Rome. One or two examples will serve to illustrate this assertion.

The description given by Homer of a gathering of the Greek gods and goddesses at a banquet held on Mount Olympus, when they were waited upon by the lame Hephaestus, is generally considered to be the most humorous incident of any narrated by the great Greek bard. Yet, it will hardly be denied that there is a deeper humour in the well-known incident that took place on Mount Carmel, when Elijah gathered round him the false prophets of Baal, and admonished them to invoke the help of their god with a specially loud voice, as he might have fallen asleep, and required to be awaked. A similar instance may be found, if one compares some of the puns made by *Aristophanes* and *Horace* on proper names, with certain Hebrew ones that occasionally occur in the Bible. The former are less striking than, for example, the Hebrew word "Nabal" (1 Kings xviii. 27), which means "rogue," and is at the same time well applied as a proper name to a man who was noted for the baseness of his character. Similarly characteristic is the proper name of one of Job's most beautiful daughters, named "Keren-happuch" (Job xlii. 14), which literally means "a horn (or box) of cosmetics." To the same class of striking puns belongs also the term "Tsara" (צרה), which designates both "a rival wife" living in a country where polygamy is in vogue, and also "misery." The humour hidden in these three words is certainly hardly perceptible in the authorized English Version, where they are respectively translated by "folly," "Keren-happuch," and "adversary." From the few examples just quoted it will be seen that acquaintance with the idiom of the Hebrew tongue is a *sine qua non* to the study of the Bible, and that it enables the biblical student to detect, among other things, fragments of light humour and satire in certain words or phrases of the original text, which, as a rule, are lost in a translation. As very little attention has hitherto been paid to the particular subject in question on the part of Biblical critics, some observations on it will be perhaps considered of general interest.

On reading the Bible attentively in the original Hebrew, one cannot but be struck by the fragments of humour one comes occasionally across in its pages. Most of its authors seem to have acted on the good old proverb: "*Castigare ridendo mores*," and have thus used light satire or sarcasm as weapons with which they attacked certain short-comings and follies of their own people, and those of other nations with whom the latter happened to come into political contact. But the satirist *par excellence* of the Bible is undoubtedly the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes, inasmuch as this seems to be the richest in fragments of light humour of all the other books of the canon.

For the present purpose it matters very little whether the author of the book in question was King Solomon, to whom the authorship of the Book of Proverbs is also commonly ascribed, or some other unknown person, who had assumed the *nom de plume* of "Koheleth." But this is certain, that he does not belong to that class of writers whose humour is but a mixture of sadness and melancholy, and who, like the authors of "*Faust*" and "*Manfred*," speak with an acute bitterness of humanity at large. His humour is mostly gay and cheerful; and, far from weeping over the foibles and follies of human nature, he makes merry over them. The gist of his philosophy may be said to be embodied in that frequently quoted line from Amphis (*Gynoecocratia*, p. 481), which runs thus: Πίνε, παίζε· θνητὸς ὁ βίος· ὀλίγος οὐπὶ γῆ χρόνος. (Drink and chaff, for life is fleeting; short is our time on earth.) Or, to quote Koheleth's own words, "Behold that which I have seen: it is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all the labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: for this alone is his portion" (Eccles. v. 18).

The objects of Koheleth's satire are of a various description. High functionaries of State, silly kings, scribblers, tedious preachers, bookworms, idlers, sceptics, fools, drunkards, women—they are all a capital treasure for this light sarcasm.

He once came across a poor man, who had vainly tried for a long time to obtain, in the High Court of Justice, redress for wrongs done to him, and he put down in writing the following sarcastic remark on the subject: "If thou seest oppression of the poor, and violence done to justice and righteousness in the provinces, do not feel astonished at that matter: for one that is high watches over the high, and over them there are still higher ones" (Eccles. v. 8); so that it must naturally take a very long time before the grievances of the poor are properly attended to. Koheleth stigmatizes a land "whose king is childish, and whose princes *feast* already in the *morning*," but praises such a one "whose princes eat at a proper time for *strengthening* sake, and not for the sake of *gluttony*" (Ibid. x. 16-17). Referring to persons that would now-a-days be designated by the name of bookworms, he remarks with, as it were, a pitiful smile: "Where there is much study there is much vexation, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth pain" (Ibid. i. 18). And again: "The wise have (as a rule) no bread, nor the man of understanding riches, nor the man of knowledge power" (Ibid. ix. 11). Women were to literary men of all times and all countries a fruitful subject for mild or severe criticism, and Koheleth has also some, by no means flattering, remarks on them. Referring to a special class of women, he writes: "I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and whose hands are bonds: he that is deemed good before God will escape from her; but the sinner will be caught by her. . . . One (perfect) man among a thousand did I find; but one (perfect) woman among all these I found not" (Ibid. vii. 26 and 28). A few more funny remarks on the same subject are found in the Book of Proverbs, the author of which, as has already been stated, is generally supposed to have been the same who wrote the Book of Ecclesiastes. In that book a quarrelsome woman is compared "to a continual dropping on a very rainy day;" and it is also said of her that it is as impossible to hide her existence from the outer world as it

is impossible "to hide a wind, or to hide the perfume of scented oil" (Prov. xxvii. 15-16). In the same book (ch. xxiii. 29-35) a description is given of a drunkard which is most humorous and ought not to be omitted when reference is made to the existence of light humour in the Bible. It runs thus: "Who hath woe? who hath pain? who hath quarrels? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of the eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed drinks. . . . Thine eyes shall behold strange things, and thine heart shall utter nonsensical words. Yea, thou shalt be as he that lies down in the midst of the sea, or as he that lies upon the top of a mast. Oh, how they have stricken me (thou shalt say), how they have beaten me, and I felt it not; when shall I awake? I shall yet seek it (the drink) again."

Next to the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes, no author of any part of the Bible is so prolific of satirical remarks as the prophet *Isaiah*. He combines the pungency of satire with the charm of an exquisite poetical style; and whenever he makes use of them, he seldom fails to produce on the mind of the reader an extraordinary effect. Though principally waging war against the crimes of folly and extravagance, which seem to have been the principal vices of his age, he did not omit, whenever an opportunity offered, to rebuke in strong terms the princes and leaders of his people, for not keeping up among themselves a true spirit of patriotism, which alone could have assisted in averting the great calamity of an invasion of the enemy into their land. Isaiah's orations are frequently enlivened by a vivid and graphic description of the future gloomy state of affairs at home, when that fatal day, the *dies iræ*, *dies illa*, will come, on which the enemy will reign supreme within the walls of the capital of the Judæans, bringing in its train endless misery, famine, and pestilence. Then shabbily-clad and care-worn looking individuals will surround the lucky owner of a decent garment, saying: "Thou hast still clothing, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin be under thine hand." But

that genteel-looking citizen will thankfully decline the proffered honour with the humiliating remark: "I will not be a healer, for in my house is neither bread nor clothing: make me not a ruler of the people" (Isa. iii. 6 and 7). The then prevailing misery and distress will not be less felt by the *women*, most of whom the war will have deprived of their husbands and natural protectors. The consequence of all this will be, that "on that day seven women will take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name, and thus take away our reproach" (Ibid. iv. 1).

The extravagance, haughtiness, and luxurious habits of the fair daughters of Zion, Isaiah denounces in the following lines:—"Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched-forth necks and wanton (or unnatural) (*משקרות* from *שקר*) eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet, . . . it shall come to pass, that instead of a sweet smell there shall be bad odour; and instead of girdle a rent; and burning instead of beauty" (Ibid. iii. 16 and 24). And just as he censures the women for their pride and haughtiness, so does he scorn at the cowardice and effeminate habits of the *men* of Zion, whose motto he states to have been, "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we may die" (Ibid. xxii. 13). He also sneers at their pretended courage and manliness by mockingly saying: "Alas! ye are only mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to pour out strong drinks" (Ibid. v. 22).

Burlesquing the idols was always a capital treasure of sarcasm to most of the Hebrew prophets, and Isaiah indulged in it as readily as any of them. Like Aristophanes of old, who in his famous comedy, "The Birds," ridicules the Greek gods and goddesses, so does Isaiah satirize the sham gods of *his* country, which were held in great estimation by not a few of his own people. His description of the origin and make of these idols is most humorous. "He" (the pious idolater), he says, "burneth part thereof" (of the forest tree); "one part serves him as firewood, by means of which

he roasteth meat . . . yea, he warmeth himself therewith, and saith : Aha, I am warm ; I have seen the fire. And out of the residue he maketh a god, even his graven image : he falls down before it and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith : Deliver me, for thou art my God " (Ibid. xvii. 16-18).

With equal humour does Isaiah make merry over the false prophets, whom he compares to blind watchmen and to dumb dogs, who are not of the slightest use to anybody, and can easily be dispensed with. " His (Israel's) watchmen," he says, " are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot even bark ; they lie down as if dreaming, and are very fond of slumber " (Ibid. lvi. 10).

Occasionally the butt of Isaiah's sarcasm are persons who do not belong to the Jewish race, but to other nationalities, such as the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Moabites. Highly amusing is the sarcastic address he directed to one of the Babylonian kings, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Palestine, had been ignominiously defeated in his own country. The address in question is to be found in the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, a short extract from which runs as follows : " The whole earth is now (after thy fall) at rest and quiet : people break forth into singing. Yea, even the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying Since thou art laid down no feller is come up against us. Hell from beneath is quite agitated at thy coming ; it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth ; it has raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we ? Art thou become like unto us ? . . . How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer son of the morning ! How art thou cut down to the ground, thou which didst weaken the nations." In an equally amusing and drastic manner is Babylon's fall described by Isaiah. " And Babylon," he says, " the glory of the kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah . . . neither shall the

Arabian pitch tent there, nor shall the shepherds make their tents there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures ; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces " (Ibid. xiii. 19-23).

As the space allotted to this paper must of necessity be limited, it cannot be expected that the subject under notice can be fully and exhaustively treated in it. A few more examples, however, taken from various parts of the Hebrew Bible, may serve to illustrate the argument put forth in the introduction to this Essay.

The prophet *Jeremiah*, living as he did partly at a time when Jerusalem's sun was about setting, and partly "when the adversary had already spread out his hand over all her magnificent things," was, by the nature of events, of a less humorous disposition than *Isaiah*, who knew her when she was still in her full political glory. But even he used here and there satire and irony as a weapon for attacking the follies and vices of his country, although he had sometimes to suffer bodily and mentally for so doing. Just as the Greek philosopher *Diogenes* is reported to have gone about the streets of Athens, carrying in day-time a lighted lantern in his hand in search of a perfect man, so did *Jeremiah* recommend his people to try the same experiment in the streets of Jerusalem. "Run ye," he says, "to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and seek in the broad places thereof if ye can find a man . . . if there be any that seeketh the truth, and I shall pardon it" (*Jeremiah* v. 1).

The idols, the great plague of the land, receive also at *his* hand their proper share of ridicule. He describes them thus : "They are upright as the palm-tree, but speak not ; they must needs be borne because they cannot go. Be not afraid of them, for they cannot do any evil, neither can they effect any good " (Ibid. x. 5).

Of *Ezekiel's* humour no specimens can be given here. It is rather coarse, and produces in the mind of the reader

a disagreeable sensation. The curious may be referred to the sixteenth and twenty-third chapters of his book.

In the writings of the minor prophets, and especially of those of *Hosea* and *Amos*, several passages occur that contain flashes of humour and sarcasm. So, for instance, in reproaching his people with their faithlessness to their God and their king, Hosea remarks most sarcastically, "For now they say, We have no king; as we did not (even) fear the Lord, what can a (mortal) king do to us?" (*Hosea* x. 3). Whatever they did under the pretension of honouring God was, in his opinion, nothing but mockery and hypocrisy, for "although Israel has forgotten his Maker, yet he buildeth temples" (*Ibid.* viii. 14). Those of his people who fancied they could obtain atonements for their sins by merely offering sacrifices, he derided, saying: "They sacrifice flesh for the sacrifices of my offerings, and eat it" (themselves) (*Ibid.* viii. 13).

One would have expected that the priests at least would set a good example to the people; but no, they were equally as bad as the people themselves. What they did was, "They eat up the sin offerings of the people, and looked out even longingly for their (the people's) iniquity" (*Ibid.* iv. 8), so that they might profit by it. Speaking of the king and ruler of the people, he considered him not a bit better than his profligate courtiers, who spent the greater part of the day in feasting and debauchery. There was especially no end to their orgies at the celebration of the king's birthday; and Hosea describes their behaviour on that day as follows: "It is our king's day! The princes are already sick with the fever of wine; he himself (meaning the king) stretches out his hand with the scoffers" (*Ibid.* vii. 5).

Amos' address to the fat judges of the people of Samaria is very exhilarating. Owing to their pompous gravity and their effeminate habits, he calls them "kine of Bashan." These worthies were always thirsty; and their constant cry was, when dealing with the oppressed poor and needy, "Provide for us that we may have something to drink" (*Amos* vi. 1). The patricians of his people followed the bad example

of the judges. They lived an easy life, and were quite indifferent to the approaching common danger with which they were threatened, namely the loss of their freedom and independency. Speaking of them, Amos says, "Woe to them that put off the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon the beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches; . . . that sing to the sound of the harp; they invent for themselves instruments of music like David; that drink wine out of bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments, but are not grieved for the ruin of Joseph (Israel). Therefore now shall they go into captivity *at the head* of the captives" (Ibid. vi. 3-7).

The hypocrites among his people, who, notwithstanding their dishonest dealings with their neighbours, were exceedingly strict in their observances of the holy seasons appointed by the Jewish law, are scoffed at by Amos in the following manner: "Hear ye," says he, "that swallow up the needy, and destroy the poor of the land, saying, When will the new moon be over, that we may sell again corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the *ephah small* and the *shekel great*, and falsifying the balances for deceit? That we may buy the poor for money, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell even the refuse of the wheat?" (Ibid. viii. 4-6.)

That even the austere Jewish lawgiver, Moses, was possessed of a vein of humour, which he occasionally used with great effect, will be seen from the following few extracts from the Pentateuch. When once impressing his people with the importance of the observation of that particular law by which they were commanded to give the soil of their possession periodically a year of rest, he gave them at the same time to understand that unless they did so willingly, they would have to do it by the force of circumstances. "When," he says, "you shall be in your *enemies'* land, *then* shall the land rest and enjoy her sabbath" (Leviticus xxvi. 34). And again; "Because thou didst not serve *the Lord thy God* with joyfulness and with gladness of heart, while

there was (round about) an *abundance* of all things ; therefore shalt thou serve *thy enemies*, whom the Lord will send out against thee, in hunger, in thirst, in nakedness, *and in want of everything*" (Deuteronomy xxviii. 47, 48). The messengers sent out by Moses to search the land of Canaan, are reported by him (Numbers xiii. 32) to have given the following droll description thereof : " It is," they said, " a land that *eateth up* its own inhabitants," which means to say that, instead of producing sufficient food for the people that live therein, numerous burials were taking place there.

In his last famous address to his people, which is commonly called his swan-song, Moses recalls to their mind the happy days of yore, when God led them " as the eagle stirreth up his nest, fluttereth over his young, spreadeth abroad his wings, seizeth them, beareth them aloft on his pinions " (Deuteronomy xxx. 11-13). But at the same time he foresaw with the far-seeing eye of a prophet, that, as soon as they will have grown " fat, thick, and fleshy," they would forsake the God of their fathers, and worship idols. And, in consequence, he gives them God's message, which is couched in the following sarcastic terms : " They have moved me to jealousy with that which is *not God* . . . and I will move them to jealousy with things that are unfit for *a people*. I will provoke them to anger by a *roguish nation* " (Ibid. xxxii. 21).

From all hitherto said it will easily be seen that certain advantages can be derived from the study of the Bible in its original Hebrew, which the English or any other translation fails to produce. And besides, just as any one who undertakes to lecture on, say, Homer, Dante, or Shakspeare is rightly expected that he should have read the works of these poets in the original, so it ought to be considered necessary that all those who preach or lecture on the Old Testament should have made themselves fully acquainted with the Hebrew text. If the members of the Semitic Section of this Congress of Orientalists succeed in bringing about an improvement in the direction above indicated, they will have deserved well of the community.

THE HEALTH LAWS OF THE BIBLE, AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE LIFE- CONDITION OF THE JEWS.

By MARCUS N. ADLER, M.A., F.S.S.

Fellow of University College, London.

THE Bible had its origin in the East, and it may be of interest to the members of an Oriental Congress to learn what influence the ordinances of the Bible have had upon the life-condition of the Jews, who,—a Semitic race originally dwelling in a somewhat inaccessible strip of land,—are now a people scattered abroad, and dispersed all over the globe, but still observing more or less the laws enjoined on them 3,000 years ago.

The subject is a large one, and I propose to-day to examine more particularly the hygienic laws of the Bible, and bring forward certain vital statistics concerning the Jews, which I shall compare with the vital statistics of the general population.

Although the Hebrew Scriptures and the sanitary laws therein enunciated are familiar to most people, yet not many know the exact interpretation which the Jews, "The People of the Book," attached to these ordinances. Moreover, they were amplified by tradition; and the Rabbis and teachers in Israel, in their anxiety that the people should not violate them, extended their scope, and built what was called a "fence" round the Law.

We need not dwell upon the institution of the seventh day of rest after six days of labour, which has been adopted by all civilized nations, and promotes their well-being. Nor need we specially refer to the Levitical laws as to marriage among next-of-kin. Here again Christians observe these laws no less rigorously than Jews.

Scripture emphasizes the importance of cleanliness and of holiness. In Deuteronomy xxiii. 9 to 14, the people

are exhorted to keep aloof from every evil thing and from all pollution. Sanitary precautions and arrangements akin to our earth-closets are recommended even when camping out against the enemy ; for, proceeds the text, " the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, therefore shall thy camp be holy, that He see no unclean thing in thee and turn away from thee."

The Talmud enumerates (Baba Kama, fol. 82) the sanitary regulations which were upheld in Jerusalem of old—no dungheaps were tolerated there, and the rearing of poultry and of unclean animals was prohibited.

The laws as to cleanliness of the person are numerous. The Rabbis enjoined upon the Jew to perform ablutions on rising, also before morning and evening prayer, before meals, and on other occasions. Periodically he must bathe. Further, before he can offer up prayer, the room must be cleansed and all impurities cleared away.

Again, it is part of the institution of Passover that all leaven has to be removed before its celebration (Deut. xvi. 4). To do this effectively, the observant Jew must thoroughly cleanse his dwelling. This cleansing process every year has, Dr. Richardson asserts, preserved the Jew through the Middle Ages, though pent up in the noisome Ghettoes ; and it preserves him at the present day amidst insanitary surroundings and in over-crowded dwellings. The Jewish quarter at Rome abuts on the Tiber, and there one would think marsh fever would be most prevalent. It is found, however, that this district is most free from it, though malaria is so prevalent in the Campagna. In the east of London, in Galicia, and in the Pale within which alone the Jews of Russia are now allowed to live, overcrowding is great ; from twelve to twenty families often occupying three or four small rooms. But for the sanitary observances already mentioned, serious outbreaks of disease would be inevitable.

When cholera was committing its ravages, the Jews escaped to a remarkable degree. At Buda-Pesth in 1849,

the mortality among the general population was 1·85 per cent., but among the Jews it was only ·237 per cent. Scalzi says that in Italy, among the general population, out of every 100 attacked by cholera, 69·13 died ; among the Jews, it was but 22 out of every 100 attacked.

It is true that in certain towns, where there was an entire absence of sanitary arrangements in the Jewish quarter, the Jews may have suffered more than their neighbours ; and I must also admit that, among illiterate Jews, want and persecution have produced indifference to cleanliness. It is to be hoped that, with the spread of education, the latter class of Jews will learn to observe, not merely the strict letter, but also the spirit of the laws of health.

The restrictions of the Jew as to food are far-reaching. He has to eschew eating the meat of the animals that are not cloven-footed and do not chew the cud, presumably because their flesh was considered indigestible. With regard to swine flesh, we know how prone it is to trichinosis, and how unsuitable such food is in hot climates. Dr. E. Ballard, in a paper on meat infection, read at the recent International Congress of Hygiène, points out, that pig-meat furnishes the largest number of instances of food-poisoning, as it is found most freely productive of gelatine when cooked, gelatine being a favourite nutriment of morbid bacilli. That obscure illness,—actinomycosis,—which leads to suppuration of the skin, may be cited as a further example of such food-poisoning.

The Mosaic Law prohibits all shell-fish and also creeping things, including all insects and animalcules that can be discerned by the naked eye. Accordingly, the observant Jew carefully abstains from anything which has decayed or turned putrid. He must not partake of tainted milk, nor drink impure water ; and we can thus understand how, oftentimes, the Jews escaped from the plague, from typhoid, and other kindred diseases. The cry during the Middle Ages was, that the wells were poisoned ; so they were, but the poison consisted of decayed animal matter from which the Jew kept aloof.

Exodus xxii. 31 enacts that flesh that is torn must not be eaten. Leviticus xvii. 15, 16 prohibits the flesh of any animal that has died of itself. The rabbinical law requires the Jew likewise to abstain from flesh of any animal that is not killed in the prescribed way, or is found on inspection to be diseased ; and the directions given in the Talmud on this point are most minute, and display a profound knowledge of physiology. An animal, the lungs of which are in any way affected by tubercles, has always been by Jews considered unfit for food. But it is only quite recently that the danger of eating the flesh of cattle suffering from pleuro-pneumonia has been generally admitted.

In corroboration of this point, I would refer to the evidence of Dr. Drysdale before a Medical Conference at Leeds, and of Dr. Behrend, whose article in the *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1889, deserves attention. Voluminous evidence also, on this point, was furnished at the International Congress of Hygiène held recently.

The Jewish Law enforces strict examination of the lungs in the case of cattle ; but, strangely enough, dispenses with it in the case of poultry, hitherto deemed equally liable to tuberculosis. Dr. Koch, however, has pointed out to the International Medical Congress of 1890, that the tubercle cultures from fowls were a quite distinct species and innocuous to man.

You are aware that, for purposes of Life Assurance, inquiry is invariably made into the family history, and the causes of death of the near relations of the person proposing for assurance ; and especially as to whether any cases of consumption have occurred in his family. My own experience, which extends over thirty years, agrees with that of numerous physicians, and I can confidently assert that Jews are remarkably free from scrofulous and tubercular complaints.

It is an established fact, that environment has much to do with liability to consumption. The disease can be contracted even by the inhalation of the bacilli in the sputum

of a patient, so that it would be absurd to claim for the Jews absolute immunity from the malady. Copious statistics however go far to establish its comparative rarity among the Jews.

The desire to avoid parasitic and infectious maladies, which, among the general public, is so essentially of modern growth, appears to have always dominated the hygienic laws of the Jews. Those animals are forbidden which are more particularly liable to parasites. And as it is in the blood that germs of disease circulate, an additional safeguard has been provided by the injunction which requires that even clean animals, when slaughtered, should be drained of their blood, before being served for food.

Modern science, moreover, cannot but admire the wisdom of the lawgiver who, in the days of old, enjoined removal and isolation of the patient, disinfection of the clothing, and other safeguards to prevent the spread of the disease. Where contagion attached to garments, or a house was found insanitary and dangerous to health, the priest, who, in olden time, acted as the Jewish physician and local sanitary authority, was empowered to enforce their destruction.

The Jewish law is strong upon the point that the dead should be buried as soon as signs of putrefaction set in ; and there are numerous sanitary regulations for those who come in contact with the dead. The Talmud (Baba Bathra, 25) lays down the rule, that cemeteries must be at least fifty cubits removed from the city ; and extramural burial has always been a Jewish institution.

The Bible is clearly adverse to cremation ; but so anxious were the Jewish sages to promote the "return of the dust to the earth as it was," that they commended the burial of the corpse in loose boards, and the body being brought in direct contact with the earth ; they discountenanced brick graves ; and some Rabbis in the East advocate the use of quicklime, to promote decomposition.

Deuteronomy xxii. 11 enacts, "Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together."

Here we have the wearing of pure woollen stuff recommended by the law of Moses, 3,000 years before Jaeger urges its adoption.

It is no part of my task to discuss the moral qualities of the Jew ; but his temperance is an admitted fact. I doubt whether a strictly-observant Jew has ever been convicted of drunkenness. Some people however labour under the impression that, whilst the Jew is temperate in the use of intoxicating drinks, he is an inordinately great eater. I can find no ground for such an assertion. The Jew is fond of the good things of this life, for his is a joyous religion, which does not commend undue ascetic practices. The Nazarite had to bring a sin-offering because he imposed on himself unnecessary restraints. Chapter viii. of Nehemiah describes how the people spent New Year's Day, from early morning to mid-day in prayer and expounding the Law. Then Ezra and Nehemiah said, "Go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet, send portions unto him for whom nothing is prepared ; for this day is holy unto our Lord : neither be ye grieved ; for the joy of the Lord is your strength." At the other festivals, the Jew is distinctly commanded to rejoice, and regale those dependent on him.

How, it may be asked, does the Jew maintain moderation, which with him is habitual, and not the result of a violent effort ? I ascribe it to the habitual self-control which the observant Jew has to exercise, and of which I have already given instances. The greatest act of self-control is the habitual fasting incumbent upon the Jew. By fasting, I do not mean the partaking of meagre food, but entire abstention from meat and drink for twenty-four hours. Thus, of the Jewish Day of Atonement it is said in Leviticus xxiii. 32, "Ye shall afflict your souls from even unto even." The strictly observant Jews keep no less than six fasts in the year ; so that, to the Jew, abstention becomes a kind of second nature.

I have dwelt on this subject perhaps at too great a length, but I ascribe to the habitual temperance of the Jew the fact

that he becomes so readily acclimatized in all parts of the world ; while it is to the lack of such self-control that the disappearance of the aborigines in America and Australia may be attributed.

Self-control has to be exercised also by the Jews in their sexual relations, in compliance with the precepts contained in Leviticus. Dr. Behrend has pointed out that observance of these laws ensures procreation at a specially favourable period.

In the first chapter of the Bible (Genesis i. 28), occur the words, "God said unto man, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." The pious Jew is anxious, therefore, that his children should be married at a comparatively early age. The sons of the Jews in Eastern Europe marry long before they are able to gain their livelihood; and it is understood that either the father or father-in-law must maintain them until they are able to earn a competence. Where the parents cannot maintain them, marriage is not encouraged. Hence we must not be surprised that the marriage rate among Jews is less than among Christians.

Early marriages among the poverty-stricken can only lead to misery ; and it is to be feared that the lesson of the Talmud, that you must first build a house and earn your living before taking unto yourself a wife, is not always followed. However, the result of early marriage amongst the Jews, is to diminish profligacy. Syphilis is comparatively rare among the Jews of Russia and Galicia ; and the percentage of illegitimate children among them is much less than among other denominations. Into the sanitary value of circumcision I will not here specially inquire.

The observance of the institutions I have referred to, and especially that of early marriage, undoubtedly accounts for the fecundity of the Hebrew race. The statistics of France, Germany, and Italy all tell the same tale. The remarkable figures quoted by Schimmer with respect to Austria are probably exaggerated. He states that the issue of every marriage was 10·1 amongst the Jews, as against 4·5

for the general population. Legoyt and Bergmann give 8·8 births to every Jewish marriage in Austria.

The relative number of still-births among the Jews is decidedly less than among the general population. All the statistics I have been enabled to examine would point to the fact that infant mortality is considerably less among the Jews than among the general population.

The official returns for Prussia in respect to 1882, as regards the mortality during the first twelve months of life, are as follows :

NUMBER OF DEATHS TO EVERY 1000 BORN (INCLUDING STILLBORN).

		Protestants.		Roman Catholics.		Jews.
Boys	...	246·8	...	242·2	...	185·8
Girls	...	210·7	...	204·1	...	157·3

Dr. B. W. Richardson has, in various passages of his excellent works, pointed out the superior vitality of the Jews. I would specially refer to his work, "Health and Life." In chapter iii. he says, "That they should exist at all, is one of the marvels of history. That they should exist as they do, and present the vitality they do, adds even marvel to marvel." To bear out this statement he quotes Mayer, Neufville, and Legoyt, and then presents the results of an inquiry of his own, based upon the ages at death of 2,563 Jews in London, which go to confirm his assertion.

A complete investigation of the subject, so far as Great Britain is concerned, is beset with great difficulty, inasmuch as in none of the official returns is there any division in the classes of people in respect to race or religion; and for further statistics we must turn to other countries, especially to Prussia, where the records are most complete. Within recent years we do not there find such a rigid observance of the Talmudical laws; nor is this the case in countries where Jews are emancipated and in comparative affluence. In Prussia, of late years, early marriages have been less frequent. Prudential motives seem to prevail there amongst the Jews, perhaps even more so than among the Gentiles. Where people marry at a later age, the number of births is fewer, and male births do not so largely exceed female births.

Bergmann says that, while from 1819 to 1864, no less than 111'94 boys were born of Jewish parents to every 100 girls, the average was, in the years 1864 to 1873, reduced to 106'39 boys to 100 girls. The number of illegitimate births has been sensibly increasing.

Bergmann gives the following tables :—

BIRTHS PER 100 MARRIAGES.—PROVINCE POSEN.

			Roman Catholics.		Protestants.		Jews.
1819-1848	...	...	437	...	408	...	502
1849-1873	...	...	446	...	423	...	411

PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS TO TOTAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN EASTERN PRUSSIA.

			Roman Catholics.		Protestants.		Jews.
1819-1833	...	...	6'50	...	8'40	...	1'24
1834-1848	...	...	7'11	...	8'88	...	1'81
1849-1863	...	...	7'71	...	9'99	...	3'19
1864-1873	...	...	7'71	...	10'70	...	3'87
Average	...	...	7'30	...	9'50	...	2'54

The infant mortality among Jewish illegitimate children is inordinately large, more than double that among legitimate children.

The infertility of mixed marriages is a noteworthy fact. Prussian statistics show for the years 1875-81 an offspring of 1'65 for such marriages, as against 4'41 for purely Jewish marriages. Where the father was a Jew and the mother a Protestant, the average was but 1'31.

In the words of Dr. Behrend, "In every one of the biostatic privileges the Jews enjoy, the penalty has to be paid for laxity of observances; and those who transgress have to submit to the inexorable law of being cut off from their people, so far as the physical advantages of their race are concerned."

A large array of statistics in further confirmation of this statement could be given, but I will content myself with submitting certain results derived from a special investigation into the vital statistics of 10,000 Jewish families resident in the United States. This inquiry was conducted under the auspices of the Census Office at Washington, and its results were published in December, 1890.

The marriage-rate was very low, only 7·4 per 1,000 annually, the average rate among the general population in the North-Eastern States being from 18 to 22 per 1,000. The average age at marriage was greater among the Jews than among the general population. The average number of children born to each of the 10,085 Jewish mothers was 4·66. Jewish mothers born in the United States, average only 3·56 children each.

"	"	Germany,	"	5·24	"
"	"	Russia and Poland,	"	5·63	"
"	"	Bohemia,	"	5·44	"

These figures indicate a distinctly diminished fertility in those mothers born in the United States.

The proportion of male to female infants was as 103·16 to 100. The birth-rate was found to diminish from year to year. The deaths for five years amounted to 2,062, giving an average annual death-rate of only 7·11 per 1,000. This, of course, is remarkably low; but, on examination of the figures, it is found that it is decidedly increasing, and in 1889, amounted to 10 per 1,000.

For the five years, the death-rate among the native-born Jews was 9·15; among the foreign-born it was 7·61.

Looking at the American returns generally, it will be seen that the birth-rate and marriage-rate are gradually diminishing, and that the death-rate of the Jews, whilst still less than that of their neighbours, is gradually increasing. This corresponds, generally speaking, with European experience.

From examination of the causes of death, it appears that out of a total of 2,062 deaths, there was but one death from scrofula, and one from alcoholism.

The mortality per 1,000 from *Consumption* was:—

		Jews.		General Population.
Males	...	36·57	...	108·79
Females	...	34·02	...	146·12

The mortality per 1,000 from *Diabetes* was:—

		Jews.		General Population.
Males	...	19·85	...	2·74
Females	...	19·59	...	1·21

The mortality per 1,000 from *Diseases of the Spinal Cord*

was:—

		Jews.		General Population.
Males	...	9·40	...	3·73
Females	...	6·18	...	3·32

We must not be surprised at the high mortality shown among the Jews in respect of spinal complaints and diabetes. Medical authorities are agreed that they arise principally from nervous and mental strain, to which Jews are specially subject, seeing that they are more addicted to headwork and exciting business pursuits than to manual and out-door labour.

The number of insane reported among the Jews per 100,000 of population was 44·5, while, according to the United States census of 1880, among the general population, it was 336.

The percentage of deaf-mutes and blind, in respect of the Jews, is also favourable in the American returns; but these statistics do not accord with the Prussian figures.

It should be noted that the Jews principally congregate in cities, and they form but a small proportion of the rural population.

Sufficient, I think, has now been said to show how marked the influence which the sanitary regulations of the Bible, as practised by the Jews, have had upon their life conditions. I agree with Mr. Joseph Jacobs, who has written with much ability on the subject, that beyond the infertility of mixed marriages, there are few biostatic characteristics of Jews, which can be termed definitely racial; but even where not racial, they are the outcome of Jewish habit, education, and environment.

Jewish longevity, fertility, and immunity from certain diseases are due to moral and religious influences. These advantages will endure as long as these influences are permitted to operate. They must disappear, as, to some extent, they are disappearing, where the bonds of religion and traditional laws are relaxed.

How true then are the words in Deuteronomy iv. 40, "Thou shalt keep His statutes and His commandments, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth!"

PRE-HISTORIC ROCK PICTURES NEAR BELLARY, SOUTH INDIA.

ABOUT Bellary, in South India, the country is flat, often here and there masses of piled-up rocks rising a few hundred feet above the plain and showing scarcely any vegetation.

The hill, on which a fort was built by Tippu, between the civil and military sides of the Bellary station, was, like the hill near it, inhabited by the stone folk. Broken celts and other stone implements, pieces of pottery, thick and thin, some well glazed and some rudely ornamented, may be picked up in large quantities on these hills; and smooth places may be seen where pre-historic man smoothed his stone weapons and ground his corn.

The neighbourhood is the richest in South India in traces of the stone folk. The chief settlement was perhaps at Kapgal, five miles to the north-east of Bellary, where there was plenty of material for implements, and whence it was carried to the surrounding settlements. As the specimens found round about Kapgal are made of the green stone found only on that hill, it is probable that implements were roughly hewn there and carried home for completion.

Of this hill Mr. Bruce Foote, F.G.S., Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and the oldest and chief worker in pre-historics in South India, writes : *—" Kapgal had evidently been a settlement of the stone folk for a considerable period and an important centre of celt manufacture. The traces of residence were very numerous in the shape of small terraces revetted with rough stone walls, great accumulations of made ground full of ashes and broken pottery, and containing many implements of all sorts, a large proportion of them damaged, many so much so that they had evidently been rejected as useless. Bones of bul-

* "Notes on some recent Neolithic and Paleolithic Finds in South India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lvi., part 2, No. 3, 1887.

locks, chiefly broken, occur pretty numerous, and especially in the ashy parts of the made ground. Other traces of residence were small tanks made by damming up the little stream which drains the northern side of the hill. Large blocks of the local granite-gneiss had been hollowed for some purpose or other, and so well worn by use or purposely fine-tooled, that their inner surface was all but polished. . . . The signs of manufacture of implements I found on Kapgal consisted of large numbers of unfinished celts in all possible states of completion, and great quantities of flakes struck off from the selected fragments of rock in the process of fabrication. . . . The stone to be worked was procurable on the hill. It is a fine grained pale green stone (diorites), which occurs here and there in irregular bands of some thickness within the mass of a huge dyke of coarse black diorite that runs along the northern slope of the hill parallel with its axis."

Kapgal Hill was inhabited to the very summit; and all over it and in the surrounding fields may be picked up almost any number of stone celts, mealing stones, scrapers, pounders, chisels, etc., as Mr. Bruce Foote says, mostly broken. The best finds we made were two perforated stone hammers, one complete and one broken, a bone implement, and a narrow chisel of a unique type: they were the first of their kind found in South India. It was known that the folk who lived here knew how to make holes in stones, for (*vide* Mr. Bruce Foote's interesting notes) not long ago a stone ring, apparently for resting a pot on, was found on Bellary hill; still it was satisfactory to find the hammers. The only ornaments found were circular pieces of pottery, perforated as if for a string. We found, too, a reddish brown pigment, worn smooth on part of its surface as if through use in the toilet.

In the plain around Kapgal and the Bellary hills are numbers of tumuli of the circular kind so common in South India; and north of the former are two curious accumulations of what appear to be "slaggy cinders." They are

circular. The most perfect is 100 feet in diameter, and about 6 feet above the plain. The outer crust slopes gently from the plain to the crown ; within, it is perpendicular ; and the middle of the circle inside the crown is of some soft, dry, earthy stuff. Nothing more can be said of this curious accumulation at present. We sectioned it, and specimens of its composition and bones found in it were brought to England : till they are examined it is best not to theorize. I need hardly say, that no connection has yet been established between these curious accumulations, the tumuli, and the folk who inhabited the hill. There are several somewhat similar curious accumulations of cinders or ashes in Bellary district,* and some description of them will be found in Mr. Bruce Foote's Notes. They still await investigation.

With two friends, Mr. R. Sewell and Mr. H. T. Knox, of the M. C. S., excursions were made to Kapgal Hill in June last, and during one was made the discovery of pre-historic rock pictures already announced at the Congress of Orientalists in London in September last.

It seemed as if nothing we could find in the way of relics would tell us anything of the habits, customs, beliefs—the life, in fact—of those who had lived on the same ground in the far-away ages, when most unexpectedly—for existence of anything of the kind in India was, so far as we knew, unknown—were found prehistoric rock pictures which may give a glimpse into that which seemed gone for ever.

Crossing the east end of the trap dyke, I noticed the picture of an animal engraved on the perpendicular surface of a rock, so we searched about, and found many pictures on the rocks, the best of which I afterwards photographed. At this place the earth seems to have been washed away by rain, and the rocks are as if piled up. The difficulty of climbing, and the absence of any apparent purpose for doing so, may account for the discovery not being made before. There are many terraces on the solid rock, rude skill having

* Some 6,000 square miles in area.

assisted nature in forming low stone walls around them, and there are many smooth worn places which were apparently used for sharpening or smoothing implements, and larger and deeper hollows as if for pounding corn and the like. On the edges of one small flat rock were seventeen such hollows. This was evidently a working, if not an inhabited, part of the hill, for in the crevices all about were observed quantities of flakes and other signs of work.

The pictures are bruised, and not scratched, on the rocks. Fortunately they are seen to more advantage in the photographs than on the rocks, as they are very indistinct, but least so when viewed from a certain distance. Here and there is the semblance of a picture arousing keen interest, which is completely baffled when one approaches for careful examination ; for as one gets near, it seems to disappear, and it is necessary to retire fifteen or twenty feet in order to see it again.

But ere proceeding further, I may as well give some reasons for the presumption that the pictures are prehistoric.

(a) They are in a place where prehistoric man of the Neolithic (also, probably, Paleolithic) period lived and worked, and carried on manufacture of stone implements.

(b) Their origin is ascribed by the Hindu villagers of the neighbourhood to a god (Vitlappa by name) ; and the fact of their being appreciated as the work of a supernatural being, compels the presumption that they are very ancient.

(c) Their style is not Hindu : there are no Hindu conventional shapes. There is but little variation in the shapes of animals whenever or wherever depicted by Hindus. Take the Nandi—Siva's bull : on the oldest coins, or however represented, it is just the same as when now drawn or sculptured by a Hindu. On one of the rocks a Nandi has been drawn recently, and there are many specimens of modern work, easily separated from the older which it imitated : they are in quite a different style, or rather without any style, and simply scratched, and not bruised on the rocks. To mischievous persons among the worshippers

of Vitlappa, or stray cow-boys, such as those who knocked the noses off the Amravati marbles, may be attributed the modern work, which imitation easily accounts for. The old work is good of its kind, though rude; the characteristics of the animals are described in the faintest lines, and put on the rocks, not with hasty scratches, but in a manner demanding considerable labour and pains.

(d) Most of the animals depicted do not represent those now found in the surrounding country. Oxen and deer are represented again and again, always in the same style, but of different type to those we see now. The dog, ox, antelope, deer, elk, leopard, elephant (or rather what look like these), and other animals appear in the pictures, but no horse. We see the horse depicted in the Amravati marbles which were carved nearly 2,000 years ago, and which are the most ancient pictures of life yet found in South India; and it is common in Hindu pictures for the dignity of a chief to be expressed by his being on horseback. Throughout the Bellary district heroes of an olden time, represented in bas-relief on stones, are common objects of worship. It seems that, as the horse does not appear in the pictures, its existence was unknown to those who made them. The district is dry and barren and almost treeless. If it was ever a habitat of the elephant, it must have been a very long time ago.

(e) Like all the human figures in the pictures, that of Vitlappa is unclothed. This suggests that those who made the pictures were innocent of clothing, and that the picture of Vitlappa is pre-Hindu, for no Hindu god is represented nude.

(f) Some, on rocks which have not been displaced for ages, are *upside down*, and some are nearly perpendicular. Unless we suppose they were intentionally drawn so—and we cannot—we must be inclined to believe that they were drawn as only rational beings would draw them, and that the rocks were afterwards subverted. That there was some displacement of the rocks is probable, for some of the pictures could not have been done, were the rocks as they are now, without the aid of scaffolding; and that such was

used is not very likely. This helps to banish probability of the pictures having been done by Hindus, who would certainly not take the trouble to clamber over these rocks and put up scaffolding to bruise pictures on hard rocks for no conceivable purpose. Such work would be quite aimless, as the pictures show nothing of Hindu life, religion, or fancy. But they probably show some facts of life hitherto behind the veil ; for we can no more suppose that prehistoric man made them without purpose, than we can suppose that he made them solely for decorating his habitation.

Little can be said of the meaning of the pictures at present, for they have not yet been under proper examination. The best is that now supposed to represent Vitlappa, about life size, and by far the most carefully drawn. The great superiority of the work, and its being on a sloping rock, facing east, so that the sun shines on it at sunrise, suggests that it may have been sacred to the prehistoric folk as it now is to the Hindu villagers. The head is, unfortunately, almost covered by some black pitch-like substance, removal of which would displease the devotees of Vitlappa, who believe he will withhold the rain, or plague them, if offended.

It is needless to try to seek a reason for the disfigurement. If this figure was sacred of old, so too, perhaps, was the snake figure beside it. Seven strokes from the head tell us it represents a seven-headed snake. If this snake figure indicates the existence of snake worship, the picture is, perhaps, the most important of the series, as telling something of pre-historic man's "Pangs of hunger in the inconceivable," and the interest would be increased by the fact of the sacred snake being a seven-headed one. Snake worship in India,—the snake generally associated with a tree,—first noticed by Mr. Fergusson about forty years ago, is very common in South India as a cult apart, though correlated with Hinduism, which it pervades. Rude figures of snakes on stones are seen at every village well in Bellary and elsewhere, and piles of them at certain sacred places.

We see by two pictures that hunting was engaged in, and

that the bow and arrow were used for killing game. As no stone arrow-head has yet been found in South India, it may be thought the pictures suggest the use of iron for the tips. That iron arrow-heads were used at a very early period, is shown by the fact that they are found in the tumuli wherein are buried people who have passed even legend ; and I have myself found a very good one in a tumulus in the Cuddapah district, east of Bellary. But it may very well be, that neither stone nor iron was used, for hard wood answers very well. Two arrows so tipped, which I obtained from a Kâni* in Travancore, were exhibited at the Congress of Orientalists. The shafts are of reed, the tips of hard wood, and the arrows well balanced and serviceable.

Another hunting picture recently discovered by my friend, Mr. Knox, is of a man with upraised arm throwing a spear at a running deer. Behind the spear-head is a cross-bar, as if to prevent the spear-head going in too far. In the deer's neck is sticking a similar spear-head, almost balanced in its neck, so that it can be shown to be a spear-head. Some of the worked stones we found may well have been used for spear-heads.

One picture (not in the photos) shows that pots were used ; two men are standing and stirring a pot with long sticks.

The long lines of men (or women, or both) may be captives taken in war. But whether they record wars or something else, they are pretty evidently part of a whole which may fairly be called "picture writing," the beginning of all writing. On one rock (in the photos) is what may be called an illustrative specimen of this "picture writing." On the left is some horned animal, apparently standing on its hind legs ; it is very indistinct, and to say more than this is impossible. To its right is a T, on the left arm of which is a man (or woman ?) with arms upraised ; and again to the right is a man in a certain attitude.

Many of the human figures are described in a few strokes—a straight line for the body, a knob on the upper end of it

* A pigmy Dravidian people who live in the forests of Travancore.

for the head, and crooked lines for the arms and legs ; and it is traceable how a man comes to be described, as on one part of the rocks, by almost a symbol—thus ∇ —just like a big D, with the ends of the perpendicular stroke lengthened and a knob at the top. Unless we suppose that the symbol were earlier than the figures (and I am unaware of any argument that could support such hypothesis), there is inclination to suspect that the symbol grew out of the figures ; for rapidity of execution, the male figure was more and more symbolized ; by degrees, and unintentionally, representation of it became more and more as a mere symbol. It is impossible to describe here the degrees through which the symbol has been evolved ; and it must suffice to say, they are very plain. For the same reason, it cannot be stated why some of the figures appear to be prehistoric ladies.

Some of the oxen appear to be tethered, implying, perhaps, domestication ; but perhaps, as in very young children's pictures, the line round the neck is drawn to prevent the animal in the picture running away. I did not observe any fetter to any deer-like animal.

During the Congress, Mr. Flinders Petrie very kindly told me of the existence of very ancient rock-pictures in Egypt, not yet properly examined, which are, perhaps, so little known, that, with apologies to him, I quote from his book, "A Season in Egypt," his description of them :—

"After reaching the mouth of the Seba Rigaba Valley, a straggling succession of graffiti are to be seen on the sandstone rocks. . . . The most important—i'hornician. . . . Along with all these inscription graffiti, is a vast number of figures of animals, etc., not necessarily connected with the graffiti, and in most cases wholly distinct, and of a different age. These figures have never received any attention hitherto, and their numbers deter one from copying, or even cataloguing them. They are of all periods, some probably done in modern times, others later than the inscriptions. Beneath the great mentuhap tablet, are several figures of giraffes, hammered in upon the rock face, and one of these

distinctly has interfered with the arrangement of a graffito of Amenhotep I. (It is possible that these figures are intended for camels; but the necks are quite straight, although raised upwards, and there is no hump shown, so that it seems more likely that they were giraffes.) With this certain evidence of such animal figures, we may be prepared to give full weight to the collateral evidence of their weathering and appearance.

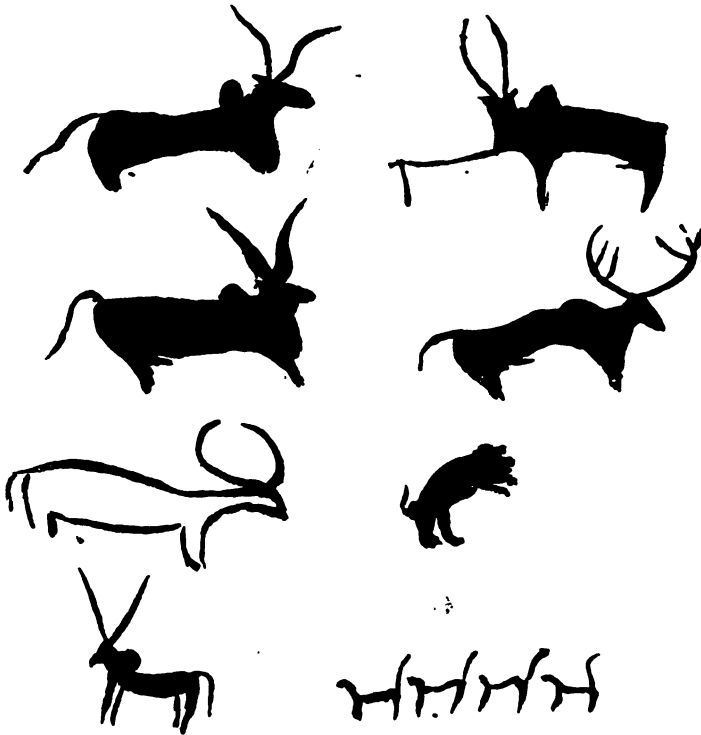
“ One of the clearest cases is on the great isolated rock in the valley of El Kab ; there, alongside of graffiti of the 6th dynasty, is a drawing of a boat with a great number of oars ; and the graffiti are but little darkened from the colour of fresh rock, during the thousands of years they have been exposed, yet the boat is almost as dark as the native surface of rock of geologic age. This is no isolated case; repeatedly on the rocks of the Soba Rigaleh neighbourhood, the animal figures alongside of the inscription are seen to look far older than the graffiti of the 12th and 18th dynasties (about 2500 B.C.). There is a great range of colour of the surface by which to judge ; the fresh sandstone is of a slightly brownish white, while the ancient weathering is of a very dark brown ; the absolute loss of the rock face being probably not the thickness of a single grain of sand during thousands of years in most parts. Hence, while on the average we might say that the inscriptions of 4000 years ago are but perhaps one quarter or one half as dark as the old face. The oldest of the animal figures are, perhaps, three-quarters of the way toward the colouring of the primitive surface. The amount of rain-wash running down the face of the rock, makes great differences in the coloration ; but in many cases we can compare figures and graffiti close together in such a way that all natural effects are equalized. This whole subject of these primeval drawings deserves full study by itself ; my object at present is to give such an account of what I saw, while copying the inscriptions, as to ensure these representations receiving the notice which is due to the oldest remains in Egypt. The figures, of all ages,

include men, horsemen, giraffes, camels, elephants (from north of the Phœnician inscription, with tusks and trunks, and large African ears), ostriches, boats of all kinds ; one of the longest boats had thirteen oars, besides the steering oar, with a figure seated on top of the cabin, and an attendant behind it. It seems that many of the figures date from a time when the elephant and ostrich lived in Nubia and Egypt. Such is the case within the period of hieroglyphic writing, as the elephant occurs in the name of the island called thence by the Greek Elephantine."

So the oldest remains in Egypt are rock pictures, which are certainly older than 3800 B.C., for historical inscriptions are written over them. How much older, cannot be said ; and they may be *very* much older. Mr. Flinders Petrie most kindly showed me photos of these rock pictures, which are "the earliest remains in Egypt." They are much of the style of the Bellary pictures—not, he remarked, suggesting any racial connection between the people who made both, but both expressing primitive man's manner of portraying living objects ; a manner, a style which is the same in all traces of his handiwork, wherever found, throughout the world. Whether there is any connection between the rock pictures of the Soba Rigaleh, which Mr. Flinders Petrie has brought to the world's notice, and the succeeding hieroglyphic writing, will doubtless be fully considered in due time. That any such connection will ever be traced from the Bellary pictures, and the earliest known vernacular writing of the district, is not expected ; but when the little collection consisting of photographs, specimens of stone implements, bones, etc., has been examined, we will know more than the mere fact, itself of great interest, that the prehistoric folk of South India, of the neolithic period, made the first four steps in the path which leads up to the art of writing.

F. FAWCETT.

We have been favoured with the following illustrations of some of the Bellary rock-bruises by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S.



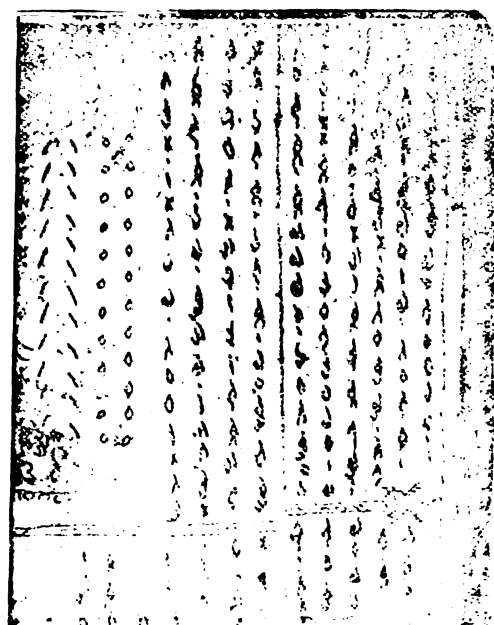
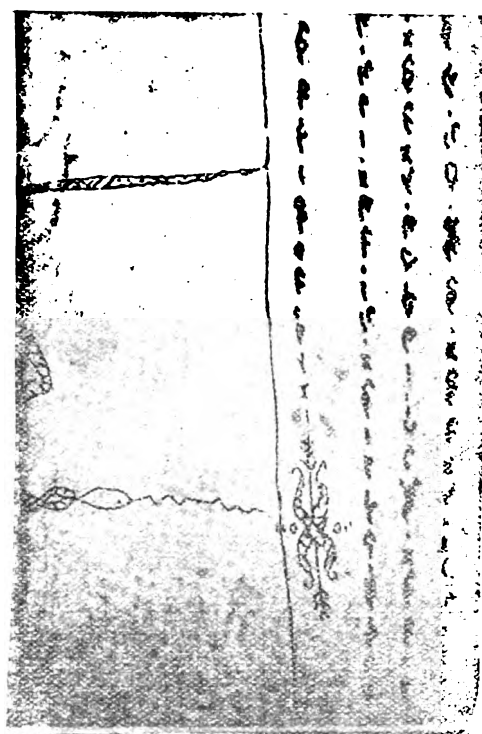
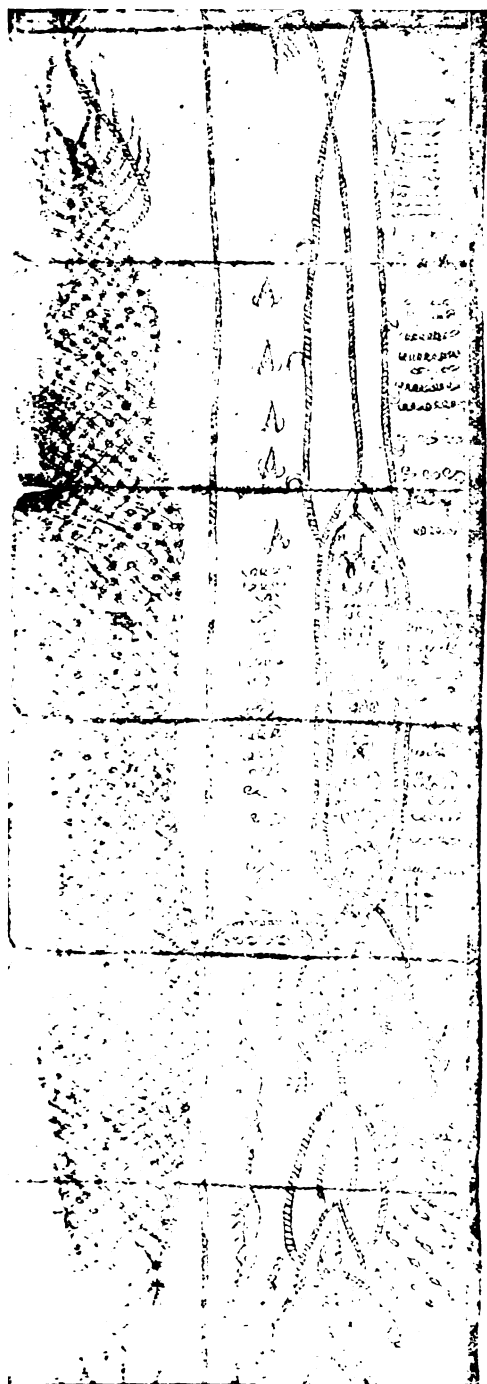
HAND-SKETCHES OF ROCK-BRUISED FIGURES, KAPGAL, NEAR BELLARY,
SOUTHERN INDIA.

N.B.—THE BUFFALO IS DRAWN, AS IT IS, IN OUTLINE.—*R. Sewell.*

THE BATAK-KARO (SUMATRA) MS. ON THE "MICROBE."

THE Batak-Karos of Sumatra, of whom M. J. Claine gave such an interesting account at the last Oriental Congress, were, I believe, first brought to notice in England by Mr. W. Marsden, F.R.S. In a work, published in London in 1811, Mr. Marsden refers to them as follows: "Their books are composed of the inner bark of a certain tree, cut into long slips, and folded in squares. Their contents are little known to us. The writing of most of those in my possession is mixed with uncouth representations of scolopendra and other noxious animals, and frequent diagrams, which imply their being works of astrology and divination." My own impression of them, without excluding Mr. Marsden's hypothesis, rather coincides with that of M. J. Claine, who, before the Congress and in an account communicated to *The Illustrated London News*, speaks as follows regarding the particular Manuscript which he submitted to the Congress, but of which he only left the photograph of an illustrated page (which we have reproduced in this issue, enlarging, in addition, the two tablets at each end in two separate photographs above the main illustration, so as to enable the text which these tablets contain to be read). This is M. Claine's description of it: "I was presented with an ancient book, which I have brought to Europe, containing an account of some plague; and this book is illustrated by very curious drawings, which seem to show that the Batak physicians, two centuries ago, had anticipated the modern theory of germs and bacilli." Unfortunately, he did not leave the book itself for the examination of the Congress Committee, which, however, has since received four similar Batak manuscripts.

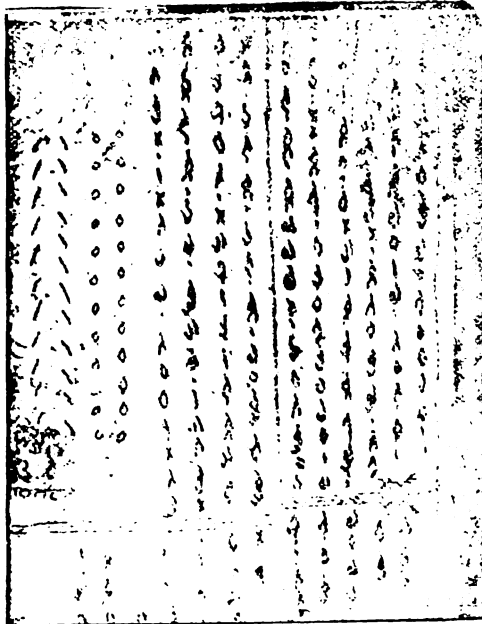
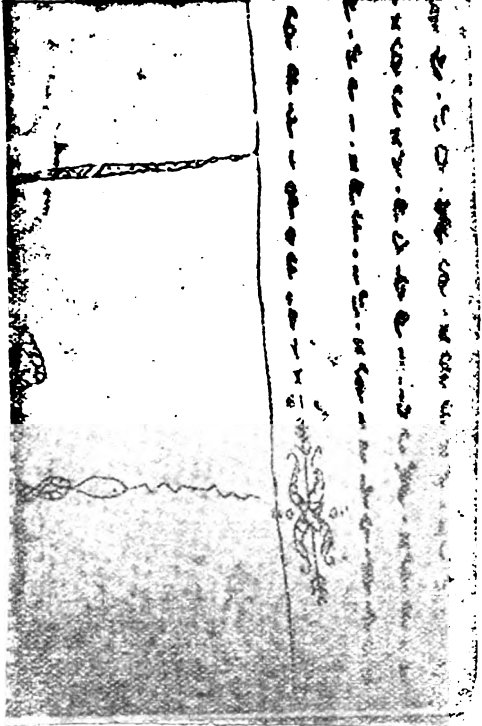
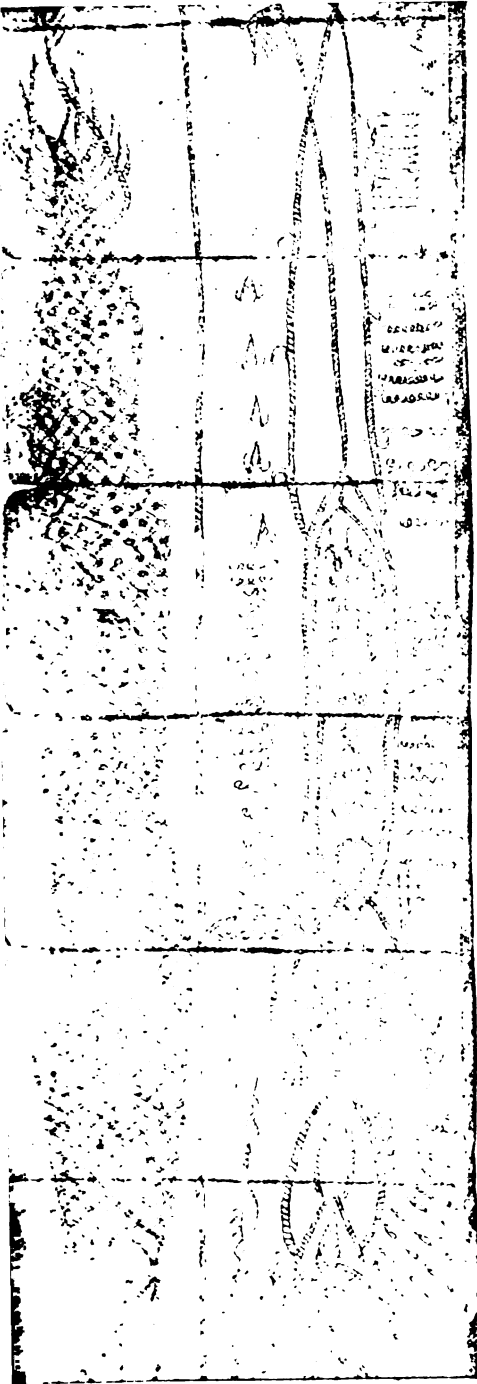
In India, diseases are often ascribed to a "Kira," or "worm;" and a kind of toothache there, as also in more than one country in Europe, is ascribed to that cause. Believing that the Bataks were largely indebted for their medical and other literature to Hindus, I have referred the question whether the theory of living germs as the cause of disease is contained in ancient Hindu medical writings, such as Susruta and Charaka, to the eminent Vaidak physician, Pandit Janardhan. Pending his reply, the illustration from M. Claine's book is herewith published, in order to satisfy the urgent curiosity of some of our readers, and to stimulate inquiry generally, in which, I think, our Dutch Members are most likely to be successful. In the meanwhile, it is only fair to quote the statement of our eminent Resident at Selangor, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, who writes as follows: "I am familiar with Treatises in Malay on Medicine, diseases, spells, charms, incantations, etc., and some of these often contain rough diagrams, illustrating marks on the skin, cabalistic signs, etc. But I am not prepared to believe that Malays or Bataks have established any theory of the propagation and conveyance of disease by germs." I think that if Mr. Maxwell had seen the illustration which we reproduce, he would alter his opinion, for, putting aside altogether the positive assertion of M. J. Claine, supported by a Dutch official on the spot, a glance at the illustration not only shows a living germ, but a growing one, which, inter-



THE BATAK-KARO (SUMATRA) MS. ON THE "MICROBE."

THE Batak-Karos of Sumatra, of whom M. J. Claine gave such an interesting account at the last Oriental Congress, were, I believe, first brought to notice in England by Mr. W. Marsden, F.R.S. In a work, published in London in 1811, Mr. Marsden refers to them as follows: "Their books are composed of the inner bark of a certain tree, cut into long slips, and folded in squares. Their contents are little known to us. The writing of most of those in my possession is mixed with uncouth representations of scolopendra and other noxious animals, and frequent diagrams, which imply their being works of astrology and divination." My own impression of them, without excluding Mr. Marsden's hypothesis, rather coincides with that of M. J. Claine, who, before the Congress and in an account communicated to *The Illustrated London News*, speaks as follows regarding the particular Manuscript which he submitted to the Congress, but of which he only left the photograph of an illustrated page (which we have reproduced in this issue, enlarging, in addition, the two tablets at each end in two separate photographs above the main illustration, so as to enable the text which these tablets contain to be read). This is M. Claine's description of it: "I was presented with an ancient book, which I have brought to Europe, containing an account of some plague; and this book is illustrated by very curious drawings, which seem to show that the Batak physicians, two centuries ago, had anticipated the modern theory of germs and bacilli." Unfortunately, he did not leave the book itself for the examination of the Congress Committee, which, however, has since received four similar Batak manuscripts.

In India, diseases are often ascribed to a "Kira," or "worm;" and a kind of toothache there, as also in more than one country in Europe, is ascribed to that cause. Believing that the Bataks were largely indebted for their medical and other literature to Hindus, I have referred the question whether the theory of living germs as the cause of disease is contained in ancient Hindu medical writings, such as Susruta and Charaka, to the eminent Vaidak physician, Pandit Janardhan. Pending his reply, the illustration from M. Claine's book is herewith published, in order to satisfy the urgent curiosity of some of our readers, and to stimulate inquiry generally, in which, I think, our Dutch Members are most likely to be successful. In the meanwhile, it is only fair to quote the statement of our eminent Resident at Selangor, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, who writes as follows: "I am familiar with Treatises *in Malay* on Medicine, diseases, spells, charms, incantations, etc., and some of these often contain rough diagrams, illustrating marks on the skin, cabalistic signs, etc. But I am not prepared to believe that Malays or Bataks have established any theory of the propagation and conveyance of disease by germs." I think that if Mr. Maxwell had seen the illustration which we reproduce, he would alter his opinion, for, putting aside altogether the positive assertion of M. J. Claine, supported by a Dutch official on the spot, a glance at the illustration not only shows a living germ, but a growing one, which, inter-



100

100

lacing with others, of every variety of size and shape, and accompanied by creeping, spider-like or bacillic forms or outsprays, becomes in the upper part of the page a framework that in the lower illustration is filled in and becomes an evident worm, with feelers, etc. From the original dot, or spôt, to the star, the interlaced squares to the complete outline, the growth is one that seems to accompany that of a living being, even if it does not also mark the progress of the disease. M. Claine, therefore, deserves every credit for having first drawn attention to a subject, the germ explanation of which is inherently probable in a country of swamps filled with animalculæ even more suspiciously than the water at Calcutta, which led Dr. Koch to the discovery of the bacillus as the cause of cholera. It should not be forgotten that the Bataks are a literary people, although some of them may still practise cannibalism (a *raison de plus* in favour of the theory), and that the chiefs are the hereditary interpreters and guardians of the books on the "local history, in which epidemic diseases naturally find a prominent place," to quote from M. Claine's statement. M. Claine, be it remembered, is the first FRENCH explorer of the country of the independent Batak-Karos, at any rate in modern times. They have been constantly discovered and rediscovered. Nicolo de Conti, in 1449, says, "In a certain part of this island (Sumatra), called *Bateeh*, the people eat human flesh, chiefly of those they have slain in war." Barbosa in 1516, De Barros in 1563, Beaulieu in 1622, Ludovico Barthema in 1505, give similar accounts of a people, more than half of whom could read and write, who were proverbially honest, and had a certain polity. The transactions of the Batavian Society, as may be expected, swarm with references to them, yet they are practically unknown, for the Dutch officials care little, as a rule, about them; strangers are not encouraged to visit them, and their possible cannibalism, even were it more out of bravado regarding an enemy than appetite, is not encouraging to travellers. Yet Captain Sheppard, of the Madras Staff Corps, in 1876, went over much the same ground as M. Claine did in 1890, with the Controller of Deli, though merely for sporting purposes, and Baron Brenner (a member of the Congress) in 1886 accomplished an adventurous journey through the same country. Another member of the late Congress, the great naturalist, Dr. E. Modigliani, has just published a most admirable and profusely illustrated *magnum opus* on Nias, in which he mentions the independent Karo-Bataks, that have also been visited by Baron de Rast, von Haan, Meissner, Dr. Hagen, von Michel, Herrings, Haarsma, Feilberg, and others. We are, however, little concerned with the claims of mere priority. Manchester commercial travellers penetrated into the interior of Africa long before Livingstone; yet it is to the scientific explorer that credit is due. The Oriental Congress was concerned with the additions to *Oriental Literature* made by explorers; and after recognising the incomparable work of Mr. Flinders Petrie in Egypt, of M. Cartailhac in Majorca and Minorca, of Dr. Bellew in Afghanistan, of Capt. Malix in Libya, and Mr. F. Fawcett's prehistoric finds at Bellary, it also welcomed the addition of the suggestive Batak Manuscript, of which we reproduce a page in this issue, and hope to translate the text in a future number.

L. B.

THE SINDBÁD NÁMAH;
OR,
BOOK OF SINDBÁD.

A PERSIAN POEM, CONSISTING OF VARIOUS TALES AND FABLES.

THIS poem appears to have been written in India, by an author whose name is unknown, about the 776th year of the Muhammadan era, or A.D. 1375, according to his own opening words. A chronogram in the introduction to the work, supposed to be contained in the words "Farmán-i-a'alá-i-sháh" * (the most exalted command of the king), would make the date three years later; but either of the years is sufficiently near for all practical purposes. The name of the most prominent person in it must not be mistaken for that of the sailor, familiar to readers of the *Arabian Nights*, for, as will be seen presently, the hero of the poem was a learned native of India. It has been translated into several Oriental languages, and versions made of it in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. It has also been commented on by Eastern historians, and mentioned in the works of Persian poets; and German and French writers have commented on the various versions; but, as far as can be ascertained, the only English authors who have brought it to notice are Falconer, who reviewed it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1841, and Clouston, who published a partial translation in 1884. These derived their knowledge of the work from the unique MS. in the

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 *f & = & 80 \\
 r & = & 200 \\
 m & = & 40 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 n & = & 50 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 ain & = & 70 \\
 l & = & 30 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 sh & = & 300 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 h & = & 5
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{rcl} *f & = & 80 \\ r & = & 200 \\ m & = & 40 \\ a & = & 1 \\ n & = & 50 \\ a & = & 1 \\ ain & = & 70 \\ l & = & 30 \\ a & = & 1 \\ sh & = & 300 \\ a & = & 1 \\ h & = & 5 \end{array}} \right\} 779.$$

library of the East India Office. This copy is unfortunately very imperfect, considerable portions of the tale being absent altogether, and others having been misplaced in the MS. in such a manner as to render the piecing together of the different apologues, so as to form a connected whole, extremely difficult. Such as it is, however, it is well worthy of being brought to notice, not only as a work of a thoroughly Oriental type, fully as illustrative of Eastern manners and customs as the *Arabian Nights*, but also as containing variants of several apologues well-known in Folk Lore.

The poem commences, as usual, with an address to the Deity, and a chapter in praise of the Prophet, followed by two dissertations against fortune, and in commendation of contentment and retirement from the world.

The author then proceeds to state that he had had no idea of writing a poem and publishing it, or of diving into such a sea of difficulty, when the king, whose dignity and good fortune he exalts, one day told him it was not becoming to the nightingale to remain silent, or to the parrot to be without noise: that although he was clever and capable, he was nevertheless idle, and that he should therefore make such a trial of the sword of his pen as should endure whilst there were swords; and that he should therefore turn into verse some prose work, in order to perpetuate his (the king's) name so long as "Najah" (a certain star) should endure.* The work proposed was the story of Sindbád. The writer promised to do as the king proposed, with the aid of God, if fate gave him the necessary time. It is in this place that the words of the chronogram given above, which establish the fact that the author was a contemporary of the Persian poet Háfiz, are inserted. The work was to be carried into effect in such a manner that for ages it should be proof against decay: the work accomplished by the learned master was to be so remembered

* There is a play in the Persian on the words "Najah," and "naji," a prose composition.

in the world, that as long as the earth endured, it should not go to ruin, and should be proof against fire, wind, and water. After a few moral reflections, the tale itself now commences.

Falconer conjectures, from the words used in the first couplet,—

“One who spoke Persian, of Táji (Arab) descent,
Said to me thus in words of eloquence,”

that the original prose story was written by an Arab in Persian. Loiseleur des Longchamps was, however, of opinion that the work was originally translated from Sanscrit into Persian; and this view is to some extent borne out by the fact that two at least of the fables are clearly of old Indian origin.

The following is a brief outline of the story. An Indian king, by name Gardis, was for a long time childless, but by dint of fasting and prayer, at length obtained a son, who was destined, according to the horoscope cast at his birth, to pass through a great misfortune and become famous in his age. Great care was taken with the young prince's education, but for some years to no purpose, until he was placed by the king, on the advice of his seven Vazirs, or Ministers, in the charge of a learned man of the name of Sindbád. Under this person's tuition, the prince in six months became a model of learning and wisdom, and was about to be presented to his father under this more favourable aspect, when the time for undergoing the calamity predicted at his birth arrived. He was warned by his preceptor accordingly, that in order to counteract the evil fate that was lying in wait for him, he must be silent for seven days, whatever the king might say or do to him; and presumably, for the MS. is deficient at this point, he followed the advice. One of the king's wives, who had fallen in love with the prince, begs the king's permission to take his son into the private apartments, on the pretence that she might extort from him the secret of his remaining silent. Leave is given, and she takes the opportunity to declare her passion to the prince, and offers to raise him to the

throne by poisoning his father. The offer being indignantly refused, the woman, afraid of the possible consequences when the prince was allowed to speak again, determines to be beforehand with him, and rushing into the king's presence, accuses the prince of making improper proposals to her and threatening his father's life. Shocked at the revelation, which he fully believes, the king sends for the executioner, and orders the prince's execution.

The book is profusely illustrated; and some of the most amusing illustrations are those in which preparations are being made for the prince's execution, the prince standing on a stool with the rope round his neck, and the hangman, in cocked hat and sword, preparing to haul him up to the gallows by main force. As a rule, the attitudes of the figures are grotesque and unnatural, but with this exception, the colouring and the elaboration of the arabesque quotations from the Korán on the walls are delicate and in wonderfully good taste. To proceed with the tale, however. The king's Vazirs, hearing of the king's order, hold a consultation, and determine to prevent its being carried out by one of their number going to their master on each of the seven days for which silence has been imposed on the prince, until the latter may be at liberty to defend himself, and relating tales to the king to expose the deceitfulness and wiles of women. Then commences the struggle between the Vazirs and the desperate woman, the king on each day putting off the prince's execution, in consequence of the impression made on his mind by the Vazirs' stories, and the next day reiterating his order for his son's death on the tears and entreaties of his treacherous wife. The former, however, manage to tide over the seven days of silence; and finally the prince, allowed to speak for himself, turns the tables on his wicked step-mother (if a co-wife can be so termed), and turns out a model of wisdom and excellence. He is again taken to his father's heart and raised to the throne, the king abdicating in his favour; while, most provokingly, through the deficiency of the MS., the reader is left in doubt as to the woman's fate.

Such being the general outline of the story of the book, it will be seen how aptly the details are fitted in to serve its general purpose of bringing before its readers a number of tales and fables illustrative of Eastern manners and customs.

The king is introduced as a world-conqueror, who is possessed of wisdom and power of administration like a Rajah. Here the inveterate love of Orientals for punning or playing on words at once shows itself, for the word "Rái," used for Rajah, is the same as "rái," wisdom; and there are but few consecutive couplets in the whole work in which the author's skill in this respect is not displayed: for instance, in the fourth couplet, the same words "savád," and "khat," are made use of to signify environs and boundary line, which in another sense mean the blackness of locks, and hair or down on the face, respectively. The king's palace was not of stone or marble, but of bricks of gold; and his kitchen was supplied with fresh aloe-wood, giving out a sweet perfume, for fuel. Abyssinia, and up to the boundary of Roum (Constantinople) and China, had been brought like wax under his signet ring. A hundred beauties (Turks) of China were his slaves; his ancestors* were Turks, and his name was Gardís. The crocodiles of the sea, and the panthers of the land knew his justice; in his time the gazelles and the tigers had become school-fellows, and slept together on one carpet. Notwithstanding all this excellence and power, and that he was the refuge of the Khalifate, he had no son. (Here again is a play on the words "khiláfat," and "khalaf.") He had not the fruit of his heart in the garden of his soul. "What gain is there from this life of fifty or sixty years, when from this connection nothing comes to hand? He slept not at night, but was wakeful, and all day he was full of pain and care. God forbid that dry sticks should ever usurp the place of the cypress, or the crow take the inheritance of the phea-

* The MS. is here illegible, as no diacritical points have been written; but as "Barg" for "Turk" would make no sense, "Niákán-i-oo Turk," the reading suggested by Dr. Rieu, of the British Museum, is probably correct.

sant ; for when the gardener closes his eye, the profit of the garden of his life is scattered to the winds. The young man never remembers death : may grief and pain and death never fall to the lot of young men !” These quotations, by no means the whole of the reflections suggested to the author of the poem by the king’s circumstances, are given as fair specimens of its style, to show the wearisomeness of the task of wading through the interminable shallows of common-place with which it abounds, in order to arrive at the few deep spots of poetic feeling and pretty simile to be found in it, as a reward for one’s labour.

By dint of assiduous prayer, that key which alone will open the door of difficulty, the king at last obtained his desire, and a son was born to him. He sought for the child a nurse, who should give him milk, milk flowing like a cloud in spring. He summoned those who knew the stars from the earth to the Pleiades (*az Surá tá Suryá*), from the heavens above to the fish below, on which the earth is supposed to rest (*az samá tá samak*), that they might cast the child’s nativity, and was informed that after there should pass away a certain perplexity, from which the prince would escape through the blessing of good fortune, he would become prosperous, and his sword, like the sun, should conquer the whole of Hindustan from the East to the West.

When the boy was ten years old, he was given into the hand of a learned but very mild preceptor ; “ the precious pearl was delivered to the sea. Thou canst not say when sour grapes will become sweetmeats, for these drop rain that may become a sea, and worthless copper, by education, may be turned into gold.” It was not so with the prince, however ; his preceptor’s exertions were all in vain, for the boy did not know “*ab-u-jad*” (father and grandfather) from “*abjad*” (an arithmetical alphabet, in which the letters count for so much each ; as in “*abjad*” the *a* or aleph was one, the *b* or *bá* two, the *j* or *jim* three, and the *d* or *dál* four), nor “*Mohammad*” from “*Auhad*.” When you asked, “*How many are thirty ?*” he said, “*Ten :*” when you said, “*What*

is night?" he answered, "The moon." He called thorns dates, and when told to say, "Fire," he said, "Firewood." The father was naturally much disappointed. He had hoped that "this drop of hail would become a pearl,* and that his pitcher would be filled from that fountain; that this mote would become a sun, and this crescent a full moon." He accordingly assembled the wise men of the place to consult, telling them that he repented having prayed for the son, who had turned out so unsatisfactorily; that it would probably have been better if he had followed the advice given by the sailor to his captain, to leave the affairs of God to God; that unleavened bread had not come out of leaven,† nor one spoonful of butter out of ten skins of milk. The wise men accordingly consult together, and one of their number, Sindbád, being called upon to undertake the prince's education, in the course of the conversation, relates the fable of "The Fox and the Monkey;" how the former took in the latter by flattery, and turned his conceit to his own account:

THE FOX AND THE MONKEY.

An old fox started along a road in search of food, and after going some distance found a fish lying in a dry place. Greatly rejoiced that his search had not been in vain, he yet thought caution was necessary, as it was unusual to find a fish where there was neither water nor fishmonger's shop. Accordingly, going along the road until he met a monkey, he knew that he had found the key to the place that was closed to him. He persuaded the monkey that the gazelles and wild asses desired to make him their king, that he might protect them against the lion, who was never satisfied with unjust blood, and were waiting on the road to give him the crown of rule from the crescent to the full moon. The monkey, deceived by this flattery, accompanied the fox to where the fish was lying, and was persuaded by the

* Alluding to the belief that a pearl is formed by a drop of rain falling into an open oyster.

† Falconer conjectures, probably correctly, that the words "fatir" and "khamir" (unleavened and leavened) should properly here change places.

latter that the food belonged to him by virtue of his superior dignity. Seizing the fish accordingly, the monkey was caught in the trap which was baited with the fish, whilst the fox, taking advantage of the position, obtained the fish for his own dinner.

Having heard this fable, the others say to Sindbád : "Thou art more capable of teaching than we. Thou art the sea in waves, and we but a drop : thou art the sun in the height, and we but an atom. Thou art in excellence the full moon, and we as Sahá (the smallest of stars)." In reply Sindbád acknowledges that he is at least not inferior to his friends and, *à propos* to the situation, relates to them another fable :

THE WOLF, THE FOX, AND THE CAMEL.

A wolf, a fox, and a camel were travelling together, and had for their food on the road only one round cake. (Falconer translates the word here used a pumpkin.) After a long and hot journey they came to a pool of water and sat down, and came to the conclusion that the cake should be given to him among them who was the oldest. Thereupon the wolf commenced : "Indian, Persian, and Turk know that before God created the world, earth and time and space, by a week, my mother bore me ; I have the best right to eat this cake." The crafty old fox said, "Yes, I have no doubt in the matter. On that night when thy mother bore thee I was the skilled person in attendance. I lighted the morning lamp and burnt like a candle at the pillow." The camel having heard these words, came forward like a short wall, and took up the cake, saying, "One cannot hide a thing that is manifest. I with such a neck, and thigh, and back, was not born of my mother yesterday or last night."

The other sages applauded the tale, and it was agreed that Sindbád should be recommended to the king as the prince's teacher. The MS. has been so irregularly bound up that it is impossible to tell whether Sindbád was or was

not the boy's original preceptor; but from the context it may be concluded that he was not, but was appointed to the post on the failure of the first, and, after six months, succeeded in instructing him by means of pictures illustrative of various branches of learning, drawn on the walls of a terrace erected for the purpose. Before he undertakes the task, he impresses on the king the necessity of not forming too hasty a judgment on the ill-success that had attended the first efforts made to educate his son, by relating to him the story of the elephant-driver and the king of Kashmír :

THE ELEPHANT-DRIVER AND THE KING OF KASHMÍR.

A prince of Kashmír had sent to him, as a present, an elephant that resembled a black mountain, like a ship with heavy anchors, with feet as the wind, leaping from its place like the wind of *Sarsar*, that like fire rose quickly up, and like water fell down from above. The king offered silver and gold and jewels, piled up as high as the elephant itself, if the driver would tame it. This the latter undertook to do ; and spending three years in the task, brought the elephant back tamed. The prince, by way of trial, mounted on it, and it ran away without his being able to control the animal, to the extreme danger of the prince's life, until it thought fit to return quietly home. Enraged with the keeper, the prince ordered him to be thrown under the elephant's feet and trodden to death ; but at last, moved by the entreaties of the man, whose hair had become white in his service, and by the sight of the children about to become orphans, he relented, and released him. The latter then put the elephant through a number of performances that he had taught him, and thus proved the animal's perfect tameness. The ill-success of the prince's teacher had arisen from bad fortune in the same manner that the elephant-driver had experienced it, notwithstanding his having tamed the animal.

Sindbád now explains that the time of the prince's evil fortune has passed away, and promises in six months to

give him the result of thirty years' study. The MS. is deficient at this point ; but it is clear that, notwithstanding the opposition of the courtiers and others, the prince was handed over to Sindbád for instruction, and that the latter accomplished the task by means of the pictures drawn on the walls mentioned above. At the end of the stipulated time, Sindbád took an observation of the stars, and was dismayed to find that a great calamity threatened his pupil. He consequently advised him to be completely silent when he should be taken before his father the next day, and remain so for seven days, until the days of ill-fortune had passed away. There is the following heading to the portion of the narrative that should have followed here :

“CALLING AN ASSEMBLY BY THE KING, AND SENDING FOR THE PRINCE AND SINDBÁD. THE RELATION OF THE KING'S QUESTIONING AND THE PRINCE'S NOT SAYING A WORD.

All relating to what took place on this occasion is however missing from the MS. ; and where the thread of the tale is caught again, we find one of the king's wives, who has fallen in love with the prince, begging the king's permission to send for the latter and endeavour to discover the reason for his silence. Leave is granted ; and when the prince enters the harem, the woman declares her passion for him, with the result already mentioned.

During the consultation of the Vazirs with each other, as to the proper course for them to pursue, one of them, being of opinion, that as they had not been consulted, it would be better not to interfere in the matter, the chief Vazir relates the tale of the king of the monkeys who would not listen to advice. The MS. is here again very imperfect, but the substance of the story is as follows :

THE FALL OF RUZBEH, THE MONKEY KING.

This monkey king, having gone one day up a lofty hill in his dominions to hunt, saw a goat butting at an old woman, and on his calling the attention of the leaders of his army to the circumstance, one of them, the commander

of the monkey army, says There is some mystery in the affair, and it is therefore necessary (for what particular reason is not stated) that he should expatriate himself. At this point there is probably an interpolation, as the MS. makes out that the king did leave his country, and another king was appointed in his stead. This in no way fits in with the rest of the story, which, after about a page, continues with the tale of the goat butting the woman, until at last, she one day, when she had been to get fire from a neighbour, and was enraged at the animal butting her so as to make the blood flow, set fire to its hair. The goat with its hair burning, rushed in among the rushes surrounding the place where the king's elephants were kept, and set fire to them, so that the elephants were burnt. The king, having inquired what could be done to relieve the elephants, was informed that the only remedy was to apply the fat of monkeys to the burnt parts, and accordingly sent out horsemen in all directions to hunt down the monkeys, among whom the commander of the monkey army was caught and presumably killed. It would seem from this, that it was the monkey king who considered expatriation advisable, and left his country accordingly, and that it was the general who did not follow the advice and suffered.

The Vazirs applauded the tale ; and it was then arranged that one of their number should go to the king every morning and tell him stories about the deceit of women, so as to tide over the seven days of the prince's enforced silence. After enlarging on the king's renown for justice, the first Vazir warns him against killing his son on the mere word of a woman, saying that a woman is always a woman, of bad propensities and evil thoughts, crooked like a snake, from whom nothing straight can ever be hoped for ; that as long as the arrow has not left the thumb-stall it is within the control of the shooter, but when it has left the bow, or when a word has passed out of the mouth, all authority over them is at an end. God forbid that in the end he should have to repent, as the man who with-

out cause killed the innocent parrot, of which the story is then told :

THE SUGAR-SELLER, HIS UNCHASTE WIFE, AND THE
PARROT.

A sour-faced sugar and sweetmeat-seller had a beautiful wife. He had also a parrot that acted as policeman, spy, watchman, bell, and caretaker, flapping its wings if even a fly settled upon the sugar, and that always told its master all that had taken place in his absence when he went from home. The man one night went out enjoining on the parrot to keep watch whilst he was away. His wife's lover, having discovered this, thought the opportunity of plucking a rose without fear of a thorn too good to be lost, and came to the garden where there was no gardener. When the husband returned, he inquired of the parrot what had taken place, and, after some hesitation on the bird's part, was told of the lover's visit. Thereupon he gave his wife a good beating; and she, knowing that only the parrot could have given the information, determined to have her revenge. Accordingly, the next time her husband left his house at night, leaving it, as usual, in charge of the parrot, she and her lover planned a trick by which the bird might be deceived into believing a great storm had taken place during the night. A hand-mill was turned so as to imitate thunder; the parrot was soused with water; and lightning was imitated by a light hidden behind a dish being occasionally flashed upon it. When its master again questioned it in the morning, the bird described the storm that had taken place; and the farmer, convinced that it must have lied about his wife as it was then lying about the storm, seized it and tore off its head. He was subsequently informed of the true state of the case, and bitterly repented his hasty action.

The Vazir proceeds, in illustration of the deceitfulness of women, to tell another story. The details of this are imperfect as a leaf is missing from the MS

THE SOLDIER AND HIS LOVER, AND HIS SERVANT, AND
THE WOMAN'S HUSBAND.

A soldier had for his mistress the wife of a tailor in the kingdom of Balkís * in the city of Sapá (Sheba). The soldier one day sent his servant to her, probably to make an assignation; and the servant himself was entertained by the woman in place of his master. The latter, becoming impatient, goes to the tailor's house; and the terrified servant is hidden by the woman in an inner room, while she entertains his master. Presently her husband makes his appearance; but the woman's presence of mind does not even now forsake her. She bids the master draw his sword and rush from the house in an apparent fury; and when her husband enters receives him warmly. She then tells the latter that the soldier had come in search of his servant, whom, for fear of his life, she had concealed from his master in the inner room. The husband is completely deceived, and bringing the servant out, speaks kindly to him and gives him his daughter in marriage.

The king, having heard these tales, determines to think the matter over, and remands his son to prison. In the morning, his wife comes again and demands justice, accusing the Vazir of corruption and desiring a new king every week, and finally telling him that if he would not listen to her advice, the same would happen to him that had happened to the washerman through his bad son. At his desire she then relates the story.

THE TALE OF THE WASHERMAN AND HIS WICKED SON,
WHO WERE DROWNED IN THE RIVER NILE.

At a time when there was neither ark nor flood, in that dry year when there was no flood, there was a washerman of the name of Noah, who lived at the capital town of Egypt, beyond Syria. Like a mote he was all day in the sun, and like a fish the whole year in the water, and as a skilful workman could, with his soap, wash a black man

* This was the name of Solomon's Queen of Sheba.

white. He had a wicked son whom he had named the Canaan of Noah, and also an ass like the ass of Jesus. When the boy saw his father in the water, he used to drive the ass in; and as he was continually thrown off, kept his father in terror lest he should be drowned, or a lion fish (crocodile?) should seize him and he should fall into bonds like Jonah. The boy one day rode into the water with such force that it went over his head to the depth of a spear, and when his father went in to save him caught hold of his hair. Consequently both were drowned.

The king on hearing this story orders the executioner to do his duty; but the second Vazir directs him to sheathe his sword for a while, while he expostulates with the king. In carrying out his purpose he relates the tale of the male and female partridge, who left their home on account of their neighbour.

THE TALE OF THE TWO PARTRIDGES.

Two partridges, in appearance like two souls in one body, or like two bodies in one garment, lived together in close intimacy. Being exceedingly harassed by a hawk that seized every young partridge, they thought it expedient to leave their native place. As they are consulting, the Hoopoe appears, and launches out into praise of Shiráz, whose dried leaves and thorns are sweeter than roses, whose stones are rubies and its earth gold; of Muslá (a suburb of Shiráz), a paradise, with the water of Rukná, like that of Káosar flowing through it, and of Jáfarábád with its pleasant air that is efficacious as the Messiah's breath. The partridges accordingly start off for their new home, where they live for some time, in the midst of friends, an ideal life, pictured in two couplets:

The joy of youth and the season of Spring,
An affectionate lover (idol) and a river's bank :
These alone are the new wine of life.
Happy he who is within reach of such.

At last, however, came a dreadful year of famine, and the male bird went off to the City of the Peacock to procure

food, the female remaining sorrowfully at home. After some time he returned, and found the appearance of his wife much changed. Her neck was thin and her body swelled, as if she had been pregnant. His affection for her was at an end at once; and although she declared her innocence, he did not believe her, and tore her head from her body. Soon afterwards he found from the other birds that her changed form was the result of a peculiar disease, and in bitter repentance took poison and died.

In further illustration of the deceitfulness of women, the Vazir tells a second story :

THE TALE OF THE OLD MAN WHO SENT HIS YOUNG WIFE
INTO THE BAZAAR TO BUY HUSKED RICE.

An old and very pious man had a young wife, to whom one day he gave gold, and sent her out to buy husked rice. She adorned herself in Chinese brocade, and went to the shop of her lover, who weighed out her rice, and asked her to come in and rest herself. She accepted the invitation; but what then took place is left to conjecture, for another leaf of the MS. is wanting. The woman, as the story proceeds on the next leaf, is found excusing herself to her husband for not having fulfilled her errand and having lost the gold given to her, by saying she had dropped the money in the dust when a young camel ran away and frightened her. Her husband believes her tale, and gives her money again; and with this she goes off a second time to her lover.

The king, having heard these tales of the deceitfulness of women, sends Joseph back to Canaan, that is, the prince to prison; and the next morning, Zuleikha (Potiphar's wife) returns for the third time to complain of the king's injustice to her, and tells him that if he does not listen to her advice, the same thing would happen to him that happened to the prince who, led astray by his Vazir, fell into the hands of Ghouls :

TALE OF THE PRINCE WHO WENT OUT WITH HIS VAZIRS
AND SLAVES TO HUNT.

A young prince, tired of Court life, asks permission of his father to go out to hunt. His father tries to persuade him not to go, in some couplets which appear worthy of a literal translation.—

The ancient man gave him this for answer :
Saying : “ Listen to my tales, behave not as a youth,
For hunting is an exceedingly bad thing,
In its commencement it is bad, and in its end it is bad.
It is not permissible with people of discernment
That the falcon should pluck out the eye of the partridge.
The gazelle of such tenderness and salt (grace),
Is it not forbidden to the claw and tooth of a dog ?
The pheasant so delicate, so graceful in gait,
Is it not a blemish in the hand of the hunter and the snare ?
In them there is neither pain nor oppression of any ;
They content themselves with grass and thorns only.
The widow said sweetly to the falconer :
“ Raise thy hand from this evil affair.*
All are slaves of the Creator,
All equally live by His decree.
What gain is there from making them lifeless ?
What profit is there in sacrificing an ant ?

The prince will not be persuaded ; and his father gives him leave to go, placing him in charge of a favourite Vazir, who is instructed not to let him go near a certain desert. The prince, whilst out hunting, is persuaded by another Vazir, one of evil disposition, to come into a tent and drink some wine, and is about to lie down to rest when a wild ass is started. The prince mounts and pursues it, and it suddenly changes into a beautiful woman, who avows her passion for him and leads him to her abode. This reached, she calls out : “ Come and see what I have brought,” and the prince is immediately surrounded by a swarm of black ghouls, but manages to escape, as it appears from a Greek version of the work, by uttering a prayer which causes the woman to fall down powerless.

* A punning couplet, “bázdár” meaning a “falconer” and “raise” as well.

The MS. is again defective, for the conclusion of this last story is wanting, as well as the commencement of the next chapter. The latter may be presumed to record another order for the prince's execution, and the delay of this on the representation of the third Vazir, who warns the king that if he kills his son, it may happen to him as it happened to the officer who killed the cat :

THE OFFICER WHO KILLED THE INNOCENT CAT.

[This is a variant of, a fable told in the *Pancha-tantra*, where the animal that is killed is a mungoose instead of a cat.]

There was a woman in the city of Khatá, virtuous and far from error ("khatá" signifies error as well as being the name of the country), a woman of pure disposition, chaste and continent, and a fearer of God, the mirror of whose face only her comb and her own locks had seen.* When could any stranger find a road into that house except a candle, and that only to a moth? The lobe of her ear only her ear-ring saw; and none saw her hand but a picture. This pearl died in child-birth: she tasted one cup of honey in kissing her son, and then drank the poison of death. The husband sprinkled much rose-water on that rose: the rose left the garden, and the rose-water was left behind. What is the house of the world? An inn with two doors, a halting-place on the road for the traveller. Thou seest not in it a permanent abode. The caravan alights and passes on. Since it is time to march, tie on thy goods. Why dost thou make thy tent-pegs so strong? Lift up thy foot; the road is long and far. Lay not down thy head, lest thou fall behind thy fellow-traveller. The husband provided a nurse for the child; but one day, when she happened to be out, the baby was left alone with a favourite cat, which, after a severe struggle, killed a snake that came into the room. When the father returned and found the cat covered with blood, he imagined that it must have killed his child, and without further inquiry killed the

* This line is difficult to translate, and the words "azná mahrumán," those not privileged to enter the harem, have been omitted.

faithful and innocent animal, of course bitterly repenting his rashness when he discovered the real state of the case.

The Vazir then relates another story to prove the deceitfulness of women :

THE WIFE WHO WAS TAKEN BY AN OLD WOMAN TO HER OWN HUSBAND.

A rich young man had a profligate wife, who, in his absence, used to meet her lovers indiscriminately. One day the young man went to a village which was his property, but returning at night asked an old woman to procure for him another mistress ; and she, knowing the propensity of his wife, but not knowing him as the husband, brought his own wife to him. The wife, seeing it was her own husband to whom she had been brought, upbraided him for his unfaithfulness, and dissembled so well that he had no suspicion of her, and appeased her by giving her valuable presents.

The Vazir concludes by saying that there is probably only one woman out of a hundred who is free from deceit, and the king remands his son to prison again, and delays his execution.

The next day, the damsel presents herself for the fourth time, and threatens to drink a cup of poison she brings with her, if justice is not done to her against the prince.

She relates next a story which is in the tenth chapter of the *Anvar-i-Suhaili* :

THE TALE OF THE MONKEY, THE FIG-TREES, AND THE COMING OF THE BOAR TO THE FOREST.

An old monkey, having through weakness become a burden to his family, takes leave of them and wanders away to gain his own livelihood. In due time he arrives at a delightful forest, where there are plenty of fig-trees with fruit upon them, and remains there at ease, eating fruit, but taking care to leave a sufficient stock for the winter time. A wild boar, fleeing from his pursuers, comes

to the place, and being hungry begs the monkey to shake down some of the fruit. The monkey obligingly does so, and gives him more and more, until there are but few figs left, and the monkey begins to fear for his own future provision. The boar begins to threaten him, and he prays to God against his oppressor, whereupon the enraged boar jumps on to a branch of the tree on which the monkey is. The branch breaks, and the boar, falling down, breaks his neck.

She warns the king that God may overthrow the throne of the oppressor in the same way, and so inflames him that one might have said, she threw butter on the fire. He ordered the chief courtier to bring fire and naphtha and firewood, and tell the executioner to burn his son up with fire. Upon this the fourth Vazir presents himself, and begs him not to be too hasty in killing his son on the tale of a woman. Since woman was obtained from the left side, what wonder that she should be of a crooked disposition? There is disgrace in crookedness, and salvation only in being straight. He then relates the tale of "the bath-keeper who took his wife to the son of the king of Kanouj." The details of this are too grossly indecent to be given. After this a second story is related of how an old woman put on an appearance of great piety, and cajoled a chaste woman, by making a dog eat hot things, so that water ran from its eyes, into believing it was her duty to console a young man who had fallen in love with her. There is evidently a misplacement of the leaves of the MS. in this place. The damsel probably appeared for the fifth time and related another story, and turning over from folio 86 to folio 127 (the intervening leaves being misplaced) we find but three pages remaining of what is evidently the first story of the fifth Vazir. From these three pages it may be called "*The Tale of the Lady whose Hair was cut off.*" Clouston suggests, probably correctly, that this tale relates to a lady who had dissipated with a paramour her husband's wealth, and the remaining fragment tells how an old woman cuts off her hair, and when her husband returns

home, persuades him that this has been done as a sign of mourning for his supposed death. It may be presumed that the king puts off his son's execution, and the damsel appears for the fifth time, and urges the king to put him to death.

The next story in the MS., apparently told by the fifth Vazir, is that of a woman who had an intrigue with her lover ; and when her husband's father, in order to convince her husband of the fact, took off her anklets while she slept, persuades her husband that these were taken off while she was with him. The details of the story are not fit to be transcribed.

In consequence of this tale, the prince is remanded to prison again ; and the damsel comes for the sixth time to demand justice, abusing the Vazir in various terms. In support of her prayer she relates the story of a robber, a lion, and a monkey :

STORY OF SALUK, THE ROBBER, THE LION AND THE MONKEY, AND THE DEATH OF THE MONKEY.

A caravan of merchants, conveying jewels and precious goods, alighted at a certain place. At night a robber of the name of Saluk went and sat among the beasts of the caravan, with the intention of stealing a horse. It happened that a lion was also prowling about to kill something to eat, and the robber jumped on its back and rode it about until the morning, when passing near a tree he jumped off the lion and climbed up into it. The lion ran off, and meeting a monkey was at first frightened, thinking it was his enemy Saluk ; but finding it was only a monkey, stopped and told him his adventure. The monkey laughed at him for being frightened of a man, and at the lion's instigation began to climb the tree in which Saluk was hiding in a hollow. No sooner had he done so than he was seized from below by Saluk and killed. The moral is, that people should not engage in conflict with their superiors in strength, as the fox cannot contend with the lion. The king, as on previous occasions, gives orders for the execution of his son,

and this brings upon the scene the sixth Vazir to remonstrate with the former. He extols the king's justice, and imploring him not to rely on what a woman says, relates the story of a hermit, who learnt from a Peri the three great names of God, by the uttering of which in prayer he should obtain whatever he asked for. The details of this story are not fit for repetition ; but the general idea is, that after consultation with his wife, the hermit utters one of the names and prays for a change in his condition, which, being immediately granted, turns out to be so horrible that he has to utter the second name in order to get rid of it. His condition then becomes so wretched, and so much worse than that in which he originally was, that he has to make use of the third name in praying to be restored to his first and natural state. The idea of three wishes being given to a man, by which he in the end gains no advantage, is common to the folk-lore of many countries ; but in none fortunately has there arisen such obscenity of ideas as in the present instance, or such unblushing argument been adduced in their support.

The Vazir next tells a story of how a merchant's wife was induced by an old woman to go to a young man who had fallen in love with her, under the pretext that he was a magician, who would reveal to her why her husband had beaten her. He had done so on finding under her pillow a piece of silk the young man had purchased from the merchant and given to a eunuch, an accomplice of the old woman, who had been consulted by the young man in his love affair. In the end a false account of the placing of the silk under the pillow is given to the husband ; and he not only believes his wife innocent, but begs her forgiveness and loads her with gifts.

The king, being convinced of the deceitfulness of women, stays the execution of his son and remands him to prison ; and the damsel comes to him for the seventh time to demand justice. She warns the king that his son is in league with the Vazir, and relates a story of a prince who

went to hunt, and how he was deceived by him. Unfortunately the MS. is here so defective that the whole of this story is missing. Turning back to folios 87 to 126 inclusive, we find the next story, told evidently by the seventh Vazir, of "the King and the virtuous wife," the commencement of which is also missing. It tells of a king who was converted from the error of his ways by a virtuous woman, to whom he gave a ring by way of memento. The husband of the woman finds the ring and suspects his wife of having an intrigue with the king, but is soon convinced of his mistake, and begs her forgiveness.

The same Vazir tells another story of a man who had compiled a book on the deceitfulness of women, and was finally made captive by the wiles of a woman. In consequence of the impression produced on his mind by this recital, the king remands his son to prison again.

By this time the seven days during which silence had been imposed on the prince had elapsed, and he sends the Vazir to the king to ask him to receive him in an assembly of the nobles and courtiers, in order that the true state of affairs might be ascertained, that the Hindoo might be distinguished from the Turk, and Joseph separated from the wolf. The king consents, and as he sits in state the next day, Sindbád and the prince come in. The latter, in order to show that what had occurred in his case was not the fault of any particular person, but had been brought about by destiny, relates the following story :

THE MAN WHOSE GUESTS WERE POISONED BY A SNAKE'S
VENOM.

A man who was the soul of generosity, from whose hand the heart of a mine became wounded,—that is, who would have emptied a mine in his liberality,—was entertaining a party of friends. He sent a slave girl to fetch milk for his guests, and she was bringing it in an open bowl when a snake, which a stork had caught and was flying with through the air, dropped venom out of its mouth into the milk. The guests who partook of the milk were poisoned.

The question then arose, "Who was to blame for this?" One said "The slave girl was the cause of the misfortune, because she did not cover the bowl in which she was carrying the milk." Another said, "The stork, because it carried the snake in its mouth." A third considered the snake was in fault, for spitting out its venom; and a fourth insisted that it was the host, because he sent the slave girl for milk without taking proper precautions. The prince replies, that it was no one's fault, but the decree of Fate, and proceeds to say that the misfortune that has happened to himself of being brought under a false accusation is also due to destiny.

The king, rejoiced at his son's wisdom, takes him to his heart, and gives ample rewards to Sindbád for the care he has bestowed on the prince's education, as well as alms to the poor and relief to prisoners. He then inquires of Sindbád how it was that the prince's education had so notably failed in the first instance, and that he had now turned out so well. Sindbád replies, that the wind of autumn comes not in the spring, that a newly grown tree does not bear fruit, that sugar is not obtained from the cane at once, and that the date-tree grows tall by degrees. He thanks God that the seed he has sown has borne fruit, and that he has been able to gather it.

The prince himself is then asked to give his own account of his previous and present condition. He replies, that young people are careless and do not consider the result of what they are doing, and tells a story :

A beautiful woman who was never happy without excitement, who was continually at her window looking out, who like a tulip did not hide her face from strangers, or like the spikenard conceal her hair, and who had no shame as to her reputation, one day went with her child to draw water at a well. There she became so entranced at the sight of a handsome young man, that instead of lowering her pitcher she put the rope round the neck of her child and let him down into the well. The child cried out, and the neighbours assembled and drew it out. The moral to be

drawn from this is, that youth is a season of madness, and it is only when a man arrives at old age that one can expect in him sobriety and freedom from desire. It was only as he himself advanced in years that he discovered the profitableness of knowledge and wisdom. Whoever has knowledge for his portion, wherever he may be, he will not be a stranger ; with knowledge one becomes fit to sit on high. As for the ignorant, he is better down underground.

On the king inquiring whether he has seen any one cleverer than himself, he replies that he has known three that were so, viz., a child at the breast, by the inspiration and assistance of the Almighty ; secondly, a child of five years of age ; and thirdly, a blind old man. In the first case, when a young man went by invitation to the house of a woman, her child, who was lying in its cradle, rebuked him for the sin he was about to commit, so that he repented and went away, and ever afterwards led a proper life. The story of the child of five years of age is as follows : Three men agreed to go into partnership in business. When they had collected together a sum of a thousand pieces of gold, they agreed to deposit the money with a woman who was well known for her honesty and other good qualities, and made a compact that none of them should demand it back again unless the other two were present. After some time one of them, who was a cheat, devised a plan by which to obtain possession of the money. He got the other two to accompany him, on pretence of going to the bath, to the street where the woman lived. Arrived there, he said to them that he wished to get some clay and other things necessary for the bath from the woman, to whose house he accordingly went, leaving the others standing, and asked for the money. The woman objected to give it in the absence of the others ; but on his pointing them out to her she agreed and gave him the money. This he went off with at once.

As he did not return to them, the others suspected some-

thing wrong, and went to the woman to demand their money ; and, not satisfied with her explanation that she had given it to their partner in their presence, took her before the Kázi, who ordered her to pay the money. The woman begged for a delay of three days, to see what she could do ; and was walking home dejected and weeping, when a child five years of age, whom she met on the road, asked her what was the matter. She told him, and he advised her to go to the Kázi's Court and agree to pay the deposit back if all three partners were present. She acted on the advice, and the Kázi, much struck with the cleverness of her answer, discovered from her who was its author, and always afterwards sought for the child's opinion when giving his decisions.

At the king's desire, the prince now relates the story of the sandal-wood seller and the blind old man. An enterprising young merchant, who spent his time in travelling about and trading in different countries, heard that in Kashgar sandal-wood was more precious than gold, and accordingly invested all his capital in it, and proceeded there to sell his stock. When he arrived within two stages of the town, a sandal-wood merchant of the place heard of his arrival, and, fearing the effect of a large importation of the wood on its price, resolved on playing him a trick. Taking some sandal-wood with him, he pitched his tent near the stranger's and made a fire of the wood. The latter, smelling the burning wood, was astonished, and much vexed when, after telling the Kashgar merchant what he had brought with him to trade in, he was asked why he had brought cummin seed to Kirmán (a proverbial expression, similar to ours of carrying coal to Newcastle). The way being thus prepared, he was easily prevailed on by the Kashgar man to sell him sandal-wood for a measure of gold, or silver, or whatever he should ask. The bargain was duly ratified in the presence of witnesses, and the foreign merchant proceeded to the town. Arrived there, he asked a respectable woman, with whom he lodged, what

was the value of sandal-wood, and found he had been tricked, as it was worth its weight in gold. The old woman, moreover warned him against the people of the town, who were great cheats.

Next morning he wandered aimlessly through the bazaar of the place in a dejected frame of mind, and, seeing a man playing at draughts, asked to be allowed to play with him by way of diverting his thoughts. The man agreed, on condition that whoever lost should be bound to do whatever the winner desired him to do. The foreigner consented, and on being beaten, was desired by the winner to drink up the waters of the sea. A dispute necessarily arose as to the carrying out of the bargain ; and when a crowd collected, one of the gang of swindlers, to whom the draughts-player belonged, and who had lost an eye, accused the foreigner of having stolen one of his eyes, which were of the same colour as his own. A third cheat came forward with a stone, and demanded a shirt and drawers made out of the same material. The whole town was moved with the dispute, which it was evident would have to go before the Kazi for settlement. The foreigner's hostess went bail for his appearance in Court the next day, and took him home, where he told her what had occurred. She informed him that the sharpers of the town every evening assembled to relate their deeds of the day to an old blind man, who was noted for his acuteness, and advised him to disguise himself as one of them, and go and hear what the old man might say. He followed her advice. The first man who related what he had done was the sandal-wood merchant of Kashgar, to whom the old man said he had been taken in, for suppose the stranger, who was entitled to claim for his sandal-wood a measure of whatever he chose, were to demand one of fleas,* how could he fulfil the bargain?

The draughts-player having then explained his case, the old man asked him what he would do if the foreigner were to agree to carry out his agreement to drink the sea dry, if

* In this, Falconer's reading is followed as the most likely, the word in the MS. being "partridges."

his opponent would first of all stop the rivers and streams that flowed into it.

To the man who had demanded a shirt and drawers made out of a stone, the old man also said he had been taken in, for what would he do if the foreigner were to demand thread made of iron with which to sew them ?

Last came the man who had lost one eye. To him the old man said he would find himself in great difficulty if the stranger agreed to give him one of his eyes, if he would pluck out his remaining eye to weigh in a scale against an eye of the stranger, in order to determine whether what he said was true or not.

None of the sharpeners conceived that the foreigner would be quick enough to hit upon any of these devices ; but the next day, when the matter came before the Kázi, the foreign merchant, who had treasured up the old man's answers in his mind, made use of them, to the utter discomfiture of his opponents, and eventually succeeded in recovering his sandal-wood, with a good sum of money into the bargain by way of compensation.

Rejoiced at finding such intelligence in his son, the king asks his courtiers to whom thanks were due for this excellent gift. One of them says, to the mother, who brought him up carefully ; another, to the king himself ; a third, to the prince, for the way in which he had exerted himself to acquire knowledge ; a fourth, to the Vazir, who had protected him against the wiles of a bad woman ; and Sindbád ascribes the praise to God. The prince, called upon by his father to give his opinion, relates the story of a princess, to the following effect :

A king of Kashmir had an only daughter, a girl of great beauty. One day in spring she obtained permission from her father to visit a garden outside the town, and was sporting with her maidens, when there appeared out of a thick cloud of dust a black demon, who seized and carried her off. The king, in great affliction, issued a proclamation that whoever would rescue her should have half his king-

dom, with the girl for his wife as a reward. There were four men in the city, who undertook the task. One of them was a guide, who had travelled through the whole world ; the second, a brave man, who would have gained his desire even out of a lion's throat ; the third, a rider comparable to Rustam in resolution, and to Asfandiyar in fight ; and the fourth, a physician, whose breath was as the breath of the Messiah in healing. Hearing that the demon had his abode in a cave in the mountains of Yemen, they went there, and the brave man went into the cave in the demon's absence, and brought out the princess. When the demon returned and found her gone, he pursued them with a body of his fellows, which was defeated and scattered by the warrior. On their way home, the princess fell ill, and was looked after and cured by the physician. The king, rejoiced at his daughter's safety, opened his treasury and gave gifts to the poor and wretched, remitted taxes, and fulfilled his promise by giving his daughter to the brave man of the party, while the others were also appropriately rewarded. The moral of the tale, as told by the prince, is, that to a combination of circumstances under God's assistance was due his present as compared with his former condition.

After this, the girl who had made the false accusation and the prince are both summoned to the king's presence, for the charge to be inquired into ; and the former weeps and confesses her fault, begging that her tongue may be cut out like a lily for the lies it had told. The MS. is unfortunately wanting again at this point, and the end of the girl's affair remains uncertain. One account makes out that she was punished, and another that she was pardoned at the prince's intercession. When we regain the thread of the story, Sindbád himself is making some remarks on the impossibility of avoiding destiny ; after which the king bestows on him munificent gifts for the education he has bestowed on the prince, and inquires of him whence he had obtained his intelligence. The philosopher replies, that ~~reason~~ had been his guide, and proceeds to repeat the

counsels which king Faridun had caused to be inscribed round his hall. They were as follows :

If thou hast wisdom and prudence and intelligence, lend not thy ear, as far as thou art able, to a tale-bearer.

A tale-bearer has only this merit, that he bears lies from Khatá to China.

Allow him not again into the Court ; give him not again access to thy privacy.

For from him nothing is manifested except the evil which should be drawn from him.

Be not careless of a bad dispositioned enemy, for care-essness is not allowable in any case.

Thou art busy, and he is in pursuit of thee, night and day, in opposition and contest with thee.

Have no compassion on the snake and dragon, for the one is a torment and the other a calamity.

If thou hast a friend of one heart and tongue with thee, go ; never be separated from him.

For a little sorrow trouble not thy friend ; against thy will regard thy enemy as thy friend.

If thy friend has fallen into any trouble, I adjure thee by God, remember his rights.

If thy friend become thy enemy, after a little dust (or perplexity) it will become clear.

Gather not up the skirt of kindness from him ; know this, that it is a wound that accepts a plaster.

So strive that he may become thy friend ; that in single-ness of heart he may become thy plunder.

Take not counsel with any save the wise ; turn not away from such a true path.

Beware of the careless man, and of his schemes, of his talk, and his falsehood, and his writing.

Beware of a domestic enemy ; reliance on him is ignorance and madness.

Leave not a thorn on the path of the highway, lest suddenly thy own foot be wounded.

Him whom thou hast not known all his life, with whom thou hast not been in private for a moment,

With whom thou hast not been a companion in travelling (for in travelling a man falls into danger),

To whom thou hast given nothing, and from whom thou hast taken nothing—rely not on him if thou art wise.

Better is a demon whom thou knowest what he is, than a Peri whose condition thou knowest not.

As far as thou art able, beware ; speak not except that which may be of use.

So speak that, if thou speakest again, it may be the same or even better.

Speak nothing in which there may be garrulity, for in every place there is a talkative person.

How can there be a fairer story than that of which the credentials are from Farídún ?

After this, the king asks Sindbád concerning worldly affairs, and particularly as to who was fitted to bear rule. Sindbád replies, that he is the most fit who knows the capacity of every man, and what is due in respect to the aged and the pleasing of the young, and having known this honours every one according to his degree ; for a child should not be directed to carry out a weighty matter, lest he become helpless under the heavy load, nor should a heavy bridle be put on a restive horse.

Various other questions are put to Sindbád, and all are answered with words of wisdom. The king then desires the prince himself, if he had the string in his hand, to bring some such pearls as his master had been stringing ; and the latter enlarges upon the various moral duties of men in such a manner that the king is astonished, and lifts his heart up from the affairs of the world. Being seventy years old, he reflects within himself : “ How long shall there be the morning cup and the drum and harp and flute ? By thy arm and might and strength thou hast seized the head of the throne of Kaikhusro. Thou hast laid aside much treasure and wealth from the blood of the weak, and not with the hand of pain. Thou hast taken it from him who had nothing ; thou hast delivered it to him who left it behind him. He that gave it was not a criminal, nor was

good was there in taking, and in the end what was there in giving it to that one? What profit hast thou from this life of seventy years, except shame and a distant perfume from punishment? Go, make thy eye blind to desire; prepare thy winding-sheet and provide for thy grave. Enough of thoughts of Roum and anxiety for Khatá; go, prepare thy provisions for eternity's road. Perhaps thou dost not believe in a resurrection, perhaps neither in resurrection nor coming to life. This pride is from the sound of the drum and the tymbal; wait till the blast of the trumpet reaches thy ear." After recalling to mind that former kings have passed away, and taken nothing with them, and warning himself against oppressing the poor, he exhorts himself to spend his remaining days in retirement and devotion, and rejoice in having such a worthy successor in his son. After this he goes into retirement for seven days, and sees no man's face. He has a dream, and on awaking from it summons his ministers and nobles with the prince and Sindbád, and says to them that the world remains permanent to none; the Lord of the world alone remains. "I have seen nothing in this life of seventy-five years but trouble and passion and pain and grief. If I had seventy-five years more, would that also not come to an end? My sight has become dull, and my strength weak. I know not now the base from the noble. When the form of an old man has become like a bow, know nothing better than retirement and seclusion. When the sword-wielding hand trembles, why speakest thou of sword and dagger? Shall I say what grey hairs are? The messenger of calamity, the herald of the cutting off of hope. The head whose hope is in its knees (in prayer) can no longer bear the crown."

After ascribing to Sindbád's good offices, the excellent position in which the prince now is, and inculcating on the latter various things a king should do, and others that he should avoid, he calls his son to him and seats him on the throne with the crown of Kaikhusro, which he himself takes off, on his head, and, erecting a suitable place of wor-

Having thus disposed of the king and the prince, the author of the book considers that the time for retirement for himself has also arrived, that he must of necessity creep into a corner. As the king had handed over rule to his son, the author leaves to his own glorious and dear son the book, more useful than treasure or sovereignty, that as long as there is Persian in existence, and the earth is below and the heaven above, his name may remain perpetuated. He concludes thus : " O God, withdraw not from me Thy guidance ; in the end take not away Thy favour from me, Thy aid beneath this quickly travelling vault ! In the end Thy work of good is good. For Thou art, and this my hope has been fulfilled."

It is of course impossible to give in a magazine article more than the merest outline of a work which in the original MS. numbers nearly 170 folios ; but it is hoped that sufficient detail has been given to show the general style of a book but little known to students of Persian literature. The MS. is, as already stated, unique in England, and efforts made to obtain another copy from India have as yet been in vain. The original story, of which this is a rhymed version, must have been composed considerably before the latter, for it is alluded to by Sa'ai, who died in the Hijra year 691 (A.D. 1291) ; and Daulatshah in his *Tazkírah*, also notes that a poem of the same name was written by Azraki in A.H. 527. The present MS. has, from internal evidence, been transcribed in India ; its many imperfections have already been noticed. In spite of these, however, it presents such a true picture of life at Oriental Courts in former times, and it is much to be feared in many cases in the present day, that the record is worth preserving. There are contained in it poetical ideas and pathetic passages quite equal to those in Háfiz, Sa'adi, Nizámi, and other poets, whose writings are better known than those of its nameless author ; and many of the illustrations, which are numerous, are worth inspection for the beauty of their colouring, notwithstanding the grotesqueness of the attitudes in which the human beings and animals depicted

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

III.

KUTTEEMUNNEES AND A TULLEE-KHOR.

THE disturbed state of society during the latter years of the Peishwa's Government, the impediments to the course of justice, and the oppressive conduct of the local officers, occasioned the prevalence of a curious custom, not unknown in other parts of India, nor previously in this province, by which an injured individual endeavoured to procure redress through his own exertions. But the frequency of its occurrence during latter years caused it to be reduced to a kind of system, which has not even yet entirely disappeared.

A number of Jungums, or Lingayet priests, under the title of Kutteemunneewallahs, exercise a sort of censorship over the morals of the community, and levy fines for breaches of decorum or morality, which they apply to their own use. The chief of these are on the Nizam's frontier, in the turbulent country between the Krishna and Tungabadra rivers. Each of these keeps in his train a number of men of bad character, who are called Komars. Such women as are irretrievably excluded from their castes, the Kutteemunnee, as public censor, absolves from all former ties, and unites them by nikkah marriage to his Komars, who are generally men excluded from society for similar infamy of character. When a breach of good manners has occurred and been settled by the village community, the dissatisfied party may apply to the Kutteemunnee, who, if he chooses to take it up, writes a notice which he posts up, by means of the Komars, on the offending villagers, to the following purport :

"I am he whose sword is always ready, the owner of the eapon which out-weighs the earth, the ally of the devil,

who dwells in the sky, sits on the trees, and resides in hell, in ancient wells, and in holy mountains, who shrouds himself in the clouds, conceals himself in grain-stacks and amongst the bushes surrounding the villages. He will not quit you, however sound your sleep, or however careful your watch. Within three days, if you do not settle this affair, I will destroy men and women, and put their bodies in baskets, and will display them in the market-place? Take care."

Having thus given warning, and made demonstration of his hostile designs by burning a small quantity of grain or cutting down a tree, the Tullee-khor remains quiet for ten or fifteen days. He then writes another notice, with the name of the injured party, and below it the first letter of, or some allusion to, the name of the person from whom he seeks redress. This he posts up at night, and at the same time sets fire to a stack of corn or straw. The villagers take the alarm, find the notice in the morning, and sending for the village Ganâchâree, or censor, order him to trace the offended person, at the same time levying from him who has been the cause of the quarrel a sum varying from Rs.200 to Rs.400. The Ganâchâree proceeds with it to the Kut-teemunnee and presents the fee; and the latter upon this undertakes to accommodate the dispute. But should conciliatory measures not be adopted, the Tullee-khor continues his devastations till they come to terms. The period allowed for the destructive process is twelve years; but whether it is to cease after that period, I do not know.

Tullee may arise from other and very slight provocations. Thus, when the people of the plains repair to the Mulnâd for the paddy harvest, they receive their hire out of the grain cut. Some reapers pick out fine large bunches or sheaves, which the owner of the field takes away, paying them from the general stack. Conduct of this kind was resented on the part of a reaper by *Tullee*; and it required Rs 320 to make it up. Another cause is the unmeasured abuse in which all Eastern languages abound, and which, when applied to a female relative, sometimes induces the

person insulted to declare his marriage dissolved, and to make *Tullee* for a fine equivalent to his marriage expenses. Sometimes *Tullee* is resorted to when a man is taunted with stealing, as in the case of Kuleshanee Keucha of Lukma-poor, who really was a thief. He avenged himself by *Tullee*, and was blown away from a gun by order of Rastiah. Sometimes, even a man who has really committed a crime, for which he fears retributive justice, employs *Tullee* as a defence, like Kuttee Sakriya, a retainer of the Bágalkote Deşae, who ravaged the whole Bágalkote country for twelve years. Such persons, however, whether their cause be just or not, are expected to give information of their designs to the Kutteemunnee, who would otherwise assist the officers of Government in bringing them to punishment. Tullee-khors were also in the habit latterly of seeking and receiving protection from powerful zemindars, who, seizing the pretext, employed their own followers to rob and plunder in the Tullee-khor's name for their own profit and advantage. Many of the principal zemindars in this district were noted for such practices; and some of them, as the Govunkal Naik, the master of a small village in the Munslee Taluk, attained great celebrity. Twelve of his followers were hanged in one morning for *Tullee*.

The Moog Tullee also must be compounded in the usual way. The Ganácháree goes to the Kutteemunnee, and fixes the amount of damage money, which is divided between the Kutteemunnee, the person affording protection, and the Tullee-khor. But a system latterly came into use, probably occasioned by the protection afforded to such desperadoes by the zemindars. This was called *Yederé Tullee*, or "opposing" Tullee, in which the objects of the original Tullee employed persons to devastate the property of the Tullee-khor and his defenders. This merely aggravated the general suffering, and indeed was only employed during the latter years of the Mahratta Government, when it had lost all powers of control, and the framework of society seemed almost dissolved.

One of the most famous Tullee characters in this part of the district was a person of the Reddy caste, named Magee Busya, brother of the head man of Magee, who left the village because his brother refused him his share in the family estate. He was a man of great strength and courage, and in his acts displayed a degree of generosity that ultimately saved his life. Among the stories yet current, they tell that on one occasion a party of ryots, going out to their fields during harvest to make the usual sacrifices and hold feast, took out with them a good store of dainties, and ten or twelve armed followers. The whole party was enjoying the good cheer when Busya, who had been concealed in a stack in the field, suddenly appeared. The men, followers and all, took to their heels, leaving their weapons behind them ; the women and children remained. Busya made them serve him with food, then leisurely washed his hands, made them strip off their jewels, which he tied up in his cloth, and putting the guns and swords on one of the ryots' bullocks, proceeded with the whole to the town. There he met the entire population turning out against him, but no one dared to approach. He restored their jewels to the women, and dismissing them without injury with their bullocks and weapons, walked leisurely off.

On another occasion he overheard two women of the village talking about him, one of whom abused him, while the other pitied and commiserated his condition. He seized a buffalo belonging to the husband of the former, and made a present of it to the other female, calling her his sister, and threatening any one with death who should dare to restore it. Such was the terror of his name that no one ventured to interfere, and the animal remained with its new mistress.

Orders had on one occasion been sent by Rastiah to all the villages of the division to seize Busya. A party of about fifteen armed men, who were in search of him, had sat down in the jungle to take a few whiffs of tobacco ; and as it was getting dark one of them observed that they ought to look out, as Busya might be about. Others said, "Let him come,

we'll soon settle him!" Busya happened to be close by, and coming near, he asked which of them would venture to touch him. No one moved. He then made at them with his sword. All ran away, and Busya wounded one or two in their retreat.

At last he was surrounded in the town of Chelgerry, on the Nizam's frontier, by a party of Rastiah's horse, and brought a prisoner to Bagalkote. There, though loaded with fetters a maund weight (about 80 lbs.) he practised all kinds of athletic exercises. He had concerted a plan of escape with a fellow-prisoner, and, watching a favourable opportunity, threw himself from the bastion in which he was confined. He was however retaken, and ordered to be put to death. Great interest was made for his life, and the wife of Yeswunt Row, Rastiah's chief official at Bagalkote, struck with his daring conduct, interceded on his behalf. He was pardoned and restored to his village, with the restitution of his rights, on his giving security for future good conduct. He lived peaceably the rest of his days, and died four years ago in the possession of the office of *patel*, or head man of Magee, his paternal village.

IV.

A BRAVE DEFENCE.

Dewan Gowda, of Reddier Naganoor, in Roan Taluk, a fine old Reddy Patel, told me a few days ago the following incident, that happened to himself, very illustrative of the state of this province before the British conquest. On the occasion of a festival in A.D. 1802, he had gone to visit Bheema Gowda, of Hoalkote, in Dummul Taluk, his near relation. That very day Bála Sahib Rastiah, who was then at variance with Bheema Row Moondurgee, usurper of the territories of Dummul, in which Hoalkote was included, marched against the village with 500 horse, 1,000 foot, and two guns, and attacked it at daybreak. Dewan Gowda, his brother and six ryots were the only defenders, and kept the assailants at bay for some time. At last, when all were wounded and unable to move from place to place, the enemy

mounted the wall with ladders and got into the town. Dewan Gowda then descended and, knowing the place, continued to fall on the assailants from the different streets, which were narrow and crooked ; and though he had little or no assistance from the others, he contrived to check the progress of the enemy till at length he was driven to his last refuge, one of the bastions, difficult of ascent ; and here, towards evening, he prepared to sell his life as dearly as he could, the enemy being highly enraged against him, and vowing his death. Bheema Row, however, having heard of the raid, was hastening to succour the town ; when he appeared in sight with about 300 chosen horse, Rastiah retired, and the villagers, headed by Dewan Gowda, weary and wounded as he was, rose against those who had got inside, and drove them out. He is covered with wounds, which he shows with a modest pride. Though a fine stout old man, he does not differ in manner or appearance from the other ryots. He is much esteemed for his probity and good conduct.

V.

MERCANTILE PROBITY.

There is an old Sowcar now residing in Dharwar who often comes to see me. He is a Goozrathee, originally from Aurungabad ; his name, Chetur Doss Sirji. He was formerly possessed of great wealth ; but having advanced heavy loans to Gokla, Bheema Row, and other Mahratta Sirdars in Poonah and this province, has lost nearly two lakhs of rupees. Nearly thirty years ago, Mahdoo Row, an accountant of Budr ool Zeman Khan, when the fort belonged to Tippoo, had deposited a sum of Rs.25,000 in Chetur Doss' house. This sum was placed on a shelf behind the door of the inner rooms, while an equal sum belonging to the Sowcar himself was contained in his cash-chest on the floor of the same apartment. One night a gang of robbers broke into the house ; the strong box was rifled, but the money on the shelf escaped the notice of the thieves. No one knew this, however, but Chetur Doss himself, and in the morning Mahdoo Row never doubted

but that he was a ruined man. Conceive then his astonishment and joy when Chetur Doss explained that he alone was the sufferer, and that a lucky chance had preserved his friend's property.

VI.

AN HEROIC ESCAPE.

The Muhammadan princes of Mysore, adopting the policy of destroying and breaking down all old-established families in their different conquests, among those of other Poligars, or petty chiefs, had sequestered the lands of the Harpanhalli Rajah,* whose adherents made many ineffectual attempts to recover them. In A.D. 1774, Humparsappa and Chintappa having taken possession of Kotoor, Oochangidroog, and other strongholds for the Rajah, Seyd Ghuffoor was despatched with 2,000 infantry, 1,000 horse, and 15 guns, to quell the insurrections. Having taken Oochangidroog, in which were found 200 prisoners (the rest of the garrison escaped), he proceeded to Kotoor, which held out for fifteen days, when the chief people, with part of the garrison, despairing of success, fled in the night; and Seyd Ghuffoor, on taking possession, found only about 100 prisoners more. All these were men of inferior rank, being common village folk; but, to strike terror into the country, Seyd Ghuffoor ordered that each should be deprived of his right hand. They were accordingly tied in a line to one large rope, close to Koturavva's temple, as cattle are fastened at night. Each individual was guarded by two men with drawn swords, and the troops were drawn up in line, the horse behind the infantry. When the work of mutilation had proceeded some time, the ground covered with blood, and many of the unfortunate wretches lying insensible on the ground, one of those remaining, named Khawas Chenna Viriah, said to the man next him, that it was better to rush on the guards and be killed at once than suffer such agony; but the latter refused, and was soon after led out and muti-

* Harpanhalli and all the other places mentioned in this anecdote are in the present district of Bellary. [R. S.]

lated. The next in line was Chenna Viriah, who, the instant he was unloosed, threw himself on the guards, knocked one down, seized his sword, killed the other, and started off. Seyd Ghuffoor immediately directed pursuit, but ordered him to be taken alive, and promised a large reward. He was three or four times overtaken ; but, being determined not to yield with life, and the orders to take him alive being imperative, he always escaped, killing or wounding some of his pursuers, till, on reaching the Gudikota jungle, he eluded the chase, and got clear away. Chenna Viriah now lives in the village of Nandibandi, where the Harpanhalli Rajah, on his restoration by the British Government, granted him lands. He walks about with a club, but never carries arms.

VII.

MAHRATTA CHIVALRY.

Among the retainers of Dowlat Row Ghorpade were two brothers, his relations, named Yeswant Row and Mallojee Row Ghorpade. They were in the habit of levying black mail from the districts of Nurgoond, Dummul, and Copal, a refusal of which was, as usual, resented by driving the cattle, plundering, etc. The zemindars of these three places, more powerful than the generality of their class, resolved, in A.D. 1773, to oppose the exactions of the Mahrattas. Watching their opportunity, whilst the two Ghorpades were on a foraging expedition, and had seized on the cattle of Hurlapoor in Dummul Taluk, and those of a village in the Copal district, the three zemindars secretly assembled their followers to the number of 500 horse and 3,000 foot, with which they formed an ambush between Kookanoor and Kulloor. The Ghorpades, returning with 300 horse and the cattle they had lifted, on approaching their own confines, sent on the latter with the bulk of the horsemen, while the two chiefs and about forty followers came leisurely behind. The ambush offered no opposition to the first body, but rose against the second, and attempted to cut them off. The Mahrattas, however, being better mounted and all good soldiers, were retreating with considerable ease, keeping the

foremost of their pursuers at bay without difficulty, when one of the zemindars called out to Yeswant Row, in a taunting manner, that he styled himself "*Ameer-ool-oomrah*," and wore a *Sirje* * as his crest, and yet he feared to turn and face the assault of an enemy. Stung at the imputation, he wheeled round, and, striking down several men, he got so completely into the body of the enemy, that he was surrounded, his horse killed, and himself badly wounded. He endeavoured to disengage the *sirje* from his bridle, as it would have been dishonourable to escape without it; but in the act of loosing it he was killed. Mallojee, on seeing the predicament of his brother, hastened to his assistance, followed by about thirty of his men. Being considerably in advance, he was severely wounded in upwards of twenty places, and was only able, with the greatest difficulty and after severe loss, to recover the dead body of his brother and the *sirje* which had occasioned the disaster. With these he escaped to Yelboorga, whither also Dowlat Row, on hearing the melancholy event, joined him, and soon afterwards gave him the village of Kulloor in reward for his gallant conduct. Mallojee Row recovered from his wounds, and afterwards joined his relation, the famous Morári Row, and was killed at Gooby in an action against the Mysore troops.

VIII.

COSTLY CHARITY TO STRANGERS.

[This Note was written by Sir Walter Elliot, about the year 1829.—R. S.]

The following incident was related to me by Bheemajee Timajee, Koolkarneet† of Somankuttee, near Ramdroog, to whose grandmother the circumstance occurred.

About forty-five years ago, whilst Tippoo Sooltan had possession of the Southern Mahratta country, Kone Row

* The *Sirje* is a fabulous heraldic animal, the image of which, worn on the top of the bridle, pledges the rider never to decline the combat whensoever challenged.

† Village accountant. These officials are, as a rule, amongst the best educated and most influential members of the village community.

was Amildar* of Hoongoond, and Bishto Punt of Badámee, both of them distinguished for their acts of liberality and charity, particularly to poor and distressed Bramins. In 1784 A.D., about 300 Brahmins, flying from the persecutions in Mysore, were on their way to solicit the protection and assistance of these persons. They had set out from Nurgoon in the morning, and marched twelve miles to Soman-kuttee, where they arrived about two o'clock p.m., and sat down under a large tree on the bund† of the tank. It was the hottest part of the year, and the party was overcome with fatigue and thirst. The eastern part of the Dooâb is very ill supplied with water, many villages being totally unprovided with this necessary; and all except those on the Malpurba river suffer severely during the hot weather, which is here very excessive. The people of Somankuttee at this season are obliged to travel a distance of three miles for water, which they bring on their bullocks, each animal carrying four pots. Bheemajee, the Koolkarnee, seeing the distress of the Brahmins, brought water from his own house which had been so carried, and offered it to them. But they, being of very high caste, and strict in all their observances, were prohibited from drinking water that had not been brought according to rule by a Brahmin who had previously bathed and purified himself, whereas this, carried on bullocks and filled by the Koolkarnee's servants, was utterly unfit. They therefore continued sitting in great distress, several having fainted under the burning sun, while the poor Koolkarnee sat looking on in great tribulation at the idea of some of them dying in his village without his having the means of affording relief. At length he recollected that several ryots of the village had that year carried their cotton crops to the market of Wallajahnuggur in the Carnatic and had brought back a return of coconuts, which they were selling in the country. He immediately purchased fifteen bullock-loads, the milk of which,

* Head of a *táluk*, or division of a district.

† Artificial embankment.

causing the Brahmans to put on their solês,* he gave them to drink. All were relieved; and thus refreshed by the Koolkarnee's liberality, they proceeded to Tallikal, about six miles further.

IX.

SKETCH OF A SOUTHERN MAHRATTA LEADER.

The following sketch of the life of Bheema Row Mondurga,† a man who acted a prominent part in the troubled scenes of the Southern Mahratta country before it fell under British rule, contains several incidents illustrative both of individual character and of the state of society at the period. The information was obtained chiefly from Bheema Row's son, who was in the public service; and I have also heard most of the facts related by many people at Dummul, his contemporaries and eye-witnesses of what they told.

Bheema Row *Timajee* was son of the Koolkarnee, of Kalkerry, and a retainer of a still more powerful zemindar, the Deşae of Dummul. His parents died when he was young, and he remained in the house of his relations till he was twelve years old, when he set off to try and obtain some means of livelihood, and reached Punderpoor. There he was seen by a man named Kristnappa Naik, an old man without family, whose wife, learning from the boy that he was an orphan and friendless, took him into their house and treated him like one of the family. He remained there two years, assisting the old man in his business, about which time Narsingáchári, his relation, happening to be at Punder-

* The solê is a cincture of silk cloths, the only garment worn by Brahmans when eating, and reserved specially for that purpose.

† *Note.* I knew this family well. His young son, M. Runga Rao, on the conquest of the Southern Mahratta country, was befriended by the late Mr. St. John Thackeray, the Political Agent and Principal Collector, who attached him to me when I joined my first district. He became my Munshi, or Secretary, during the whole of my service in that district, from 1823 to 1843. [W. E.]

For an account of Mr. Thackeray's tragical death, see the sketch of the life of Sir Walter Elliot (*above*, vol. I., p. 186). [R. S.]

poor, recognised him and persuaded him to return, the old man giving him a present of Rs.400 for his marriage expenses.

About this time (*i.e.* about A.D. 1790) Tippoo Sultán had seized upon all the private estates in his newly-acquired territories of Bellary, etc., and, among others, had dispossessed the Raja or Poligar of Harpanhalli of his principality. This chief made frequent attempts to recover his patrimony, both through his own exertions and those of his friends, among whom he numbered the neighbouring Deşae of Dummul. He accordingly applied to him for succour. The young Bheema Row had not long returned to his family, and his enterprising spirit prompted him to undertake the expedition. He went across the river with about 500 men raised in his own villages, and took possession of the village of Huggarnoor, in the name of the Harpanhalli Rajah.

The Musalman governor of the province immediately marched to the place with a strong force, and after three days' fighting the garrison—having exhausted their ammunition—capitulated. The Muhammadan commander ordered all the prisoners to be bound, and sentenced them each to lose a hand; but Bheema Row was confined separately and no order given regarding him. He no sooner heard, however, that the order of mutilation had gone forth than he requested the chief to pardon the poor followers, who had only acted under the orders of their superiors, and to accept his own hand in redemption of theirs. The Musalman consented, and ordered his soldiers to "strike off the Bramin's right hand to mar his writing," which was done accordingly. His followers carried him away, and ever after continued most staunch in his cause, and contributed to his support during his recovery, which was both long and doubtful.

Bheema Row's patrimonial estate in Kalkerry had, for some time, been resumed by the Nizam's Government, to whom that district belonged, and an old ryot of the

Dhungar* (shepherd) caste, who was much attached to the family, urged Bheema Row to attempt the recovery of his lands ; but the latter declared he was too poor, and that it would be quite impossible without presenting large nuzzers. The old man carried him out to his field alone, and, digging in a certain spot, showed him a pot filled with coins, which he had never counted, but the whole of which he offered to the son of his old master. Bheema Row wished to borrow half, but the old man would not hear of it. He retained the amount of two years' rent only, and compelled Bheema Row to take the rest. On counting it, he found the sum to be about Rs.12,000, with which, and with another Rs.8,000 which he raised in other quarters, chiefly from his own ryots, he went to Copaldroog, and obtained, not only the restitution of his patrimony, but the management of the whole Kalkerry District, averaging Rs.20,000 per annum. From this he continued to prosper ; and making good use of his interest with the Nizam's officers, he not only obtained several new grants of lands, but the management of a whole taluk, paying a revenue of Rs.100,000 per annum.

In this state he continued about six years, enjoying great prosperity ; but the rest of his life was a continued scene of strife and contention to the time of his death.

When the Muhammadan rulers of Mysore obtained possession of the Southern Mahratta country, they pursued their usual policy of destroying all the great families, and resuming their estates. Among these was the Deşae of Dummul, and the Sir Deşae, the ancient chief to whom Bheema Row's family had long been attached. The Deşae was for many years a pensioner of the Peishwa, receiving a yearly allowance of Rs.5,000 ; but his villages were not restored when the province was given back to the Mahrattas. Shortly before the destruction of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo, he had made some attempt to recover

* The Dhungars are remarkable for their simplicity and sincerity of character. They are good industrious ryots, and, though so ignorant that they can scarcely tell the amount of their rent, often attain great prosperity.

his old patrimony, and had written to Bheema Row, asking him to exert himself in the cause. The latter did not fail, and the Deşae took the field at the head of a predatory force. He was expelled from Dummul by General Wellesley soon after, and was hanged over his own gateway. Bheema Row, the chief actor in the affair, escaped, and taking the infant son of the Deşae under his protection, he assumed the whole management of the estate. After General Wellesley's summary proceedings, only two villages of the old Dummul estate remained in Bheema Row's hands. Sukkaram Row Shahjee then took possession of Dummul, and after a year, it became included in the extensive grant made to Bapu Gokla by the ex-Peishwa, comprising, Nowlgowd, Dummul, and most of the country in that neighbourhood. Under him, Bheema Row administered the Dummul territory for twelve years, during part of which, he maintained a mortal feud with Bala Sahib Rastiah for the possession of some frontier villages in the neighbourhood of Rone. The whole country was laid waste, and is now an extensive jungle, filled with wild hog and *nilgai*.* The last four years (from 1806) he was engaged in a dispute with Nagana Gowda, who administered the whole of the districts of about nine lakhs per annum, between the Tangabhadra and Kistna rivers, belonging to the Nizam, in which was included the Kalkerry estate. During the quarrel, Bheema Row renounced the superiority of the Nizam's officers, and declared that he held Kalkerry from the Gokla, on the part of the Peishwa. Bheema Row contrived to foil every effort of Nagana Gowda to oust him, and finally annexed the disputed district to the Mahratta State, as part of which it fell under the authority of the British Government, and is now incorporated in the Dummul Taluk of the Southern Mahratta country. The district suffered severely from Nagana Gowda's raids.

It was during this disturbed period of his career, when he

* The hog abounded to such a degree when the district was re-peopled, during the first years of the British Government, that the ryots had great difficulty in paying their rents. Mr. Thackeray therefore exacted from the ryots a certain number of tusks every month, which for some time were paid very regularly.

sometimes maintained a body of several thousand horse, that three Pathan soldiers, in the reckless disposition characteristic of their tribe, having taken offence at some real or imagined grievance, seized upon the only son of Bheema Row, and barricading themselves in a house, threatened to destroy themselves and the child unless their demands were complied with. The stern and decided character of the chief indisposed him to yield to intimidation what he would not grant to a free request; and though the birth of this only child had been the object of his wishes for many years, he ordered some guns to be placed against the gate, and refused to adopt conciliatory measures. At length, after a whole day of suspense, his friends promised to furnish the Pathans with a sum of money and a good horse each, and to give a free passage across the frontier. The child was released, and the men set forth. But Bheema Row, ordering some horsemen to follow, put them to death within a few miles of Dummul. "It was by such departures from good faith," said his son (the child above mentioned) to me, "that in the end lost my father his life and property, and reduced his family to obscurity."

In 1810, Gokla, who had long been jealous of Bheema Row's power and ability, which was augmented by the partiality evinced by the Peishwa towards him during his first pilgrimage to the temple Kartik Swamy, at Sandur, in 1808-9 (in consequence of which Bajee Row subsequently expressed a wish to see him at Poona) resolved on his destruction. It was not easy to entrap a person of Bheema Row's vigilance and foresight. At length, however, under a solemn pledge of safety, confirmed by oath, he induced him to pay him a visit in his fort. Though strongly dissuaded, Bheema Row attended, was seized, and carried to the strong castle of Sawundutty, and there poisoned, as the native version has it, by a powdered diamond being mingled in his drink. Four villages in Dummul district were allotted for the support of his family, which they still hold. The remark of Bheema Row's son regarding his father's insincerity, applies equally well to Gokla's treachery, who seven years afterwards lost his possessions and his life at Ashtu.

X.

AN HONEST INSOLVENT.

[This seems to be one of Sir W. Elliot's earliest Notes. The honourable and straightforward behaviour of all concerned may little interest the general reader; but the story is not without significance to those who have resided in India.—R. S.]

Afzulpoor Gungappa was the grandson of a flourishing merchant of Bâgalkote, Afzulpoor Nandappa, who had a capital of Rs.200,000 and agents at Merij, Poona, Nagpoor, etc. By family divisions among his descendants, Gungappa only inherited about 15,000 to 20,000 Rupees; but by the established credit of the house, his annual ventures extended to even Rs.60,000. Ten years ago, as his trade was flourishing, he spent about Rs.50,000 on religious observances. Two years later, before he had repaired his extravagance, he suffered considerable losses; for prices fell through the influx of European articles, and consumption diminished after the British conquest. His silk investment caused a loss of 25 per cent., and he became insolvent in 1826. A Commission of Bankruptcy was chosen among his chief creditors to manage his estate. They began by declaring their perfect confidence in the good faith and honour of Gungappa, and that they would accept his own statement of his property, without examining his accounts. So Gungappa prepared a schedule of his effects. From this the Commission deducted the ordinary jewels of his wife and daughters and Rs.800 for his own subsistence. The rest yielded nearly 25 per cent. This all accepted. Only two or three creditors from Bombay disagreed. Such, however, was Gungappa's sense of justice, that though the proceedings of the Commission were instituted and confirmed by the officers of Government, he actually tried to conciliate even those few dissatisfied creditors, by giving the jewels and the small sum granted for his subsistence to increase their dividends. He did this quite secretly, and he always denied it; but no doubt exists of the fact. He has always borne the character of a just man, prompt to fulfil his own obligations, slow to exact them from others. These circumstances occurred under my own observation; and I was greatly struck by the probity, justice, and humanity shown by all parties.

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

ZEUS combined with Μῆτις, intelligence. *Ment* signifies intelligence, or thought. By dropping the *n* and adding the suffix, the Greeks made *Melis*, the origin of the Latin *mens*, —*mentis*. This union produced *Athena*, Αθηνᾶ, Minerva, from the brain of Dios. Although the Greeks have never been able to supply any derivation for Αθηνᾶ, it is clear in Albanian. *Thane* and *thene* signify to say *E-thana* and *E-théna*, the “word.” The word, or λόγος, of the Pelasgians proceeded from *Zeus* the “force,” and *Metes* the “intelligence.”

Ἥρα, the Hera of the Greeks, is the “air,” ἔρ, *éra*. Nemesis, Νέμεσις, is *neme*, *nemes*, malediction, or what attracts evil. Erinnes, Εριννώες, *erh*, *erhni*, darkness, *rhénée*, *rhenime*, ruins, destruction. Muse, Μοῦσαι, *mesoï*, *musoï*, I teach. *Musois*, he who instructs, inspires. *Thetis*, Θέτις, *Deti* (Otheti) is the sea. Aphrodites, * Αφροδίτη, Venus, *Afer-dite*, “near dawn,” the morning star as it rises. *Delos* is dedicated to the Sun, and adds the suffix. Latona bears Diana, Σελήνη. *Han* and *Hana* is the moon, of which Diana is the symbol, *Diel-han*. Selene, *Léne*, means “birth,” *Zaa-lene*, *zee-leni*, the goddess presiding over births.

These instances could be indefinitely extended. Whenever a word is found in any language which has no root in that language, it must be sought as an extraneous word in some other, as may be exemplified by our Hebrew Christian names; and it must be remembered, the Greek deifications came through the Pelasgians.

The old Pelasgic faith, notwithstanding the co-existence of two other creeds in Albania, still maintains its hold on that uncultivated folk; so much so, that the most solemn oath that can be taken, is not by the invocation of Christ, or

This is the only word bearing a Greek derivation (ἀφροδίτη) of or belonging to foam; but it by no means accords with the attributes of Venus, the impersonification of sexual desire.

the saints, or Muhammad, but by the "stone." Thus, when a question of boundaries between two clans arises, the elders of the two contentious parties having been chosen to adjudicate—and in this court Muhammadans and Christians serve indifferently—and having been sworn on the stone with befitting formalities and solemnity, proceed to examine and give their judgment. In Upper Albania, it is of common occurrence for two peasants to affirm the truth of their allegation *per ket pesh*, "by this weight," taking in their hand the first stone they find, or pointing to it; and in Lower Albania, *per te ranch de kelé gur*, "by the weight of this stone"; they also affirm *per kielk e per dhe*, "by earth and heaven," *per ket ziarm e per ket uë*, "by fire and water," *per mal e per foush*, "by mountain and plain," *per ket dielh e per ket han*, "by sun and moon." That is, they swear by the heaven, earth, and elements, as impersonifications of the Divine Essence.

Classical story furnishes a like example. J. J. Ampère, in his Roman History at Rome, recounts, with other details, that Sylla, on quitting Rome to march against Mithridates, demanded a solemn oath of Cenna not to make any change at Rome during his absence. Sylla insisted that this oath should not be taken on any of the Roman divinities, but on the sacred stone according to the Etruscan rite, who inherited it from their Pelasgian ancestors. Cenna took the oath, placing the stone on his shoulder, and casting it behind him with imprecations, delivered aloud against himself, should he violate his engagement. Here the connection between the Etruscans, Pelasgians, and Albanians becomes apparent.

The coronation stone brought from Scotland to England, and called the "Scone stane," now inserted in the coronation chair in which the Sovereign takes the coronation oath, was used for the same purpose by the Gaels. Pyrrha and Deucalion threw stones behind them to re-people the earth. The modern inhabitants of Greece anathematize an unpopular person by throwing a stone against his door, when

passing the house, with a curse; and as they are for the most part of Albanian origin, the custom is explicable by reference to the above custom.

The site of the ancient Dodona has long been an unsolved problem for scholars and geographers, resulting in conjectures unsupported by evidence, to which a key is found in the Shkipetar language.

A Mr. Carapanos, a rich native of Arta, is the last who has approached this subject, under the impression that he has discovered this ancient site. In instituting excavations in the neighbourhood of his native place, he discovered certain tablets, statuettes in terra-cotta, and similar articles he believed to be archaic. Having gained the ear of certain members of the French Academy, he published a volume, with excellent engravings, in royal folio, doubtless in the confident belief that he had hit on the long-lost site of the temple of the Pelasgic Zeus, or Ze, without, however, troubling himself about the difference between Pelasgians and Greeks. Whether he sought it in the right place or not is, however, the question; for the mere discovery of such articles in a district full of like remains would furnish no more proof of identity than in the case of Dr. Schliemann. Some are of opinion that there were many Dodonas, a view which is entitled to serious consideration, or this plurality of Dodonas would not have been referred to by ancient legends and traditions. It is a recognised fact, that when tribes were constrained by circumstances to quit their former abodes, they carried with them, not only their arms, movables, and herds, but also their divinities, and especially their penates, the representatives of their ancestors and household, founding a new town and erecting a temple to their patron deity. This is the explanation of the existence of many towns of the same name; and, as has been before observed, of the large number of Larissas, or Citadels, the building round which the inhabitants were grouped, as was the case with the Acropolis of Athens, this citadel serving as a refuge when attacked by a neighbouring tribe or other invader.

Strabo says Troy was built on a low hill, *λόφος οὐκ ὑψιλός*.

Now it is a recognised fact, that the Pelasgi, or some tribes of them, were driven by others from the neighbourhood of the sea shore, and, emigrating with their deities towards the hills, found a more secure retreat. Thus the frequent sites represent only the various stages which the Pelasgian Ze made in his various migrations.

In describing this site of the ancient Dodona, the Pelasgian Ze is described as dwelling on the heights of Mount Tomaros, defying the winds and the ice, and thence sending forth his thunders. The object, then, is to discover this Mount Tomaros. One actually exists in the Molopide and Theoprotia, near to the town of Berat ; to seek for it in the lowlands of Arta is therefore absurd. Within a few hours of Berat there is a mountain called by the natives, "Tomor," in the plain at the foot of which lie some scattered villages inhabited by Mussulman Albanians. On the summit of this mountain may be seen a number of stunted oaks. The path leading to it is extremely precipitous, and frequented only by goats and chamois. The natives have a superstition, that the summit of this mountain cannot be reached with impunity ; that he would be impious who attempted it, and would not return alive ; and that some mysterious power resides there which they call I-mir-i-Tomorit, the good genius of Tomor. I-mir, or the Good, is equivalent to the god. Strange noises, probably the effect of atmospheric influences, are from time to time heard on the summit ; these in ancient times were held to be the voice of the god. According to the intensity of these sounds, the surrounding peasants draw prognostications of a good or bad harvest, epidemics, wars, and the like ; and when at a distance from their native land, affirm Per-i-mir i Tomor, Per Zee-i-Tomorit i-Zeus ; and this, notwithstanding the change of religion, has been handed down among the people. This raises a strong presumption that Mount Tomor was the last station of the Pelasgic Ze, in his repeated migrations towards the more inaccessible country, under the pressure of some Pelasgic or other tribes from posi-

tions nearer the sea-shore. His priests, termed Selloi, *alias* Helloi, are described by Homer as lying on the ground with unwashed feet. The preservation of an ancient heathen myth and superstition, among men of a different faith in the same locality, furnishes a strong presumption that the race descends from the Pelasgic tribe referred to in the Homeric poems.

But other so-called classical customs survive. They draw a horoscope from the entrails and certain bones of animals, the flight of birds, the howl of the wolf, dreams, etc. Funeral banquets, purifications by water, and many other superstitious practices remain, which neither the Christian nor the Mussulman faith has been able to eradicate. Lastly, the *Ghiak*, or blood revenge, is a sacred duty to the manes of the deceased; for it is held that the soul of a murdered man will find no repose till appeased by the blood of the murderer, or of some one of his clan. Of this we find many instances in classical history or historic myth. Polyxena was sacrificed to appease the manes of Achilles.

Placat Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes.

Iphigenia was condemned to death to appease the contrary winds. The mythical history of Greece teems with similar cases. Now, as the Greeks did not sacrifice human beings otherwise than punitively, it is fair to infer that these persons were not Greeks but Pelasgians; and as this practice of atoning sacrifice continues in Albania in the form of the *Ghiak*, it seems to follow that the modern Albanians are descendants of the Pelasgi.

It now remains to examine the historic evidence respecting the Pelasgi, which, though contradictory in some details, coincides in its leading features. These are:

That the Greeks existed in Europe before the Pelasgi.

That the two races were perfectly distinct.

That their manners and customs differed essentially.

That their languages were distinct.

That the Pelasgi did not admit strangers into their body.

That the Greeks, on the contrary, did so.

Herodotus relates (ii. 42):—"The Pelasgians, as I am

informed, at Dodona formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name nor surname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means 'disposers,' from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various parts of the universe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the divinities from the Egyptians; and Bacchus was the last that they knew. Upon this subject they consulted the oracle of Dodona, by far the most ancient oracle in Pelasgia, and, at the period spoken of, the only one. They desired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names they had learned of the barbarians, and were answered that they might; they have accordingly used them ever since in their rites of sacrifice; and from the Pelasgi they were communicated to the Greeks. Those names (of Deities) of which they (the Egyptians) disclaim any knowledge, are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgic origination. They learned from the Pelasgi to construct the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus.

"At that period the Athenians were ranked with the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbours, from which incident this people also began to be esteemed Greeks. Of the truth of this, whoever may have been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries, which the Samothracians use and learned from the Pelasgi, will necessarily be convinced; for the Pelasgians, before they lived near the Athenians, formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury with an upright priapus. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries, . . . Otanes made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi. (This was under Darius.) In conjunction with the Athenians, who wished to be free, Cleomenes besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian citadel (v. 64). * * *

“Miltiades had obtained possession of Lemnos, the Pelasgians having been expelled from Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or otherwise I am not able to determine. Hecataëus, son of Hegesander, in his history says unjustly.* The Athenians, according to him, observing their territory near Hymettus, which they had given up to the Pelasgi as a reward for building them a wall, well cultivated, whereas formerly it produced little and was of no estimation, they expelled them from it without any other motive than envy and a desire of obtaining the place. The Athenian account says that the Pelasgi were justly expelled. This people, they assert, made hostile incursions from Hymettus, and frequently offered violence to the young women who went from Athens to the nine fountains for the purpose of drawing water; for at this period the Greeks had no slaves. Not satisfied with treating these with great insolence and brutality, the Pelasgi formed the bolder design of rendering themselves masters of Athens. The Athenians think their conduct on this occasion entitled to the highest praise; for having detected the Pelasgi in treachery, they might justly have exterminated them, instead of which they only expelled them the country. Thus circumstanced, they dispersed themselves, and some of them settled at Lemnos. Such are the different accounts of Hecataëus and the Athenians. The Pelasgi who settled at Lemnos were very desirous to avenge themselves on the Athenians. Knowing therefore the times of public festivals, they prepared two fifty-oared vessels to surprise the Athenian females, who were engaged near Brauron in celebrating the feast of Diana. Many of these fell into their hands, and being carried to Lemnos, became their concubines. These women had a number of children, whom they educated in the Athenian language and manners. These accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi; and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to each other’s assistance. They thought themselves worthy

* As to Dodona, see Her. ii. 60. Digitized by Google

of becoming masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated, for they said, 'If these children unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood?' They resolved therefore to put these children to death, after which they also determined to kill their mothers. This action, added to the former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands with Thoas their king, induced the Greeks to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

"The Pelasgians, after the above murder of their children and concubines, found their earth, and cattle, and wives, alike cursed with sterility, to obtain relief from which, they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythean commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they should require. Accordingly, they went to Athens, engaging themselves to submit to whatever was proposed. The Athenians set in order some couches in the Prytaneum, which they adorned with the greatest magnificence; they prepared also a table, covered with every delicacy; they then required them to surrender Lemnos in a similar state of abundance. 'When,' answered they, 'one of your vessels shall in a single day make its passage to our country with a northern wind, we will comply with what you require.' This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos. After some years, when the Kersonese on the Hellespont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Kenion, under favour of the Etesian winds, passed in a single day from Elæos in the Kersonese to Lemnos. He instantly ordered them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the oracle, the fulfilment of which they little expected. With this the Hephæstians complied; but the Myrenoi, not allowing the Kersonese to be Attica, sustained a siege and were compelled to surrender. Thus through Miltiades the Athenians became masters of Lemnos."

LIFE AMONG THE DRUSES

IN 1845, 1874, AND 1882.

[The first Part of this Paper, on "Life among the Druses in 1845," appeared in THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of October, 1890.]

PART II.

I AGAIN visited Syria and the Lebanon in 1874, and spent several years there, thus coming again in contact with my old friends, the Druses.

It was on my first trip in that year, from Beyrout to Damascus, in the uncomfortable little French diligence, and during that long and fatiguing ride of thirteen hours, that I met with a gentleman, having all the bearing of a European gentleman, habited in the regulation European dress, most courteous in his manners and exceedingly intelligent in his looks, who entered freely into conversation on the leading topics of the day, with all of which he showed a thorough acquaintance. He spoke both English and French with fluency.

As we passed, on our way, the different parts of the country, I was struck with the pride with which he brought forward all that was laudable in regard to it, and the expression of his face in doing so. He seemed to me too patriotic to be a stranger; and I, with some excuses for taking what seemed an unwarranted liberty, asked his nationality.

"I am a Druse," said he, smiling; and noting the strong look of incredulity which, in spite of all etiquette and good breeding, would paint itself conspicuously on my face, he said, drawing up his figure, and throwing back his head (I believed him then, for I remembered well the old attitude): "Yes, I am a Druse! My name is Sheikh Kásim ebn Hamza" (I have changed the real name). Astonishment chained my tongue, coupled with a fear of giving offence, for I remembered also how very chary a Druse is

of the slightest word that might seem derogatory to his dignity and to his nationality ; but I dare say he saw the question in my eyes.

“ I am engaged by the mercantile firm of B—— S—— in Beyrout, and am now travelling on their business.”

I have not space to put down the long and interesting conversation which followed. From him I gathered that a change had come over his nation, and that the last thirty years have altered them more than had the preceding five centuries. That, whereas they had then retained the habits and manners of their remote ancestors, they now are yearly straying from old paths into the new ways of European civilization.

Personal observation soon showed me the truth of what he had said. The Druses are in some things very different to what they were ; at least, the rising generation, who live in close proximity to Beyrout, the principal seaport town, which is also the centre of education and commerce in Syria, may be said to be more civilized. Their houses, if they are wealthy, are built of stone, in a commodious manner, and separated into rooms. The key of the house-door is no longer, among the younger part of the community, what it was in former days, and still is in places remote from the centre of civilization. At that time every door of palace, house, or cupboard was furnished with a wooden lock, with a number of small iron nails, sometimes four or five, or even more, which dropped into corresponding holes in the sliding bolt as soon as the latter was pushed into the hole or staple of the door-post. The key had small pins, or rather nails, made to correspond with the holes, into which they were introduced to open the lock ; the former nails being thus pushed up, the bolt could be drawn back. The wooden lock of a street door varied from twelve to twenty-four, or even sometimes thirty inches in length, and the keys were correspondingly unwieldy. I have seen a couple of them tied together by a string, and carried, slung over the shoulder. Now, iron locks and keys, though still rather

bulky, and of a somewhat rough workmanship, are to be frequently met with. The little rough "sraj" (olive-oil lamp), a shallow earthenware sort of cup, with a little niche on one side of it to hold the wick, has given place to petroleum lamps. The hideous horn-headdress of women, the "tantoor" has been done away with by Government. The coarse, home-spun, blue stuffs have been replaced by Manchester goods.

Even forty years ago there had been instances, though very rare ones, in which Druses sought Christian instruction, and to be received as members of the Protestant Church. I will mention two widely different ones.

The first was that of a young Sheikh and his sister, who had been left orphans. Their cousin by the father's side immediately seized their property, basing his claim upon the fact that, as nearest male relation by the father's side, he was, legally, affianced husband of the one and guardian and trustee of both.

I, myself, was witness to the cruel thrashing, and pounding, and pommelling the young Sheikh got, because both he and his sister refused to admit that claim. The sister's loud shrieks and cries for help, as she threw herself over her brother's prostrate form, vainly endeavouring to shield it from the ruffianly blows so freely and fiendishly showered upon it, aroused the whole village to the rescue. The two, both brother and sister, were found in a fainting condition, wounded and bleeding, with hair torn out of their heads by handfuls, and bruises all over their bodies. This was in Aitath. They were rescued out of the hand of their "cousin," who declared that he had a legal right to do as he liked with them, refused to allow any interference, and vowed the death of both, if the girl persisted in refusing to be his wife. They were carried away to Beyrout by the missionaries sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, instructed in the Christian religion, and in 1882 were still living as respected members of the Protestant community in that place. The

native pride of race, inherent in their blood, kept them somewhat aloof from the other Protestants, and they never married—at least, they had not done so in 1882. They did not forget that they were Druses, and they did not cease to be proud of it, although they never dared to trust any of their own people. In the same manner, though received cordially into the bosom of the Protestant community, the latter could not cease to remember that they came of a race who sucked in secrecy with their mother's milk, and who were taught to dissemble before they could speak. The expression of their faces was as if they knew and felt that they were thoroughly isolated—distrustful of all around them, and distrusted in return.

The other instance is that of a Skitt family in Ras Beyrout. The Skitts are the lowest kind of Druses, and looked on with contempt by the higher orders of their own people. In this case, the father, mother, and five or six young children were baptized by the American Missionaries, and lived and died as Christians, the children intermarrying with some of the working classes among the Protestants, and becoming thoroughly incorporated with them. In this latter instance there was no pride of birth or religion to contend with; and as the Skitt is considered a pariah among the real Druses, these latter did not trouble themselves about them either one way or the other, that is to say, either as Skitts or as Protestants.

There is one thing difficult to be accounted for, that the Druses have always looked upon English people as being of the same religion as themselves. "We and you are 'akhwán' (brothers), we are one," they repeat with a meaning smile on their lips and a peculiar look in their eyes, as if to say, "For some reason that you know of, you choose to deny the fact and disguise yourselves; but we understand each other, and in some future time, we shall stand up side by side before the whole world." Whether, now that education, civilization, and steam communication have opened the true character of England and the English

nation to them, they still obstinately cling to their old ideas, is what I cannot answer. To establish a good reputation for themselves, and for their religion, is their first object ; and as they think the "Ingleez" (English) are A 1 among the nations, therefore they can lose nothing and may gain much by professing warm friendship to English people, and *equally professing* to regard with favour such of their own people as ally themselves to the "Ingleez," for that is the name by which Protestants are known in Syria and the Lebanon ; Protestant and English are synonymous terms with them. To know that one of their people has turned Protestant, or "Ingleez," can give them no annoyance, as they attribute it to his efficiency in the great system of duplicity which is taught in their books, and which governs all their intercourse with others. To carry on skilfully a system of deception and hypocrisy towards others, which is called "El-Záhir" (outward appearance), is considered meritorious by them.

I would not be understood to say that I wish to limit the Divine Power, and am unwilling to believe that a Druse may become a true Christian at heart ! There is no doubt that many of that nation will yet sit down at the feet of Jesus, in all truth and sincerity, being thoroughly purged from that evil spirit of dissimulation so carefully instilled into them by their own religion. This dissimulation cannot be other than a second nature to one brought up at the feet of the U'kkáls.

My present object is to depict them as *I know them*, and as they are taught by their own religion to be, however unpleasant may be the task.

I must pass on, but will not enter into the barbarous massacres of 1860, nor into the cold-blooded treachery which brought about the fearful tragedies enacted at Deir-el-Kamar, Hasbeiya, and Damascus. These are matters of history, of which any one acquainted with the East must be fully aware, and I dare not in any way enter upon the harrowing description.

Suffice it to say, the Druse character, strengthened by its religious tenets, and guided by its religious teachers and superiors, came out then in its true colours, and, aided and abetted by the Government, they were able to achieve atrocities to their heart's content.

The cry of blood rose up to heaven! *He* saw, who sees all. "Vengeance is mine; *I* will repay, saith the Lord!" And He did so.

England, Germany, and France stepped to the rescue. Measures were taken to prevent this frequent "running amuck" of the Druse passions. That favourite chorus to their war songs,—"*Ya-ma-ahla! Ya-ma-ahla! damm-en-Nussara!*" (Oh, how sweet! Oh, how sweet! is the blood of Christians!) I have heard it, and can bear witness to the curdling terror it inspires,—received its death-blow.

Chains have been thrown around them, under which they have writhed, but in vain; and whether they would or not, they have been made amenable in a certain fashion to law and order.

Christian philanthropists from the above-mentioned countries have come upon the scene, and opened places of refuge for the houseless, and homeless, and orphaned, who roamed the streets of the seaport towns by thousands; for the deflowered maidens still in the tender years of childhood; for the young wives made widows while still in early girlhood; for the helpless babes, born to know no father's name! Time may heal, but can it ever efface the consequences of such cruelties? . . . Well; to proceed. All was done that could be done. Hospitals, educational establishments, orphanages, and schools sprung up on every side; and the lawless Druse found that it was for his own benefit to clip his wings ere they should be clipped for ever by others, and to bring himself within the bounds of civilization and education. He has professedly, outwardly "*el-záhir*" put his neck under the yoke, as a civilized creature, sends his children to Christian schools;

is gradually, but very slowly, adopting civilized dress and civilized manners; professes to believe less in his own khalwât, and his own u'kkâl, and can no longer boast of his hidden religion, and his secret religious books.

He has effectually succeeded, for nearly nine hundred years, in deceiving men as to what he really believed, assuming outwardly the Mohammedan religion in order to have the lawful authorities on his side and full protection for his bloodthirsty propensities. Had the general body of the Mohammedans known that their highly venerated prophet was regarded by this people as an incarnation of the evil one, who had first transmigrated through the bodies of Noah, Moses, and Jesus, all three of whom they highly revere as the apostles of God, they would, most assuredly, in the time of their bygone power, have exterminated the Druses from off the face of the earth; and they would, even now, if they knew all, bear an eternal hatred against them. But this has only been discovered through the fortunes of war, which have now put an end to the mystery with which they loved to enshroud all that concerned themselves.

In the wars which Ibrahim Pasha, in 1837, and the Maronites in 1842, waged against them, their khalwât were plundered, and many of their books found their way into the great public libraries of Europe. M. Silvestre de Sacy was the first to give to the world at large some true idea of what the Druse religion really consisted. Formerly many, indeed, I may say, most people, both in Syria and elsewhere, believed that they worshipped a calf; but this has been proved to be an error.

Six volumes, containing one hundred and eleven epistles, form their sacred books; each volume taking its name from the title of the first epistle. They were written by Hamza ibn Ahmed, surnamed El-Hdáy; who, in reality, was the author of this religion, and wrote the greater number of these books. In all of them there is an attempt made to imitate the style of the Kořan; but the perform-

ance falls far inferior to the rich eloquence, forcible expression, and classical Arabic in which Mohammed composed his book. None are allowed the privilege of possessing or reading them but such as have been inducted into the mysteries of their religion, and who form that class among them known by the name of "u'kkál."

From their books we find that they believe in the existence of one eternal and supreme Being. Also that he appeared ten times in the human form, which they call manifestations, the last of which took place in the person of El-Hákim.

With regard to the Gospel, they believe as their religious catechism says: "that it is true; for it is the sayings of the Lord Christ, who was Salman-el-Pharisy during the life of Mohammed, and who is Hamzeh, the son of Ali,—not the false Christ who was born of Mary, for this latter was the son of Joseph."

Their belief in the transmigration of souls is very strong, that is to say, that the soul leaves one human body at death and enters another of a new-born infant, either in a better or worse condition, according as it (the soul) deserves to be punished or rewarded; and they believe that the soul is sometimes conscious of the different conditions of life through which it has passed, although they do not affirm that such cases are frequent. The following incident is one among many others of the kind which they relate :—

A child, five years old, in Djebel-el-A'ala, complained of the life of poverty which his parents led, and alleged that he had been a rich man of Damascus; that on his death, he was born in another place, but had lived only six months; that he was born again among his present friends, and demanded to be carried to that city. He was taken there by his relatives, and on the way astonished them by his correct knowledge of the names of the different places which they passed. On reaching the city he led the way through the various streets to a house,

which he said had been his own. He knocked, and called the woman of the house by her name; and, on being admitted, told her that he had been her husband, and asked after the welfare of the several children, relatives, and acquaintances whom he had left. The Druses of the place soon met to inquire into the truth of the matter. The child gave them a full account of his past life among them, of the names of his acquaintances, the property which he had possessed, and the debts which he had left. All was found to be strictly true, except a small sum, which he said a certain weaver owed him. The man was called, and on the claim being mentioned to him, he acknowledged it, pleading his poverty for not having paid it to the children of the deceased. The child then asked the woman, who had been his wife, whether she had found a sum of money which he had hidden in the cellar, and on her replying in the negative, he went directly to the place, dug up the treasure, and counted it before them. The money was found to be exactly of the amount and kind of species which he had specified. His wife and children, who had become considerably older than himself, then gave him some money, and he returned with his new friends to his mountain home.

Nothing is more sacred with a Druse, than his *public* reputation. He will overlook an insult if known *only* to him who has offered it; and will put up with blows, where his interest is concerned, provided *no one* is a witness; but the slightest abuse, real or fancied, given in public he revenges with the greatest fury. This is the most remarkable feature of the national character. In public, a Druse may appear honourable; but he is easily tempted to a contrary behaviour, when he has reason to think that his conduct will remain undiscovered. The ties of blood and friendship have no power among them; and the son no sooner attains the years of maturity than he begins to plot against his father.

The best feature in the Druse character is that peculiar

law of hospitality which forbids ever to betray a guest during the time that he *remains* a guest. It is said that no consideration of interest or dread of power will induce a Druse to give up a person who has once placed himself under his protection, that is to say, while he *remains under* his protection ; but the cruel events of 1860 proved that cold-blooded treachery is deeply rooted in their hearts, notwithstanding the outward assumption of honour, generosity, and noble hospitality which they love to make a show of, but can easily evade under some pretence when it suits their private interest.

It is a curious thing that China is believed by the Druses to be inhabited wholly by persons professing the same religion as themselves; and they suppose that on the death of their best men, their souls reappear in that country. They believe also that large numbers of believers are disguised by professing false religions in all the kingdoms of the world. At one time they supposed that, from the friendly attitude which the officials of the British Government held to them, the whole British nation were Druses ; and if they have now given up this hope, they still retain the idea that a considerable body of believers exists among them.

It would be most interesting to dive a little into the peculiarities of their religion, for although De Sacy and many others have almost made them common property, still there may be some among the readers of this paper who cannot easily lay their hands on the works of these writers, and would be glad of a few particulars.

When a Druse desires to be initiated into his religion, he is required to bind himself solemnly by the following covenant :—

“I, —, the son of —, in sound reason, and with my full consent and preference, do now absolve myself from all sects and religions which contradict the religion of our Lord El Hákim of infinite power; and do acknowledge that there is no adored God in heaven, or existing Lord on earth, except our Lord El Hakim. (May his name be

praised!) I do give up myself, soul and body unto him, and undertake to submit to all his orders, and to know nothing but the obedience of our Lord, who appeared in Egypt, in the human form. I shall render the homage due to him to none else, whether past, present, or expected. I submit to whatever he sees fit to decree respecting me. I shall keep the secrets of my religion, and speak of them to none but Unitarians. If I ever forsake the religion of our Lord, or disobey any of his commands, may I be absolved from the adored Creator, and cut off from the privileges of the ministers, and I shall justly deserve immediate punishment."

The right of induction is performed by the "u'kkál," by simply putting the books of wisdom into the hands of the candidate.

The "u'kkál" are divided into two classes, the simply initiated, and those who have entirely devoted themselves to the interests and duties of religion, and who aspire to a higher degree of sanctity. The latter are distinguished by the additional title of Twayia, though this distinction is not always observed. The simply initiated are required to avoid in their dress all gaudy colours and new-fangled fashions, and in conversation to abstain from swearing and obscene language. Their deportment should always be grave and dignified; and they are in no wise to drink spirituous liquors or even to smoke. They are forbidden to eat or drink in the houses of governors, or in any other place where they have reason to suppose that the articles of food are bought with money extorted, or otherwise unrighteously got.

The Twayia pretend, or, shall we rather say, aspire, to a much higher degree of outward sanctity. Their dress is peculiar, and is made of the simplest materials and in the simplest and most primitive fashion. The turban and coat, however, are their particular badge; the former being made of a narrow slip of white cloth wound round the skull-cap of red cloth in a peculiar spherical manner; and the coat is

made of home-spun wool, streaked with broad stripes of white and black.

The most distinguished among them assume an air of profound humility; and as they accustom themselves, with this object in view, to a downcast attitude of the head, this forced position eventually becomes natural to them. In conversation they never use a bad word or oath, or even a word which the most fastidious taste does not pronounce to be perfectly proper. They are very scrupulous in using choice expressions which shall convey neither more or less than the truth. No extravagant or even hyperbolical language ever escapes from their lips without due qualification. Suppose one of this class desired to say that he had eaten the best part of a loaf of bread, when he had actually eaten only half or three-quarters, he would express himself in this way, "I have eaten a whole loaf—a part of it." In this way, hyperbole and other figures of speech being particularly common in the Oriental style, they find themselves under the necessity of retrenching or qualifying very much of what they say. This gives a hesitation to their speech, and sanctimonious air to their demeanor, which are very annoying, and sometimes even disgusting. They never engage in trade as such, for a means of livelihood, but always have more or less of landed property which they cultivate, and from which they derive their living. The money which they get in exchange for their goods, when they have reason to believe that it was obtained in some improper way, they always exchange with some Christian or Jew.

In none of their books on religion is any act of mercy, or charity, or neighbourly kindness recognised or commanded, or even hinted at, as acceptable before God, except in so far as it may serve in forwarding the one sole object and end of their existence, namely to establish a good reputation for themselves and their religion.

Their meetings in their khalwât are not spent exclusively in strictly religious exercises; or rather, I should say, the

Druse regards politics as, perhaps, the most important and interesting part of his religious services. Accordingly in these assemblies, after certain portions of their sacred books are read, and a sort of prayer or adoration to the supreme Creator is chanted, which forms the usual course of their religious worship, the women, and those who have only received the first degrees of initiation, retire, and leave the place to the elder and higher grade of U'kkáls; after which the true object of their assembling is entered upon, and this is strictly political. Every item of information in reference to politics gained by any member, in any way whatever, is laid before the whole. Everything is carefully discussed, and fully sifted and talked over, every step to be taken is thoroughly studied. Every plan is thoughtfully worked out, before it is committed to the charge of intelligent, competent, and reticent messengers, who spread it through the length and breadth of the Druse possessions with the most perfect secrecy. In order to provide among them for a universal union of sentiment and joint action at all times, two or three distinguished places, which have constant communication with each other, take the lead by general consent. Ba'aklin in the Lebanon, near Deir el Kamar, and El Bagada in the Hermon, near Hasbeiya, are the two places which hold the first rank of eminence among others of their kind. From these, information and orders proceed to provincial khalwât; and from them the news is ramified to the local meetings of every village, without any outsider being aware of the least movement.

This order of proceeding is so well kept up, that in time of war there is a general secret understanding pervading the whole community, from which a series of acts ensue that are sanctioned by the highest dignitaries of the Druses, and which form an integral part of the general policy adopted by them. It is said, and no doubt it is quite true, that their success in war is to be attributed in a great measure to this perfect unity of action and reticence of speech.

Like every secret association, they have a general sign by which they recognise each other; but as that which they have hitherto adopted is now well known, they have probably changed it for some other.

As it is a maxim with them to adopt the religious practices of the country in which they reside, and to profess the creed of the strongest, there is no doubt that many, if not all, who have much to do with English people, or reside for any lengthened space of time in England, will adopt and profess to believe the Protestant religion, as being the established religion of the English nation, just as in Mohammedan countries they profess Islamism; and whenever they mix with Mohammedans, they are careful to perform the rites prescribed by their religion.

I left Syria for the last time in 1882, but, by means of correspondence, have continually kept myself informed of the state of affairs among the Druses as well as among the other nationalities, both native and foreign, residing in that place. The tide of civilization is slowly, *very* slowly yet surely, percolating through the masses, until the mud hut of the Druse has felt the benefit of it, and the habiliments of his daughters, if not of his wife, have become more refined and attractive, if not so picturesque as before. To those who knew the Druse forty years ago the change is very great; but it is more perceptible among those who live in close proximity to Beyrout. Within the last six weeks I have had information of two incidents which, to my mind, clearly prove that the Druses are getting more "Europeanized," if I may use that expression, than they were even in 1882, and which show that civilization is outwardly progressing among them—that, at least, the outward man is becoming apparently more amenable to the humanizing influences around him.

The first incident is this—that *three Druse princesses* have, on the application of their own friends and relations, become pupils in the British Syrian Boarding School at Beyrout!

For many years education has slowly been creeping in upon them. The Druse is shrewd and intelligent, and he has found that the knowledge obtained solely from his own Khalwât and his own U'kkâl is no longer sufficient for him. Unwilling to be left stranded by himself among the shoals of ignorance, and thus lose prestige for himself and his religion as a Druse, he very wisely and, dare I add, cunningly, puts his prejudices in his pocket, and sends his children to Christian schools. This course of action has crept in upon him step by step, as if he were impelled to it by a pressure of circumstances too great to be battled with. First, only the sons of the common people were allowed to attend "English" schools. Then the persuasions of "English" ladies prevailed, and, as a great favour, first one, then another, and then a third daughter of the Druse people was classed among the pupils! Another year or two rolled on, and the young sheikhs, ashamed of seeing the children of their dependents getting in advance of them in culture, put their pride in their pocket (anything put in the pocket can be brought out when necessary for use), and in the same insulated manner sought the benefits of English education! Now the climax is reached—the Druse sheikhs themselves send their daughters, or rather have begun to do so, to mingle freely—to sit, and eat, and sleep, to study and play—with the daughters, not only of commoners, but of those very people whose blood they caused to flow like water, and boasted of its sweetness! Can the leopard change his spots, or the bloodthirsty tiger his insatiable love of human flesh? I know not! I care not to decide this point, and I will not sit in judgment upon it. Time will show! And certainly I *do* believe that God's grace is *all* powerful. There we will leave it, and pass to the second incident.

An English gentleman, wishing to be an eye-witness of the home life among the Druses in the privacy of their own villages, following Lane's example among the Egyptians, went to the Lebanon, and took up his abode among the

Druses. He was a Freemason, and it occurred to him one day, when surrounded only by U'kkál, to put them to the test, and see whether it were possible that there could be any connection between the secret society of the Druses and that of the Freemasons. He did not dream that such a thing could be possible, but merely followed what appeared to him an idle whim of the moment. To his intense surprise, however, scarcely had he made the usual sign than the assembled U'kkál, looking at each other with great astonishment in their faces, rose up in one mass, and gave him the right hand of fellowship! They immediately accepted him as a true brother in their fraternity, and insisted upon treating him thenceforward as entirely one of themselves. I do not consider this last incident as wholly the result of increased civilization, but fancy that a good deal of policy was mixed up with it. Still, it is interesting; though is it not just possible that henceforward they will cling more strongly to their cherished idea that many, if not most, of the English are Druses at heart, and believe that Freemasonry is only another name for the tenets of El-Hakim-bi-Amrihg?

ORIENTAL CONGRESS NEWS.

THE following statement has been issued by the President and Vice-Presidents of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to Members, Orientalists, and friends of Oriental Studies:—

Office : ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE,

WOKING, November 14th, 1891.

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor of informing you that the publications of the above Congress will extend to several volumes, containing a mass of valuable papers connected with almost every Oriental speciality or with its practical application. In order to enable us to publish them, it is necessary that all Members should pay at least their subscription of £1 or 25 francs, together with such additional amount as they may be pleased to give in furtherance of the aims of the Congress generally and to assist it in its publications. In addition to the status of Membership and the privileges connected therewith, the subscription will entitle you to:—1. A complete report of the proceedings, containing abstracts of all the papers read at the Congress, as also papers *in extenso* by the Rev. Professors Wright, Stanley Leathes, Adams; Prof. Sir Monier Williams, the Rev. Dr. C. Taylor, General Showers, Sir R. Meade, Drs. Bellew, Leitner, and Schlichter, the Rev. J. Edkins, and Messrs. Flinders Petrie, Claine, R. Michell, R. A. Sterndale, and C. E. Biddulph. The proceedings amount to 123 pages and the rest to additional 228 pages in the "Special Oriental Congress Number" of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review." 2. A complete List of Members [signatory and ordinary], the Statutes, etc. 3. Proceedings and miscellaneous papers between 10th October, 1889, and 10th September, 1891 (most, if not all, of which have already been sent to you). 4. A work on the "Ethnology of Afghanistan," specially written for the Congress by Surgeon-General H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., late Chief Political Officer at Kabul (210 pages). 5. Introduction to the same (27 pages). 6. The Rev. H. Gollancz's Paper on the "Dignity of Labour in the Talmud." 7. Dr. Leitner's pamphlets on "Muhammadanism," and on the "Science of Languages and Ethnography," with special reference to Hunza, a country of the Pamirs. 8. Summary of Research in Sanscrit studies and Bibliography (56 pages) by Professor G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu. 9. Report of the progress made in the Study of African Languages since 1883, by Capt. C. de Guiraudon. 10. Notes on the modern Nyaya system of Philosophy by Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna. For Members of the Aryan Section only: Principios Elementares da Grammatica da Lingua Sânskrita. Manual para o Estudo de Sânskrito Classico. (I.) Exercicios e primeiras Leituras do Samscrito: (II.) by Prof. G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu. For Members of the Arabic Section only: Treatise on the legal rights of Muhammadan Women by Sheikh Hamza Fathullah. Members who have paid their subscription will further be entitled to receive at cost price (others paying double) the Summaries of Research up to date in Hebrew and Aramaic, Arabic and Aethiopic, Assyriology, Egyptology, including

Coptic, Sinology, Palestinology, Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Turkish, Dravidian, Comparative Philology, Oriental Archæology, Indian Numismatics, as also all other publications that may be issued by the Oriental University Institute, to which these and the remaining papers have been made over as the custodian of the archives, dies, and plates of the Statutory International Congresses of Orientalists, and a seat of an annual Oriental British Congress, of an Oriental Academy, and of annual Oriental Examinations. Orientalists or friends of Oriental Studies will be allowed to become Members of the Statutory Ninth International Congress, and to receive the publications thereof, by notifying their wish at any time between the date of this circular letter, and the date of the Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, which will take place at Seville in Spain in September—October, 1892. The names of intending Members for the Congress in Spain, as also those of mere subscribers to any one or more of the above-mentioned publications already issued, or to be issued, will be registered by Dr. Leitner, Woking. "The Asiatic Quarterly Review," the authorized organ of the Statutory Congresses of Orientalists, will publish, as far as possible *in extenso*, all the papers read before, or sent to, or announced as being sent to the Congress, but not yet received, that may be accepted, besides publishing its usual matter on current subjects of Oriental Literature, Laws, Languages, Politics, Religions, Social Condition, Geography, Science, etc. (subscriptions per annum, £1). Members who have paid their subscription will also receive a Grand Diploma of Statutory Membership in the event of their being desirous of maintaining the original Statutes of the Congress of the existing Series as founded in Paris in 1873, which will give them the right of voting at all the future Statutory Congresses of the Series, of which they may desire to become Members. The Executive Committee and the Delegate General being, by a Resolution of the Congress, in function as a "Comité de Permanence," till the next meeting of the Statutory Congress, or, till the publications of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists are issued, or whenever the interests of the continuation or the cause require it (see Resolution of Paris, dated 11th September, 1873), are empowered to confer, in accordance with certain publicly approved and fixed principles of Award, Diplomas, Certificates, or Medals in the name of the Congress, for any Papers, Collections, etc., that have been announced, but have not yet been received.

The following subscriptions have already been received towards the Reception, Publication, and other expenses of the Congress, which amount to £1,800—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The Clothworkers' Company ...	50	0	0	Sir Richard Meade ...	6	5	0
Mr. Ludwig Mond ...	50	0	0	Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael ...	3	0	0
Dr. W. H. Bellew ...	50	0	0	Sir Charles Nicholson ...	2	2	0
His Excellency The Japanese Ambassador ...	10	10	0	General Forlong ...	2	1	0
H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore ...	10	0	0	Mr. Arthur Cates ...	5	5	0
Sir Lepel Griffin ...	10	0	0	Dr. G. W. Leitner ...	200	0	0
Baron G. de Reuter ...	9	9	0	The Oriental University Institute ...	100	0	0
Chief Justice Way ...	6	5	0	Rev. C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St. John's, Cambridge...	20	0	0
				Mr. Marcus Adler ...	3	3	0

£300 have been already received by Members' subscriptions of £1 each; £300 more are expected under that head; so that the sum required to be specially subscribed for, is about £700.

The following circular has been issued in connection with the forthcoming Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists to be held at the Alcazar at Seville, from the 23rd September to the 1st October, 1892, and and to be followed by the Congress of Americanists, of Geographers, the celebration of Festivities in connection with the Fourth Centenary of Christopher Columbus.

XME CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES ORIENTALISTES

(sur la base de Statuts et des principes primitifs du Congrès
fondateur de Paris, 1873).

SEVILLE, Septembre-Octobre, 1892.

WOKING, *Décembre*, 1892.

MONSIEUR ET HONORÉ COLLÈGUE,—

Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer que le 10^{me} Congrès International des Orientalistes se réunira à Séville entre le 23 Septembre et le 1^{er} Octobre, 1892, sous la présidence de Son Excellence Don Antonia Canovas del Castillo, Président du Conseil des Ministres et Directeur de l'Académie Royale de l'Histoire de Madrid et sous le patronage de S.A.T.R. l'Archiduc Rénier d'Autriche.

Les neuf Congrès précédents se sont réunis à Paris (1873), Londres (1874), St. Petersbourg (1876), Florence (1878), Berlin (1881), Leyde (1884), Vienne (1886), Stockholm-Christiania (1889), Londres (1891).

La ville de Séville ayant été choisie par le Congrès de Londres comme siège de la dixième Session, le Comité de Londres a transmis régulièrement ses pouvoirs au Comité espagnol organisateur de cette Session.

Ce Comité est sous la présidence de S. E. Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo et la vice-présidence de S. E. Don Antonio Maria Fabié. Le Secrétaire organisateur est Dr. Ayuso, Professeur de Sanscrit à l'Université de Madrid. On pourra s'adresser à lui ou aux soussignés pour tous renseignements, l'envoi des mémoires, des cotisations de Membre, ouvrages, etc.

Le prix de la cotisation est de 16 shillings, 20 pesetas, ou de 20 francs. On peut souscrire en France au Comité du Centenaire à l'Ambassade d'Espagne, 36, Boulevard de Courcelles, ou à la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, 44, Rue de Rennes; chez M. E. Leroux, Editeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris; en Angleterre chez MM. Hachette, Libraires, King William Street, Strand, Londres, et en autres pays chez MM. les Délégués du X^{me} Congrès des Orientalistes. Les Membres dûment inscrits recevront le Grand Diplôme Statutaire.

Le Programme scientifique embrassera les Sections suivantes :

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>a.</i> Sommaire des recherches orientales depuis 1891. | <i>l.</i> Études Japonaises. |
| <i>b.</i> 1. Langues sémitiques excepté l'Arabe. | <i>m.</i> Études Dravidiennes. |
| 2. l'Arabe et l'Islam. | <i>n.</i> Malaisie et Polynésie. |
| <i>3.</i> Assyriologie. | <i>o.</i> Questionnaires pour explorateurs. |
| <i>4.</i> Palestinologie. | <i>p.</i> Philologie ethnographique, y compris les migrations des races. |
| <i>c.</i> Langues aryennes. 1. Le Sanscrit et l'Hindouisme. | <i>q.</i> l'Art, l'Archéologie, la Numismatique, et l'art industriel de l'Orient. |
| 2. le Pali et le Bouddhisme. | <i>r.</i> Relations avec les savants et les peuples de l'Orient. |
| 3. l'Iranien et le Zoroastrianisme. | <i>s.</i> La Linguistique orientale en commerce etc. (avec soussections pour les différentes langues modernes orientales). |
| <i>d.</i> l'Afrique, avec l'exception de l'Egypte. | <i>t.</i> L'Anthropologie, la Science et les produits, naturels et artificiels, de l'Orient. |
| <i>e.</i> Egyptologie. | <i>u.</i> L'Orient et l'Amérique. |
| <i>f.</i> Asie Centrale et Dardistan. | <i>v.</i> L'Orient et la Péninsule ibérienne. |
| <i>g.</i> Religions comparées (y compris Mythologie, Philosophie, Lois, Sciences orientales, Histoire, etc. | <i>w.</i> Exposition de livres et d'objets à l'appui des Sections susmentionnées. |
| <i>h.</i> Langues comparées. | |
| <i>i.</i> Encouragement des études orientales. | |
| <i>j.</i> Études Indo-Chinoises. | |
| <i>k.</i> Sinologie. | |

Le programme détaillé sera rédigé par la R. Academia de la Historia de Madrid, la R. Academia de Bellas Letras de Séville, la R. Academia de Bellas Artes, l'Université et l'Athénée de cette ville.

La Couronne et l'Ayuntamiento préparent des fêtes à l'Alcazar, aux Casas Capitulares, à la Casa Lonya, à la Casa de Pilatos, aux casinos (cercles), au théâtre de S. Fernando et à la Plaza de Toros, des visites à la Biblioteca Colombina, à l'Archivo de Indias, aux musées, aux principaux monuments, à la Manufacture des tabacs, aux manufactures de Triana, des promenades aux Delicias, des excursions sur le Guadalquivir, etc., etc.

La Session sera suivie d'excursions à Cordoue, Malaga, Grenade, Cadix, Xérés, et Huelva, afin de permettre aux Membres du Congrès de visiter les plus beaux monuments arabes de l'Andalousie et ses principaux villes.

Le programme sera mis prochainement en distribution.

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS,

Délégué du Gouvernement de l'Espagne.

G. W. LEITNER,

Délégué, Secrétaire Général du 9me Congrès International des Orientalistes.

MARQUIS DE CROIZIEP,

(Comité de Permanence.)

Délégué Général en France.

WOKING, SURREY.

Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America.

The following is the preliminary official programme in connexion with the above celebration :—

"The Spanish Government, being desirous of celebrating with splendour the fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, are arranging for that purpose a variety of festivities and gatherings, of which some, by their international character, are of special interest. Among them may be noted :

"The Exhibitions which will open in Madrid the 12th September, 1892, and remain open until the 31st December following.

"The Congress of Americanists, which will be held in Huelva from the 1st to the 6th October of the same year.

"The International Congress of Orientalists (tenth session), which will be held between the 29th September* and the 12th October, 1892, at Seville.

"And the Geographical Hispano-Portuguese-American Congress, which will take place in Madrid in the month of October.

"One of the Exhibitions, called the Historical American Exhibition of Madrid, has for its object to represent in the most complete manner the state in which were the different countries of the New Continent before the arrival of the Europeans and at the time of the Conquest till the 18th century. It will contain objects, models, reproductions, plans, draughts, etc., having reference to the people who then inhabited America—their customs and their civilization—which have a bearing on the early navigators, the first colonists, and the Conquest itself.

"The other Exhibition, called the Historical European Exhibition of Madrid, will also be retrospective; it will embrace the objects of art belonging to the period comprised between the beginning of the 15th century and the end of the 17th century, giving an idea of the degree of civilization which the colonizing nations had attained at the time of the Conquest. Architectural works will not be contained among the objects of art admitted to the Exhibition.

"A place will be specially set apart for receiving the liturgical objects of art in use in Catholic worship.

"The third Exhibition will be an International Industrial Exhibition.

"The fourth Exhibition will be an International Exhibition of the Fine Arts."

Schemes of Transliteration.

The Committee appointed by the General Meeting of the 9th September, 1891, to consider and report on the various Schemes of Transliteration submitted to the Congress have selected those of Prof. Sir Monier Williams and the Rev. Professor Stanley Leathes, D.D., as deserving of consideration, and have arrived at the following final resolution:—

"The Committee is disposed to concur with Prof. Sir Monier Williams in his recommendation of the improved Jonesian system for the scientific transliteration of Indian Languages, so far as the English-speaking races are concerned, not in order to supersede the use of the native characters by natives, or their study by European scholars, but as a mere convenience when printing them in Roman type. The Committee further disapproves of the system adopted in the "Sacred Books of the East," of rendering "j" with "G," or "ch" with "K," e.g., "Jain" as "G^hain," or "charas" as "K^haras," as being likely to lead to mispronunciation by the reader, and to mistakes by the printer. In the Committee's opinion, any scheme of transliteration must be of limited application. In popular, as opposed to the scientific, transliteration of Oriental sounds, or in ordinary English

* NOTE.—The exact date of this Congress will be so arranged as to fit in with the other Congresses and Festivities.

publications, such common English spelling as is least liable to different modes of pronunciation appears to be most suitable for the ordinary English reader. As regards the scheme of Professor S. Leathes for Hebrew consonants, the Committee regard it as worthy of attention, but, as regards vowels, the Committee would prefer the quantity to be indicated by the ordinary signs rather than by italicized vowels. The Committee, in conclusion, feel it their duty to reiterate and endorse the warning regarding all attempts at any *universal* system of Transliteration that has been expressed at the Sectional and General Meetings, as also in the programme of the Congress, which are attached to this Resolution."

The letter of the Congress to the Scotch University Commissioners regarding the undesirability of omitting Oriental Languages and Philology from the Honours' Course in Arts has been reprinted and circulated by them among the Commissioners for opinion. We hope to be able to announce a favourable result in our next issue.

The suggestions and Resolution of the General Meeting held on the 7th September regarding the Oriental Institute in Naples and the combination of Eastern with Western instruction in such Institutions (see page lxi. of Proceedings in last *Asiatic Quarterly*) have been submitted to the Italian Government and to the London and Edinburgh Chambers of Commerce.

In acknowledging the services of M. Aymonier as Delegate of the French Government, the opportunity was taken of emphasizing his objection to laicizing or secularizing the education of Orientals in Colonies under European administration.

The Japan Society, founded by the exertions of the Secretaries of the Japanese Section of the Oriental Congress, held its first meeting of the Organizing Council at the rooms of the Society of Arts on Tuesday evening, the 8th December, 1891. Its prospects of success are exceedingly good. We intend to publish particulars of its operations in our next issue.

The remaining Resolutions of the last Congress are in course of being carried out, with the happiest results.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, whose unfortunate absence from England prevented his showing any hospitality that he might have desired to extend to the Members of the Congress, has sent the following very kind letter to one of the Secretaries: "I am most sorry I could be of no use, and I cannot but fear that it must have given you and others very considerable trouble to hear nothing from me. I am very grieved if it was so. I trust you are fully satisfied with the progress of the Congress."

H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore has written to express his warm interest in the great work that the Congress has been doing.

CORRESPONDENCE AND NOTES.

The Pamirs.

DR. G. CAPUS, whose Paper to the Congress in the Pamir we print elsewhere, has sent Dr. Leitner the following letter :—

“ Je n'ai jamais entendu aux Kara-Kirghizes habitants permanents des Pamirs, attribuer le nom de Pamir à une région du massif bien déterminée. Ils l'employaient toujours dans un sens vague, assez mal défini, dans l'acception du lieu désert, inhospitalier. Ils prononcent *Pamer* ou *Pamel*. Ils ne connaissaient pas par le Pamir dit “Khargoush” ou Pamir des lièvres de la carte de Seivertsoff et disait simplement Rang-Koul, Kara-koul, Alitchour, sans y affixer le terme de Pamer. Ils ne connaissent pas non plus sous les noms de “petit” et de “grand” Pamir les vallées du haut Ak-sou et du Sar-i-Koul. Les dénominations de *Pamir-i-Khourd* et du *Pamir-i-Kalane* viennent des Wakhis qui me semblent avoir emprunté le mot de Pamir des Kirghizes leurs voisins. Cette dualité de langues, à la limite linguistique de tribus de langue éranienne et turque, a donné lieu déjà à d'autres malentendus d'identification géographique comme je l'ai montré dans un article de la *Revue de la Géographie* (p. 321, 1890).

“Le Pamir ou les Pamirs sont loin d'être des endroits absolument déserts, peu accessibles—*en été* et sans valeur—*pour le nomade*. M. et Mme. Littledale ayant fait leur voyage pendant la bonne saison, la saison des mouvements de nomades, auront certainement vu l'Alaï, le Kara-Koul, le Rang-Koul, la vallée de l'Ak-sou, l'Alichour, etc., visités par de nombreux et beaux troupeaux, parsemés de nombreux *oïs* ou tentes Kirghizes.

“Les pâturages des Pamirs jouissent même d'une réputation exceptionnelle, depuis Marco Polo, qui relève leurs qualités par une phrase spéciale en disant, “qu'une maigre jument y deviendrait bien grasse en 10 jours.” Mais la bonne chère des troupeaux ne dure que 3 ou 4 mois au plus, l'hiver étant natif et les neiges permanentes, précoces. Qu'en été les mouvements de grandes masses d'hommes, de caravanes, soient possible, cela est certain. En hiver, les Pamirs ne sont pas complètement déserts ni abandonnés. Certains tribus de Kara-Kirghizes, parmi lesquels les Teitts tiennent le premier rang par le nombre, hivernent dans les replis abrités de certaines vallées et entretiennent même en vie la majeure partie de leurs troupeaux quoiqu'ils ne leur fassent guère au point de provisions. Nous les avons trouvés au Rang-Koul et dans la vallée de l'Ak-sou, en aval et en amont d'Ak-tach. Quoique la politique soit étrangère à mes préoccupations, je me permets cependant d'avoir une opinion sur ce qu'on appelle en ce moment la “question” du Pamir. Peut-être n'en est-elle que plus impartiale. La démarcation des Pamirs, comme vous le dites avec beaucoup de raison, est “practically impossible and certainly unmaintainable.” Il n'y a pas de frontière arbitraire tracée en travers des Pamirs,—frontière qui ne peut être naturelle dans ce cas,—résistant à la force des choses. Les Pamirs sont dans la sphère d'influence de la puissance du Nord, tout comme

les petits états du Nord de l'Inde sont dans celle de la puissance du Sud. Cela résulte de la Topographie de la contrée aussi bien que de l'état social des habitants, des lois, de l'expression de la solidarité ethnique.

"Il n'y a pas de chinoiserie de Kashgar ou de Peking qui puisse à la longue se maintenir en travers de cette loi "naturelle." Je ne comprends même pas comment cette rencontre du Capitaine Younghusband avec le Colonel Ianoff, a pu donner lieu à cet accès de "nervosisme"—pardonnez-moi le mot, mais il est caractéristique—de la presse anglaise. Je suis persuadé que si les deux grandes puissances, en marche l'une vers l'autre en Asie centrale, au lieu d'être séparées par des états d'une puissance en somme anodine, avaient une frontière commune, la paix et la stabilité seraient plus assurées que lorsque ces petits états, intrigant pour ou contre l'une ou l'autre, peuvent à chaque instant susciter des complications retentissantes.

"Je vous demande pardon de cette digression qui m'a été suggérée par la dernière partie de votre intéressante lettre au *Morning Post*, et comme l'opinion que j'exprime est de celles qu'on ne partagera pas, elle me reviendra entière."

It will be seen from the subjoined letter from Mr. LITLEDALE that he has not been so fortunate, as Dr. Capus supposes, in seeing large Kirghiz encampments during his crossing the Pamir from north to south. As for the word "Pamir," Dr. Bellew's comparative vocabulary of Yarkandi, Kirghiz, Wakhi, Serikoli, and Kalmác, confirms Dr. Leitner's interpretation of "plateau."

"We passed long stretches of country, in one instance south of Lake Karrakol, fifteen or twenty miles, where I don't think it is any exaggeration to say there was not a particle of vegetation of any kind. Of course my remarks are confined to the parts we visited, which you might term the backbone of the Pamir system. I have no doubt whatever to the west, where the ground shelves down to the Oxus, and you have a small elevation above the sea, that there the conditions of life are much more favourable. With the exception of an encampment of about a dozen Jourts on the Alichur, the only others we came in contact with were one Jourt fifteen miles east of Victoria Lake on the Great Pamir, and another Jourt on the Little Pamir; nor do I think, from the extreme difficulty we found in getting grass for our ponies, that the country is capable of supporting a much larger population than it has at present. (There was an encampment on the Murghab which we passed, but not within sight of.)"

ST. GEORGE LITLEDALE.

Dr. Leitner replied as follows:—

"I have not the least doubt that you have correctly described what you yourself have seen, but I am equally sure that Gramscheffsky and Capus are right as to what they have themselves investigated. Personally, my knowledge of the Gilgit and adjacent countries gives me a high opinion of their fertility, and the variety and multitude of game. Had you gone to Hunza and Nagyr (I do not see the latter on your excellent map) you would not have complained of the scarcity of sport. See also Biddulph on

the subject. I was much distressed to hear what you had to tell us of the miserable condition of the Wakhis and Yasinis, whose language and legends I have studied, and whose physical beauty I admired."

The map published by the Royal Geographical Society, in connexion with Mr. Littledale's journey, although it does not repeat the error in that of Colonel Grambchkeffsky, of putting Hunza on the Nagyr side of the river, omits the name of Nagyr altogether. We infer from this, that even the information possessed by the Intelligence Department of the War Office, which is supposed to have supplied all it conveniently can to the Society, is still very defective, and we trust to be able to fill up its blank by the native itineraries in our possession.

Mr. Robert Michell's paper on Russian Cartography we have been compelled to postpone to next issue, as also others of great value and usefulness, such as that of Prof. Abel on Philology, and that of Prof. Witton-Davies on the promotion of Oriental studies in England. Pasteur Fesquet has also sent a very interesting letter on his view regarding the affinities between the Shemitic and the Aryan families of language. Professor Lincke's invaluable Summary of Research in Assyriology, and his paper on the colonization of Assyria, will be ready in a few weeks.

Oriental Academy, Woking.

The meetings of the Academy, for the reading and discussion of papers, books, and collections connected with Oriental Research, or its application, or for the initiation of original inquiry, will be held every Saturday afternoon, between four and six o'clock, beginning with the first Saturday in May. For particulars regarding membership, apply to Secretary, Oriental Academy, Woking. Arrangements are in progress for the issue of return tickets to Members or visitors for single fares, at the Waterloo Station Main Line ticket offices.

Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael, Congress Medallist, the eminent Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, has translated for our next issue Professor G. Maspero's admirable paper on "Creation by the Voice and the Ennead of Hermopolis," as also Professor E. Amélineau's "Identifications of Ancient with Modern Egyptian Geography."

Professor E. Cordier has largely added to the excellent Summary of Sinology which he read before the last Oriental Congress. The Summaries of Research, in sixteen Oriental specialties will, we hope, be published by June next, and applications for them are now registered.

The next Entrance, Proficiency, High Proficiency, and Honours Examinations of the Oriental University Institute in the Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, Hindi, Urdu, and Panjabi languages will be held on and from the 1st August, 1892. Examinations will also be held in various branches of Arabic and Sanscrit literature, as also in Hindu and Muhammadan law, and in the Vaidak and Yunani systems of medicine. Intending candidates should register their names before the 31st March, 1892, for the

subject or branch of the subject in which they desire to be examined, giving an account of their Oriental studies, and enclosing a fee of £5, which will be remitted in the case of those Maulvis, Pandits, Christian ministers, and Rabbis as cannot afford to pay it.

We greatly regret being unable in this issue to publish a highly interesting account of Dr. Karl Blind's personal recollections of the great Trojan pathfinder, Dr. Schliemann.

Our Reasons for Studying the East. By M. BERNARDINO MARTIN MINGUEZ, *Revue des Revues, Paris*. In speaking of the Congress of Orientalists (to be held in Spain in 1892) the author aims higher than the often arid studies of Oriental scholars. He reminds us that Orientalism has mainly influenced Occidental civilizations, especially the Greek and Roman, and even the first historical manifestations in Gaul and Iberia. In Spain the East has affected its language, produced the sculptures of Sagonta, the monuments of Burgos and Carcena, the remaining wealth of the south-west of Spain, of Estremadura and Galicia, the ancient alphabet and treasures of Cordova, Granada, Seville, Toledo, Saragossa, etc. Spain was, therefore, the country suited above all others to celebrate the next Congress; and its Government is now doing all it can to present to foreign scholars its own best men in the various Oriental specialities, including languages, religions, arts, customs, etc.

M. Sergius Sloutsky, of the Imperial Archæological Society of Moscow, has favoured us with the details regarding the contested two tablets in Dr. Blau's Assyrian collection, the genuineness of which has been so fully established by the last Oriental Congress, and which also present hieroglyphic prototypes of some cuneiform signs. We trust to be able to publish them, as also a *résumé* of the controversy, now settled, in our next issue.

Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E., the eminent Principal of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, has most liberally promised to print and present 500 copies of his "Notes on the Modern Nyāya System of Philosophy" to the Executive Committee of the last Oriental Congress, for distribution among its members.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The Viceroy's autumn tour included Kashmir, Gwalior, Indore, and Bhopal. In each State he had something to say in praise of native rule. Bhopal has again given a good lead in offering to merge all State troops, instead of a part only, in the Imperial Defence Corps, which, we note, is continually receiving fresh contingents. At Srinagar the Viceroy, after careful inquiry, restored to the Maharajah a part of his former power and position in the State, by giving him the Presidency of the State Council. The late President, Dewan Rajah Amar Singh, is made Vice-President, and a K.C.S.I., an honour well merited for his past services. The Viceroy has now returned to Calcutta, and with the Legislative Council is again at ordinary work. The Governors of Bombay and Madras, and the Lieut.-Governors of Bengal, the N.W. Provinces, and the Punjab, have also been on tours, necessitated by the scarcity almost universal this year in India. The changes in the English Cabinet have made the Hon. G. N. Curzon, Under-Secretary for India: he has a practical knowledge of the East. A sum of £1,000 a year has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for the museum of Economic Products of India, attached to the Imperial Institute—Mr. Royle takes charge of it. A meteorological station has also been sanctioned for five years on the island of Miniery in the Arabian Sea, and another in Kashmir.

The Maharajah Holkar, finding 750 districts in arrears with revenue accounts, took vigorous steps to have a speedy settlement, and at an outlay of Rs. 35,000 has recovered Rs. 500,000 from 600 districts. At Hyderabad we note an important memorandum, by Nawab Mehdi Hassan, on the legislation necessary for the press; and the report since 1886 of the bureau for regulating the residence and deportation of the numerous Rohillas, who had thronged in, not

for the good of the country. The Mysore Representative Assembly met in the middle of October, under the Presidency of the Dewan Sheshadri Jyer. For the first time it was a duly elected body from the agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests. The budget was announced as being two lakhs over that of last year, which again had been eleven lakhs greater than that of 1888-89. There is a large surplus, the State is thriving in every respect, and has thus taken practically the lead in partly granting representative institutions to the people.

A serious accident on the Nagpur railway resulted in thirteen killed and thirty-five wounded—nearly all soldiers. A more uncommon accident was the derailing of a mail train near Trichinopoly by Dacoits, who robbed it of Rs. 10,000. Another accident is reported from Multan. The half-yearly reports of railways show a general increase of traffic.

The report on jails gives a total of 748 in India :—37 central, 300 district, and 401 local lock-ups, with 88,000 prisoners. The total numbers passed through the prisons in the last year were 476,316 : 23,353 females, and 452,931 males. Per thousand of the population, the Buddhists and Jains were 3, Christians 1·7, Muhammadans 0·9, Sikhs and Hindoos 0·7, others 0·5. The Christians stand unenviably high. Government officially reports that there is no reliable ground for thinking that lead exists in remunerative quantities in the Chota Nagpur district. Government announce a Commission to inquire into the land indebtedness of India. Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, and N.W. Provinces will send members. Sir C. Crossthwaite having declined the presidency, it has been given to Mr. Neil, the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces. A sum of 100 lakhs of rupees has been granted for fresh railways for the coming year. The study of the Russian language by Indian officials is to be encouraged by giving them facilities of leave to go to Russia at their own expense : if they pass, they will be paid £200 and a portion of their expenses.

The ex-Maharajah of Manipur died on the 4th Decem-

ber. He had lately been ordered to remove from Calcutta, and was to have been paid 250 Rs. a month. The Manipur prisoners have reached the Andaman Islands and are putting in their time under the common rules ; their families have been removed to Sylhet. A battalion and a half of Gurkhas with two guns garrison Manipur, where road-making is being extensively undertaken. During the long minority of the child-rajah we shall not have much to chronicle of Manipur. The report of the Military Court of Inquiry has not been yet published, but Captains Boileau and Butcher, first and second in command at Manipur after the death of Colonel Skene, have been dismissed from the service ; compassionate allowances, however, were granted.

Major-General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B., has been selected as the next Commander-in-chief in India. A large cavalry camp of exercise is assembling at Aligurh, while another for artillery is to be held at Muridki. Nine lakhs have been sanctioned for the Rawul Pindee defence works, and those for Attock are to be at once begun. Here the preparatory surveys were made, no less than twenty years ago. The Samana range too is to be fortified, and a body of 200 military police is being organized in the Hazara district. A determined effort is being made to lay before Parliament, in the coming session, through Mr. King, the grievances of the India Staff Corps. Over 700 petitions had been despatched before pressure was brought to bear, to prevent more from following. The officers complain that they do not get a fair share of the higher offices of the service in India, and that altered circumstances in the services require a revision of the terms—11, 20, and 26 years—now fixed for their promotions. They certainly have very good cause of complaint. A new ordinance for the Indian navy constitutes a grievance not much noticed in England. India has to pay her share towards the general expenses of the navy for the privilege of being defended by a fragment of the fleet. This adds only two gun-boats and one torpedo-boat, while the assessment is between 10 and 15 lakhs of Rs.

Australia, for about the same amount, gets 5 cruisers and 2 gun and torpedo-boats, with other favourable conditions. The injustice to the Indian tax-payer is simply flagrant.

India has had a very bad season. A cyclone swept over the Bay of Bengal early in November, causing much damage and loss of life. The pilot brig *Coleroon* was lost with all hands; the *Enterprise* was wrecked in the Andamans, and out of its crew of 83, only 6 were saved, through the heroic conduct of some 30 convict women. On the island no less than 60 convicts were killed and 200 injured during the gale. The Indian tea season, for want of rain, has closed earlier, and the crop is smaller than was expected, but still is larger than that of last year. The Punjab cotton crop will be a poor one, as also that of rice in Bengal. In fact, the output of the whole country is affected by the want of rain in most places, and the excessive rainfalls in others, as at Jhansi and Cawnpore. Distress has been general, and some places have endured the horrors of actual famine. Grain riots, as might be expected, have occurred, notably in the Punjab, Ajmere-Merwara, and twice at Kurnool. Both the British and native Governments have, however, been active in meeting the crisis. Relief works, of permanent utility, on lines and plans prepared beforehand, have saved thousands who would otherwise have perished. Outbreaks of cholera too have been reported from Trichinopoly, Bombay harbour, Quettah, the Pishin and Kohat valleys, Peshawur, Lahore, and Meerut.

Sayad Sir Ahmad Ali has made a successful tour to collect funds for the improvement of the Aligarh College. As an instance of Muhammadan generosity for educational purposes, we note that one small town gave Rs. 24,000, while their Highnesses Begum of Bhopal and the Nizam of Hyderabad have again contributed largely.

The Imperial diamond case has reached the stage of the formal trial of Mr. Jacob. The Hyderabad jewel robbery case and Mr. Palmer's claims are still undecided. Mr. J. P. Warburton, District Superintendent of Police of

Unrithur, has won his case for libel against the *Lahore Tribune*. The editor apologized, and the proprietor paid a large sum for damages. Mr. Warburton has taught a good lesson to papers of a particular class.

An increased number of messages enables the Indian telegraph to more than pay its way, notwithstanding a reduction of rates. The new year opens with a reduction in the Post-Office rates also, for books, printed matter, etc., to India, among other places. A return, to the end of June, 1890, gave for all India 137 spinning mills, with $3\frac{1}{2}$ million spindles, and 25,000 looms, consuming fully 39 per cent. of the cotton output of India. Since 1880, spindles had more than doubled, looms nearly doubled, and the number of hands more than trebled.

We record with regret the death, during the quarter, of the Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, some time Governor-General of India; of General Sir George W. G. Greene, B.S.C., who served with distinction in the Scinde, Punjab, and Mutiny campaigns; of Mr. Sergeant George Atkinson, the father of the Bombay Bar; of the Right Rev. Michael Angelo Jacopi, O.C., Archbishop of Agra. The last had served consecutively for fifty years, quitting India only once.

The Amir of Afghanistan, after making a show of wishing to visit both India and England, has resolved to stay at home; while a St. Petersburg journal announced early in November that an Afghan mission to conclude an alliance with the Czar had already reached Bokhara, *en route* for the former city. Report says he does not trouble about the Pamirs. His efforts to get on better terms with the merchants trading to Caubul have not been successful. A certain Russian called Ali-Khan—suspected of being the notorious Alikhanoff, and a spy—is said to be kept under surveillance in Afghanistan. (Early in September a suspicious-looking Russian was deported from Bombay back to Russia by the Government.) Sirdar Umra Khan of Jandol was attacked by the chiefs of Lalpura, Nawaghi, and Girdani, urged on, it was said, by the Amir; but he beat the combined forces, and still holds his own.

The CEYLON tea trade continues to extend. To W. Australia her shipments have increased from 1,582,823 lbs. to 67,463,742 lbs. Her shipments include smaller quantities to China, India, Germany, and America. It is stated that large quantities of nickel and some uranium are to be found in the refuse of the Ceylon Plumbago mines, which, under the native system of mining, are not utilized.

BURMA.—A rich vein of tin, giving as much as 60 per cent., has been discovered in the Mergui district. Famine has been raging in Upper Burma, especially in Yen, Chindwin, Yamathin, and Meiktila. In some cases the poor have been reduced to feeding on grass, roots, and leaves. Rain-making experiments have been tried, but with very partial success. Sir A. Mackenzie, with the sanction of Government, has established a military post at Kampoung Choung on the Mampoung River, at the border of Burma and China, where a Burmese post had existed before our occupation of the country. The Chinese mandarin first accepted the situation; and our ambassador at Peking tried to obtain imperial recognition of the fact, which would probably settle the delimitation question; but China has ordered its troops not to yield. At Rangoon a statue was unveiled last month to Sir Arthur Phaire, the first Commissioner of Burmah,—the inaugurative speech being delivered by Bishop Bigandet, the veteran Pali scholar, a friend of Sir Arthur's, and one of the oldest European residents of Rangoon.

From SIAM we learn that Messrs. Murray and Campbell's tender for the Korat railway has been accepted. The famine is reported to be severe in the Meikong valley. Attention is being drawn to the peculiar position of this country between British and French territories, and there is talk about its necessary final absorption by one or other. Lord Cross found himself compelled to speak out on this subject when treating of the desire of England to see Persia and Afghanistan independent and prosperous.

The STRAITS' SETTLEMENT returns for the third quarter of this year, give for imports \$31,500,000, being a decrease

of ten per cent., and for exports \$30,000,000, an increase of five per cent. The Imperial Defence Subsidy is causing great dissatisfaction. From the Philippine Islands comes news of the final suppression of the rebellion in Mindanao.

In JAPAN the Island of Nippon, especially in its southern parts, has been ravaged by a fearful earthquake. It was attended with subsidence of land, fissures in the earth, the splitting in two of the top of the sacred mountain Fusi-yama, an eruption of the volcano Nagusan. Many bridges, roads and railways have been damaged. The towns of Hyogo, Ogaki, Nagoya, and Osaka suffered heavily. No less than 8,000 are reported as killed, and 10,000 injured; and 84,000 houses as destroyed and 22,000 as damaged. The returns of the Japanese cotton mills show great progress since 1888. Their number has increased from 19 to 30: the spindles from 83,360 to 300,459. The returns for last year give the total revenue at £22,862,216; the exports at £9,581,322,—the imports at £13,280,849. In Japan's foreign trade, England is first; then, a long way off, come in order, America, China, France, and Germany. Of this trade, nearly 80 per cent. is done by foreign firms.

CHINA.—In connection with the outbreaks we recorded last quarter, a Mr. Mason was arrested and tried by the British Supreme Court, and pleading guilty was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for smuggling dynamite, rifles, and ammunition for the Kolao Hui secret society—apparently a most inadequate punishment. Threats and fresh outbreaks against foreigners have kept up the unfortunate agitation of the past, till even Japanese war vessels have had to be sent to China to protect Japanese interests. The indemnity already paid by China for damages is said to be 600,000 taels. Early in December, risings took place in two different districts of East Manchuria, but have been easily suppressed; not, however, till several hundred Christians had been slaughtered. Reports are, however, so conflicting and accounts so exaggerated that we refrain from giving details till we get better infor-

mation. A terrible fire at Hankow destroyed 1,500 houses, about 200 women and children being burnt. The concession made by Lord Salisbury of a Chinese Consul at Hong Kong has been rendered nugatory by the absurd limitation of his *exequatur* to one year only : China very rightly declines to name a consul on such insulting terms.

The Russell Surveying party have, with a loss of six men from the hardships of the service, finished a survey of great part of Alaska. At Vladivostock Russia's feverish activity is rapidly producing, as a counterpoise to Hong-Kong, a vast establishment : fortifications, barracks for 10,000 troops, a military magazine, a naval arsenal, and large repairing docks. Her fleet there at present consists of 6 specially selected cruisers, and several gun and torpedo boats. It is now terrorized by 14 convicts escaped from the Railway works. The same world-disturbing restlessness has decided on erecting a continuous chain of fortifications all along the Russian frontiers, touching those of China and Persia ;—a line of forts from the Pacific to the Caspian.

In Central Asia, the Amir of Khain, near the province of Khorassan, died in November, and was succeeded by his eldest son. In PERSIA a fanatic rising at Mazenderan was quickly and easily suppressed. The tobacco monopoly is causing much dissatisfaction and producing riots. The reported treaty between Persia and Russia is denied. A General Michael Pedrovich Theodorovich has passed through Persia to Gwadur in Beluchistan, 300 miles west of Karachi, to join 4 other Russian officers who are there. At Teheran Sir Frank Lascelles has replaced Sir H. Drummond-Wolff as Ambassador. The Imperial Persian Bank, after paying all taxes, royalties, and other expenses, and carrying £3,094 to the next account, has declared a dividend of 5 per cent.

The rebellion in Yemen is still unsubdued, but the rebels seem quite content with being left in peace. The Turkish Governor is not strong enough to attack them. Damascus has suffered from a severe outbreak of cholera, which,

however, has at length subsided. A syndicate under Mr. Stainforth has projected a railway between Constantinople and Bagdad, and the Sultan has the scheme under consideration: it is to be finished in nine years. Meanwhile, there is a poor report of the Smyrna-Cassalia Railway. The rumoured French occupation of Sheikh Said, the south-western point of Arabia, is discredited.

EGYPT is more prosperous than ever, and its exceptionally large crops of last year are surpassed this year—cotton 10, and cereals 50 per cent. Railway receipts have increased by £200,000, and the Daira Sanieh gives a clear surplus of £50,000. The Budget surplus is £500,000. During the last three years, £600,000 of taxation have been remitted, and no new taxes have been imposed, except that on European professional men, which yields only £30,000. The new Penal Code has been approved by the Mixed Court; Ibrahim Fuad Pasha is Minister of Justice; a Native Court of Appeal is formed with Achmet Balig as President; and the Legal College has been put under a French Principal and four English teachers, in the hope of producing good native lawyers and judges. Dr. Greene Pasha, head of the Sanitation Department, has resigned from ill-health and is succeeded by Dr. Rogers Pasha. The Cairo drainage scheme progresses in spite of French opposition, which is just now the great evil in Egypt: even the very useful, if not necessary, inspection of chemists' shops had to be modified to soothe their sensitiveness. The Government and the Suez Canal Company have agreed to make a steam tramway and a fresh-water canal from Ismailia to Port Said, pending the making of a railway; the work will soon be finished. Several new discoveries of ancient monuments are announced at Aboukir; and, among other explorers, Mr. Flinders-Petrie is again at work at Tel-el-Amarna. M. Grébaut has refused to let the Exploration Fund work at Memphis; and the pretext for this is false, as the contractor who makes the so-called State excavations there is not a Government official but a well-known-Vandal. The P.

and O. Company have decided on giving up their Venice service ; and from the 15th January their steamers will go from Alexandria alternate weeks to Brindisi and Naples. Cheaper continental railway contractors have almost completely superseded the English firms, which only a few years ago had quite a monopoly in Egypt.

Sir C. Euans Smith is now H. M.'s Minister at Tangiers. In the interior of Morocco there has been some hard fighting between the Kabyles and the Moorish Arabs. In Western Africa the corpse of King Ja-Ja was delivered to his people and buried, with barbaric honours, in the presence of the new Commissioner, Col. Macdonald ; the demarcation of territory between the French and English has been accomplished ; a German punitive expedition in the Cameroons dearly purchased its success by the death of its leader, Lt. Gravenrath ; and a new governor has been appointed over the Congo State. In the South, the census returns for Cape Colony has given the population at 1,525,224. Mr. Beck has discovered some more remains like those at Zimbabwe. Fort Victoria already is, and Fort Salisbury soon will be, in telegraphic communication with the world. Mr. Charles Rhodes, the premier, announced that the English and Portuguese have decided on the coast railway, the surveys of which will be made within six months, when, if the latter decline to make the railway, it will be done by the South Africa Company, to which Lobenguela also has given full powers for the development of his country. The alluvial gold deposits seem to have been worked out by some ancient people ; but the gold reefs of Mashonaland promise good results as soon as batteries are provided, which Mr. Rhodes said would soon be sent up *viâ* the coast. Extremely rich reefs have been found near Fort Victoria and along the Umzwezwe river. At Mozambique some Portuguese settlements have been attacked and destroyed by the Mafita tribe. The Delgado concessions, till now inoperative for want of money, have through Mr. Moreing secured English capital to £150,000 ; and Colonel Machado,

who is friendly to the English, goes out as first Governor-General of the Company. Zanzibar has entered on a new phase—a regular Government, with General Matthews as President. Mr. H. Robertson has the Revenue department, Captain Hatch the Army and Police, Captain Hardinge the Harbour and Lights, Mr. Bomanji the Public Works, and M. ben Saif the Treasury. Accounts will be kept in English and Arabic. The Sultan is to have an ample civil list, and a voice in all public expenditure, which must also be approved by the British Consul : good results are expected. Emin Pasha, accompanied by Dr. Stuhlmann has gone to Wadilai, *via* Usangoro and Mwamba, and is said to have been enthusiastically welcomed by his former subjects, 9,000 of whom are well armed. He has discovered a new river rising near the Tanganyika, and flowing into the Albert Nyanza. Having quitted the sphere of German influence and gone into that of England, Germany has proclaimed him a deserter and washed her hands of him. Major Wissman is reported to be ill, and Count von Soden has resigned. At Uganda troubles and rivalries between Catholics, Protestants, and Muhammadans continue. Captain Lugard is reported to have repulsed the Muhammadan attack ; but this unsatisfactory state of affairs is treated elsewhere. Captain J. R. S. Macdonald, Lieuts. Austen and Pringle of the R.E., and a staff of fifty Pathan assistants, have gone from India to survey the line of railway.

WEST INDIES.—A cable is being laid between the United States and the Bahama Islands, to be working in February. Bermuda has been ravaged by a hurricane, which sunk the despatch boat *Pioneer*. Returns from Trinidad show a continual growth of the trade with America in oranges, limes, and bananas ; and the revenue from the Pitch Lake has risen from £855 in 1881, to £26,744. The British and West Indian Alliance have asked Lord Salisbury to receive a deputation to lay before the Government the chief grievances of the West Indies in general. They regard (1)

the judges and administration of justice ; (2) the costliness of appeals ; (3) the want of representation in the Legislative Councils. These at present consist entirely of officials and Crown nominees ; and the admission of an elective element from the best members of each race is urgently demanded. At St. Vincent these grievances have just culminated in a serious riot and assault on the Governor.

CANADA.—This year's wheat-crop, the largest on record, has compelled the Millers' Association to appoint a resident delegate in England. The wheat-crop exceeds last year's by 16,000,000 bushels, the oats by 22,000,000, and the barley by 500,000. Nearly 40 millions of eggs have been brought to England, and 369,880 barrels of apples. The number of horses exported to England has increased, some of them fetching as much as 100 gs. in London ; but the cattle exports to England have slightly fallen, owing to diversion to the New York markets. The want of a fast line of steamers between England and Halifax is much felt, and it is a wonder why it has not long ago been supplied. Mr. Abbott has reconstructed his Cabinet, which may prove stronger than before. The Election Courts have unseated 12 Liberals and 6 Conservatives. The Scandals are not yet at an end. Some of the accused have escaped, as they say in Italy, by the skin of their teeth ; others not even so. Several are under arrest, or prosecution, or inquiry : the details of the unpleasant revelations are not inviting. The misunderstanding with Newfoundland about the prohibition of bait and fish to Canadian vessels continues ; and as the Law officers have declared it to be *ultra vires*, the matter is expected soon before the Privy Council on appeal. The returns of the last three months' trade show a falling off in imports, exports, and customs revenue in Canada. The reduction of the sugar duties alone is responsible for a fall of \$105,406.

AUSTRALIA.—The Messageries Maritimes are showing us how steamers should be run. Their *Australien* and *Polynésien* liners run from Australia to Marseilles in 23 and 24 days at a rate of $15\frac{1}{2}$ knots, while our mail vessels take 35

days at the rate of $11\frac{1}{2}$ knots.—Why? The expedition fitted out by Sir T. Elder, composed of 10 members headed by Mr. David Lindsay, to explore the country between the 15th and 30th parallels S.L., has, after six months' absence, been heard of from Espérance Bay. Details are wanting; but they report a general absence of water, which caused intense suffering. On the resignation of Sir H. Parkes, Mr. Dibbs formed a mixed ministry, depending for existence on the Labour party. This is already split into sections, and its vote is doubtful on all but labour questions. Mr. G. H. Reid heads the Opposition, but Sir H. Parkes retains the lead of the Federation party. As Mr. Barton has only joined the ministry with Federation as a *sine quâ non*, this measure is sure to pass.

The South Australian Railway Commissioners' report shows an increase of £91,946 in receipts, enabling them, after all disbursements, to pass £175,650 to the general revenue of the country. There have been troubles between buyers and sellers of wool—the latter having to give way. The Northumberland Banking Corporation has suspended payment, and some of its directors are under arrest; and other failures have followed. The panic, however, has subsided, and several smaller houses, which had to close temporarily, have again resumed business.

Mr. See's Budget announced a deficit of £589,000 for this year, but prophesied a surplus next year of £358,000. The Opposition declare that both are fictitiously got up for party purposes. The political outlook is not very bright. The Ministry have no sure majority; and the Opposition has two heads—by no means concordant—in Sir H. Parkes and Mr. Reed. The colony is, however, more than solvent. The Hon. Sir John Bray has been appointed Agent General for South Australia, in place of the Hon. Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., whose death we record with deep regret: we were often indebted to him for valuable information. The Tasmanian Budget shows a clear surplus of £45,000; and the colony is trying to raise a loan for its further development.

REVIEWS.

1. *The Melanesians; Studies in their Anthropology and Folklore.* By R. H. CODRINGTON, D.D.; with Illustrations. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1891.) Dr. Codrington has not only great experience in Melanesian matters, owing to his long residence as a missionary in the islands he describes, but he possesses the even rarer qualification of knowing where to seek for trustworthy information, the way to utilize it, and the strength to resist the temptation of first laying down a theory and then trying to make facts fit into it. This book gives us a very treasury of information regarding the Melanesian Islands: their social regulations, including what has been aptly termed the system of Matriarchy, their social government, rules of inheritance and possession; their secret societies, mysteries, and clubs; their religion and sacrifices; their prayers and curses; their ideas of spirits, sacred places and things. Dr. Codrington very rightly points out that strangers are apt to make mistakes from the imperfection of language, and the difficulty of explanation of unknown words, as exemplified in the case of the same word signifying, in Melanesian, Shadow and Soul, from which it does not follow (as he rightly says) that the Melanesians believe that men have no souls, or only material ones, or shadows. He proceeds in subsequent chapters to give details of their ceremonies and customs at births, during childhood, and at marriage, death, and burial. He touches on their arts and industries, dress, dances, music, and games. A chapter is given, under the head *Miscellaneous*, to cannibalism and other vices, to their astronomy, narcotics, numbers, measures, and modes of salutation. A set of seventeen original tales from the Melanesian group completes the work. We sincerely recommend it to our readers; for it is full of matter simply yet pleasantly told. The mass of information conveyed is taken up and arranged in order; and instance is added to instance till each subject is made clear to the reader. Not only will the anthropologist and the student of folklore find here a mine of materials for the selection of arguments and the support of theories, but the general reader too will have a very pleasant picture of the course of life in these islands, which, till lately, retained all their ancient quaintness of manners, customs, and beliefs, *already* fast giving way before the levelling tide of Western civilization.

2. *The History of Human Marriage.* By ED. WESTERMARCK. (London: Macmillan & Co.) The importance of this anthropological treatise cannot be over-estimated. Remarkable in an unusual degree are the patient and wide-reaching research of the author, the classification of his material, and the general soundness of his deductions and conclusions. After stating his own method of investigation, which includes the showing of the errors of his predecessors, he successively treats of the origin of marriage, of a primitive human pairing season, and gives a detailed criticism of the hypothesis of promiscuity: this foul aspersion of modern authors, as unfounded in facts as it is unnatural in theory, the author, we think, completely and satisfactorily explodes. Then follow interesting chapters on marriage and

celibacy, on human courtship, on the means of attraction, and on liberty of choice. The origin of dress is attributed to the desire of attraction, instead of to the feeling of shame or modesty. Next follows a criticism and partial rejection of Mr. Darwin's theory of sexual selection, in the course of which the author treats of typical beauty. Subjected to the ordeal of common sense, the conclusions under this head seem as much *in nubibus* as those of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Darwin on the subject; and but little advance is made towards a reasonable decision. After discussing the laws of similarity, our author treats of the intricate subject of the prohibition of marriage among kindred, which he traces to a natural reluctance to marry between those who dwell together, arising probably from the well-known principle, *assueta non movent*. The influences of affection, or love, and of calculation are weighed; and the author goes on to consider the various kinds of marriage—by capture, by purchase, by dowry, the one passing gradually into the other. Then come marriage ceremonies and rites, the different forms of marriage, the consideration of polygamy, leading to a review of the numerical proportion of the sexes. Monogamy and the duration of the marriage tie are next treated; and a useful summary and index close the work. As our Reviews aim rather at informing our readers what they will find in a book than anticipating their reading by quoting portions, we pass from this description to a short criticism. The entire work shows, throughout, the trace of a grievous original sin. This is the supposition,—much written and talked about and accepted, but still a mere supposition, not even proved, much less demonstrated,—that the human races are descended from “some ape-like progenitors.” This view, assumed throughout the book to be absolutely true, vitiates and taints the entire discussion; for it takes the author to the lowest forms of savage life for the origin of the marriage relations: one may as well hope to find the true origin of knighthood and chivalry among the head-hunting Dyaks of Borneo, or of Freemasonry in the absurd secret mummeries of the Melanesians. It is strange that men should go to the most debased human tribes to find the origin of marriage, instead of reasoning on it from the nature of man, while they reject the evidence of the universal human race regarding its origin by creation, and strive to prove by anatomical discussions that it proceeded from “some ape-like progenitors.” Besides this defect of principle, we must also say that the author is far more successful in destroying the assertions of other writers, which, on the subject of human marriage, are often based on the most flimsy structures, than in building up sound theories of his own. He not unfrequently falls into the very mistakes of hasty generalization from partial or inconclusive evidence, which he justly condemns in others. An instance occurs at p. 34, where he hastily generalizes in favour of a primitive pairing season for man, at the beginning of summer or end of spring; a conclusion against which stands the long gestation and lactation of the human babe. For believers in the ape descent of man, this book is simply perfect, presenting a good solution of many interesting problems from this peculiar point of view. For others, it is still a great storehouse of classified facts, fair reasoning on which will lead, in many cases, to conclusions more reliable and principles nearer to the truth than the author has attained. Both classes of readers

will find it a systematic, well-discussed, and amply detailed work on a subject of high interest and importance, which is illustrated by the author with an elaborate mass of evidence from all countries, races, and laws.

3. *The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall.* By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I. (London: The Religious Tract Society.) To traverse the little-known paths of Muhammadan History under the guidance of Sir William Muir is a pleasure. He has a thorough grasp of his subject, owing to his deep and diligent research, his extensive reading, and his sympathetic appreciation of Oriental matters, while he holds fairly the balance as an impartial historian. His Biography of Muhammad was a pioneer work of immense value; for it portrayed truthfully both the man and his attendant circumstances and the influences which developed his character and stamped his work. The present volume may be considered a continuation of the History of Islam from the death of Muhammad to the fall of the Caliphate. His task takes him through various epochs, some of pure glory, others of fair action, and at the close, many of weakness and shame. Here is told the tale of human life—*bona mixta malis*—much as we find life elsewhere. Numerous are the examples of religious fervour, of disinterested attachment, of heroic self-abnegation, of wild daring and reckless bravery, of dogged perseverance, of charming simplicity. But there are deeds of blood, and acts of cruelty, and shameful crimes. No matter what one's faith may be, no man can withhold the meed of praise deserved by Muhammad's immediate successors, Abubekr and Omar I. The character of the former, simply though it is sketched at pp. 84, 85, is sketched by a master hand, and shows the man to the life; and the same impartiality puts in the light and shade, as it is deserved by each of the successors to the Caliphate. Several are dismissed with a bare line or two; but it was all they deserved. For, as Sir W. Muir leads us through the Ommeyad line to the Abbassides, there is less of good and more of evil with each advancing step. As the first fervour of Muhammadanism cools beneath the deluge of the spoils of Asia and Africa, there is less to admire and more to blame in the history of the Caliphate. The same class of men no longer come to the front; and under unfit rulers the people become bad, and in their turn react upon the character of their chiefs. This part of universal history is comparatively a sealed book to the ordinary English reader; and he will find much that is quite new, strange, and perhaps seemingly incredible. He will see, for instance, his old friend the Haroun al Rashid of the *Arabian Nights*, stripped of the glorious robes in which the imagination of the nameless author of those enchanting tales had enveloped him, and presented as by no means a very good Muhammadan, or a great ruler, or even a just man. Sir William is a careful writer. He depends mostly on Arabian records; but these he supplements, wherever it is possible, from Byzantine and other sources, reasons on them, and gives also the results of previous Occidental research on his subject. Mere tales he avoids; we look in vain for that of the destruction of the great Library of Alexandria, with others just as apocryphal. To our eyes the book is marred by its last chapter—a summary in which the author very needlessly thrusts in a comparison of Christianity and Muhammadanism. Muhammadanism is six

centuries younger than Christianity; and though we are not admirers of the former, we recall to mind what Europe, though Christian, was six centuries ago. Before we can dare to yet talk about the tree being known by its fruit, we should, like the fabled Haroun, walk the streets of our Christian cities by night—London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, New York, Paris, Vienna, Rome—why multiply names? We commend this book to our readers, as a clear, full, and just history of a very eventful period in the life of the human race, several of the results and effects of which survive fully till now, and seem still endowed with a vitality that may at some future date make another mark on the annals of time.

4. *Clyde and Strathnairn (Rulers of India Series)*. By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR O. T. BURNE, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press.) This new volume of a most interesting series, from the pen of a competent author, fully maintains the high reputation justly earned by its predecessors. Its pages are equally divided between the two great soldiers whose history is here related. General Burne is a good narrator, fair and impartial, who, while he dwells on all that is good of his heroes, is neither blind to their faults nor silent as to their mistakes, though he is even then delicate in his censure and sparing in his blame. This is well exemplified in the first half, which treats of Lord Clyde's career in India during the trying times of the Mutiny. While narrating the operations which Sir Colin Campbell conducted personally in Oudh and Rohilkhund, we are shown pretty plainly the truth, which less conscientious writers have overlaid with undue praise, that grave defects occurred and serious blunders were made. The over-careful attendance to red-tape rules and supposed scientific strategy, which prevented an exhibition of the energy and dash required on the occasion, are known to have been due as much to Sir Colin's chief of the staff, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, as to that leader himself. The retreat from Lucknow in the teeth of Outram's advice,—the shackling of that "Bayard of India" by an express cut-and-dried order "not to lose one man," which allowed the rebels to escape from Lucknow and flood the country,—the bootless marchings and countermarchings of large bodies of troops, without decisive results,—all show that the rebellion might have been more easily and speedily suppressed in those districts, had fate given the command in chief to an abler general, though there could not be a better soldier, than Sir Colin. But then during the Mutiny, few of the men in high power and authority distinguished themselves for great ability or vigorous action. These were qualities then oftener displayed by new men and subordinate officers.

In the second part of the book we have a man of a very different stamp in Sir Hugh Rose—Lord Strathnairn, whose dashing and successful campaign in Central India is very pleasant reading indeed after the history of the Oudh operations. It gave the *coup de grace* to the Mutiny, and helped Sir Colin to end his own campaign in a success which might otherwise have been long postponed. Our author does not fail to note that Sir Hugh Rose's brilliant work did not receive from the British nation that meed of either praise or reward to which all competent critics hold it to have been eminently entitled. If there be a defect in this book, it is one common to the whole series—that of giving only too briefly the careers of

the Rulers before they went to India. It would be more pleasant to the reader to have these not uneventful parts of their biographies more fully noticed. The concluding two chapters are of great interest. One inculcates the lessons of the Mutiny, and the other treats of the subsequent re-organization of the Indian army. This latter part needs to be more fully treated; and as the author, from his long Indian and military experience, is most competent to do it justice, we trust that a second edition will give a more detailed account of what has been and is being done to make the Indian army a fit weapon for the defence of the Indian Empire. We venture to repeat to the enterprising Publishers, that the map they prefix to the volumes of this series is singularly inappropriate, as it does not contain the names of places where either battles were fought or fortresses stormed. At p. 87, "The Ravi," is a misprint for "The Rapti."

5. *Half Hours with Muhammad.* By ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.) Under a quaint and somewhat misleading title, Mr. Wollaston, of the India Office, gives a brief history of Muhammad, his successors and his followers, to the death of the last Imam, together with accounts of the belief, practices, and customs of Muhammadans, both Sunni and Shiah. He writes from an independent and unprejudiced point of view, and he consequently finds much to praise and much also to blame, though the praise on the whole predominates. The book contains nothing new, as the author himself is careful to tell us; and yet the work is a new one, because it presents Muhammadanism to the general reader in a condensed and easily accessible form. Mr. Wollaston's long residence in the East and his close study of its peoples enable him to do full justice to a religion only too often condemned on every point by Western writers, who forget that whatever may be its shortcomings, its stern monotheism has done relatively good service to millions of the human race. The author clearly and fairly explains the real doctrines of Islam; and many will be surprised to find it so different in its beliefs and practices from what is generally supposed. The doctrinal parts of this book we have found to be the most pleasant to read; for though the history of Muhammad and the Caliphs and Imams is accurately and briefly told, yet the narrative is marred by serious blemishes of style. Mr. Wollaston seems unable to get rid of the laboured phraseology of the "Anwar-i Soheli" which he has so well translated; and his style in consequence is stilted and turgid. This defect, in places, is so serious, that passages have to be read twice and sometimes thrice, before the author's meaning dawns on the mind. Here and there the use of wrong adjectives gives rise to blunders, which in an Irishman would be called "Bulls." If the book reaches a second edition, an honour which its matter well deserves, we would recommend a thorough change of style. It would, among other advantages, save space for more items of information; and would bring nearer to perfection what, even in its present state, is an invaluable contribution, in a popular form, to the history of a most important religious belief. As particularly interesting as they are carefully and accurately detailed, are the chapters narrating how the Kuran was edited and the traditions compiled, how the various sects arose, and how Sunnis and

Shiahs differ. Perhaps the author exaggerates the honours paid by the latter sect to the son-in-law of Muhammad : we certainly have never met a Shiah who went to such exaggerated lengths as Mr. Wollaston gives, though history tells ages ago of a few fanatics who held such views. This seems the only injustice done by the author to any of the numerous parties of whom his work necessarily treats.

NOTICES.

The History of the Bengal European Regiment. By LT.-COL. P. R. INNES. (London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co.) This is a hitherto unwritten chapter in the history of India ; for though the ground traversed is the eventful record of the whole time of British power in that country till 1870, it treats the subject from a special point of view. It has evidently and naturally been for the author a labour of love ; and the task has been performed with care, diligence, and skill. As a continuous and detailed record of the prominent part taken in momentous events by a very distinguished, but till now not sufficiently well-known corps, it should occupy a high place among the Histories of Regiments. We note with pleasure the author's impartial praise, wherever deserved, of the native armies and chiefs which the Regiment encountered and helped to overcome, in many cases not without the greatest efforts. Col. Innes notes the many instances of excellent generalship, both in strategy and tactics, displayed by the enemy, and the even more frequent gallantry and dogged resistance of their troops, and the vigour and dash of their charges in the field. Though not of great importance, there are occasional inaccuracies in details ; as, for instance, when the author echoes the opinion, now quite exploded, that Lord Hardinge was taken unprepared by the Sikhs, in our first war with them. The flight, too, of our cavalry and artillery from Ferozeshah is not noticed, in an otherwise good description of that bloody and indecisive battle. Some little injustice, also, is done to the 3rd Royal European Regiment, already existing before the Indian Mutiny, in which it did important service, not sufficiently treated by Col. Innes. But as a record of the Regiment to which the author himself belonged, his history leaves nothing to be desired.

The Sportsman's Vade-mecum for the Himalayas. (London : Horace Cox & Co.) This is a thorough sportsman's book, the author's identity being but slightly veiled under the reversed letters of his regimental nickname. One half is devoted to a detailed description of the requirements of a sportsman's kit, for the regions of the Indian mountain ranges ; and here the griff will find much that will be of service to him to study and to act upon. The author is a reliable guide, and considers nothing too trivial to touch upon, which his experience has proved to be useful. The second half of the book contains the relation of some of his own sporting adventures, after Ibex and Markhor, Bear and Barasing, and other game not always easy to find or to bag. These are told modestly ; and there is a very refreshing absence of those "tall tales" of preternatural bags of impossible game, which are sometimes heard of at the mess table and the

camp fire, and occasionally get even into print. The author shows his thorough sportsmanship in his firm resolution of going only after one kind of game at a time, and in his undeviating decision not to kill, except when worth the while for really good "spoils of the chase." How different from the reckless slaughter of unripe game at other hands ! As we turn over these spirited pages, we live again the days of our youth, and see, in imagination, the familiar tent on the breezy hills.

Some Interesting Syrian and Palestinian Inscriptions. By J. RENDEL HARRIS. (Cambridge and London : C. J. Clay & Sons.) This little work of only thirty-five pages contains the author's remarks on some inscriptions (most of them well known before, as he does no fail to tell us) which he copied during his tour in Palestine and Syria, in 1888-9. Very few of them are of much historic or general interest, though their value to the professional archæologist may be great. The first, from a handsome sarcophagus, traces, but by no means proves, a connexion between the lady for whom it was made and the Claudius Lysias of the Acts of the Apostles. The second, regarding the Tenth Legion, is of greater interest, and is also treated at greater length. The last is an account of a forged inscription, which is amusing from more than one point of view. There are three pages of illustrations, exceedingly well executed. The work is scholarly ; and the learned author's guesses, sometimes on slight foundations, are deserving of consideration. If they do not always convince, they show, at least, great ingenuity.

Our Antipodes. By G. VERSCHUUR ; translated by MARY DANIELS. (London : Sampson, Low & Co.) This is a lively, chatty, and agreeable, though in some respects, perhaps, a superficial description of a leisurely visit to Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji, New Caledonia, Brazil, and the La Plata. The translator's part is excellently done, so that one hardly realizes that he is reading a Frenchman's book. It is well illustrated. The author particularly details the worst features of French administration in the Colonies, and especially the absurdly generous treatment of convicts. We can only hope that it will create attention in the proper quarter, and lead to much-needed reforms, the want of which has hitherto marred one of the fairest countries in the Southern waters. Since the publication of the book, the author's prognostications have been fulfilled regarding both Brazil and the Argentine Republic, in the expulsion of the Emperor, Dom Pedro, and of the financial collapse—it is to be hoped only a temporary one—at Buenos Ayres. A good portion of the work is given to a description of these two countries, though how they are included in the "Antipodes" of either France or England, does not appear. The author, who loses no opportunity, and often creates one, of telling us how far and wide he has travelled, allows nothing to escape his vigilant and experienced eyes ; and his frequent comparisons of men, places, and things are very agreeable. One of the most amusing, is that between the geographical knowledge of a little aboriginal schoolboy and that of a French Post-master, much to the credit of the former.

The Life and Times of Joseph in the Light of Egyptian Lore. By the REV. H. G. TOMKINS. (London : The Religious Tract Society, 1891.)

Joseph is described but briefly in the Scripture, yet the terse and incisive narrative gives us the man, from boyhood to death, in vivid outline; and it is painting the lily to add to the picture. Egyptian Lore might do something, however, by fixing his exact epoch amid the different dynasties, or by giving us details of his administration, or by furnishing a fit background in the description of ancient Egyptian manners and customs of life. Our author reaches the 31st page before we hear of Egypt at all. The precise dynasty and king are left as indeterminate as before, except for one guess, and a rather unwarranted deduction from an inscription mentioning a famine met by a local governor from his accumulated stores of grain. Nothing is added to the Biblical account of Joseph's administration. Not enough is made of what is really known, to put vividly before the reader the manners and customs of ancient Egyptian life in general. Though otherwise full of important information, the book in consequence is rather disappointing. This is not entirely the fault of the author, whose acquaintance with all that can throw side-lights on Scripture History is evident at every page of his pleasant book. It is due also to the want of material. Many more discoveries must yet be made before Egyptian lore can throw any real light on the life and times of Joseph.

The Hindu-Koh. By GENERAL D. MACINTYRE. (London: W. Blackwood & Sons.) A well-got-up and well-written account of many a pleasant trip, full of adventure, among various parts of the great Himalaya mountains, by a veteran sportsman who wields equally well both rifle and pen. Its only defect is, perhaps, the lateness of its publication, as several adventures go up to the years before the Indian Mutiny. The lover of nature and the follower of sport will find equal pleasure in General MacIntyre's pages, many of which show descriptive powers of no common order. We recommend it as a book both pleasant and instructive to read.

The Chinese Shi-King, or Classical Poetry. Translated by the REV. J. JENNINGS. (London: George Routledge & Sons.) These simple but very interesting poems, which were old in the days of Confucius, and were "edited" by him, are very pleasantly put into English verse by a very competent Chinese scholar. They serve to show that human nature was much the same as now in those remote ages; and that Chinese culture already existed in an advanced state. Many of them are full of pathos, nearly all have some charm; and the translator has taken every pains to make his version attractive.

The Land of the Lamas; or, Travels in Thibet. By W. R. ROCKHILL. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.) This is a well-illustrated and painstaking account of a journey through practically unknown lands, by a traveller who had carefully prepared himself for the task by a study of both the Chinese and Thibetan languages. Though he failed to reach Lhassa, which was the object with which he started, he has given a very interesting and detailed account of the parts he traversed, and of the people he sojourned with. All his space is given to these subjects; and it is refreshing to find so little devoted to complaints of his own sufferings and troubles: a common fault in travellers. As a book of information on men, manners, and the country, it will be found of great service; and the itineraries at the end are especially useful.

The Life and Teachings of Muhammad ; or, the Spirit of Islâm. By SYED AMIR ALI, C. I. E., Judge of the High Court, Calcutta. (London : W. H. Allen & Co.) We wish to deal leniently with this book, because its object is a good one—to make better known to the West the religion of Muhammad, and its author is a cultured Indian gentleman of great learning and wide reading. The work, however, does not attain the high level of those of Sir W. Muir or others that have been noticed by us. The author represents an ideal, rather than existing, Islam. He repeatedly shows partiality, and his history is not correct ; while his continual, and often unjust and inaccurate, fault-finding with Christianity, Judaism, Brahminism, Buddhism,—in fact with everything that is not his own special form of belief,—disfigures his pages to a lamentable extent. This we should like to see changed ; and in place thereof, the author would improve his cause by quoting, at as great length as he can, the Koran proofs for a spiritual Heaven, and similar contested points, as he has so fully done on matters admitted by all.

Pitt. By LORD ROSEBERY. (London : Macmillan & Co.) A well-written, impartial, accurate, and full account of one of the eminent statesmen of England. We turn naturally to note Lord Rosebery's account of the Union, and find him,—what his present political chief is not,—just to Pitt. In comparing the Union of England, respectively, with Scotland and Ireland, the author somehow forgets that they resembled each other very much in the extensive bribery which attended both : Lockhart gives the sums paid for the Scotch Union. Our readers will find Lord Rosebery's book a more than usually attractive volume of a good and useful series.

Theosophy, Buddhism, and the Signs of the End. By G. H. PEMBER, M.A. (London : Hodder & Stoughton.) We had expected great things in this book, from its taking title. We regret to say that we have found it a most confused mess of Theosophy, Buddhism, Brahminism, some other 'isms, and Christianity : the author's knowledge of each of them is about equal.

Poésies Hébraïco-Provençales du Rituel Israélite Comtadin, traduites et transcrites par S. M. Dom Pedro II. d'Alcantara, Empereur du Brésil. (Avignon : Seguin Frères.) This little book gives four quaint Provençal Jewish Hymns in Hebrew characters on one page, and a French translation opposite. His Majesty, a ripe Hebrew and Arabic scholar, has retained the original intermixture of Hebrew and Provençal ; the latter tongue given in italics, amid the French of a translation, simple like these hymns, and very accurate. The last is Chaldæo-Provençal, turned into the latter tongue. Alas ! the hand that, aided by Dr. Seybold, prepared this work for the press, is now cold in death ; and we take this opportunity of presenting our tribute to the memory of the conscientious ruler, the successful philanthropist, the diligent scholar, the calm philosopher, and the blameless and good man, who, leaving an imperial throne to which he was an honour, amused his leisure in study, leaving us part of the results in these sixty pages, published only a few days before he went to his rest.

Turning from grave to gay, in one of his many easy and eloquent passages, M. GENNADIOS, at a recent meeting of the Royal Society, referred to the praise of "a great poet who was also the brother of an earl." He has

now given us a specimen of indignant sarcasm against those who would degrade so-called Modern Greek to "a vernacular bow-wow," in a brilliant introduction to Mrs. Edmonds' translation of "*The Autobiography of Kolokotronis, the Klepht and the Warrior: Sixty Years of Peril and Daring.*" (London: T. Fisher Unwin.) Suffice it to say that M. Gennadios, himself a type of the versatile and patriotic Greek, vindicates the successful attempts made by his fellow-countrymen to render their Æolo-Doric dialect of Ancient Greek worthy of the highest literary expression, in spite of the mistaken advice of friends like Lord Strangford, who would prevent it drawing from its natural source, its ancient culture as adapted to modern requirements. The same mistake has been made in India, where, instead of improving the vernaculars by the cultivation of the elegant Persian and of the profound Arabic or Sanscrit, first Persian was abolished as a language of Courts and then Arabic and Sanscrit were put aside, nominally in order to make room for the vernaculars. Once the vernaculars were deprived of their natural sources of improvement, they, in their turn, are making way for the pigeon-English or the romanized Urdu or Hindi, that will ever keep the natives from developing their own indigenous civilization. Not so the modern Greek; none so lowly as not to give his all, if need be, for instruction in Ancient Greek, and, therefore, we have a race that, fighting for its independence and inherited culture under heroes like Kolokotronis, is ever able to have a Homer to its Achilles and historians of its progress like M. Gennadios.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following works, Reviews of which, crowded out of this number for want of space, we hope to give in our next.

1. *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys, 1875-90.* By C. E. D. BLACK. (Published by the India Office, 1891.) 2. *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria.* From the French of Prof. G. MASPERO. (London: Chapman and Hall.) 3. *Egypt under the Pharaohs.* By HEINDRICK BRUGSCH BEY. (London: John Murray.) 4. *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers.* By Miss AMELIA B. EDWARDS. (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co.) 5. *Schliemann's Excavations.* (London: Macmillan & Co.) 6. *The Philippine Islands.* By JOHN FOREMAN. (London: Sampson Low & Co.) 7. *Un Viaggio a Nias.* By ELIO MODIGLIANI. (Milano: Fratelli Treves.)

We have also received:—1. *La Civiltà Cattolica.* Rome: Alessandro Belfani. 2. *Le Polybiblion.* Paris: Boulevard St. Germain. 3. *The Contemporary Review.* (London: Isbister & Co.) 4. *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute,* London. 5. *The Missionary Review.* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls.) 6. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine.* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable.) 7. *La Revue Générale.* (Bruxelles.) 8. *La Revue des Revues.* (Paris.) 9. *The Hindu Magazine.* A new publication. (Calcutta: The Excelsior Press.) 10. *El Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid.* 11. *Tung Pao: Archives pour l'Etude de l'Asie Orientale,* par MM. les Professeurs: Gustave Schlegel et Henri Cordier. (Leide: E. J. Brill, etc.)

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1892.

IS TURKEY PROGRESSING ?

EUROPE has been so much imbued with erroneous ideas on the general condition of affairs in Turkey, that the question which forms the title of this article would hardly seem open to any answer but a negative. Western people are accustomed to consider Turkey as a barbarous land full of all sorts of horrors; the Turks themselves as an uncivilized people, without any capacity for entering on the path of European nations, and the Turkish Government as a mixture of ignorance and fanaticism, capable of any misdeed that can be imagined. The most extravagant ideas about Turkey find credence in a Public that has no other source of information than the Press, which in many cases is, unfortunately, wanting in original information, and sometimes lies in the hands of persons to whose interest it is to prevent the truth from becoming known, and thus, in both cases, only contributes to increase the false and sensational ideas already prevailing in Europe. As the logical consequence of these unfounded notions, Turkey is judged as a state condemned to perish sooner or later; even its rights to independence and self-defence are sometimes denied, and the gloomy title of "sick man," an invention of Turkey's worst foes, is received by her truest but ignorant friends as a happy expression to describe the actual state of things in this country. The prevalence of these false ideas

about Turkey, so little in accordance with the general good sense and truth-searching qualities of the English Public, makes it a necessity to show in a brief and concise summary the amount of progress effected in Turkey since first the period of reform set in, and more especially during the reign of His Imperial Majesty 'Abdul Hamid II. It will be seen by this summary that the "sick man" is not so very near his grave after all, and that the "unspeakable Turk" is not so much a disgrace to the civilized world as must have been thought when that phrase was first launched.

The vast amount of progress made by Turkey during this present century is especially apparent when the present state of public instruction in that country is compared with what existed in former times. Until the beginning of this century the organization of public instruction was very defective and unsystematic. In those days there were but two kinds of schools, viz., the Elementary "Mahalleh" (ward) schools, where only the reading of the Korán with the principles of the Mussulman religion were taught, and the "Medressehs" or higher schools, where a kind of scholastic education, comprising Arabic, Commentaries on the Korán, the Sayings of the Prophet, Mahomedan Law and Jurisprudence, Literature, Physics, and Philosophy, was given to the students. These "Medressehs" were especially created for the training of the "Ulemas" who afterwards were to occupy the religious and judicial and some municipal posts; many civil functionaries, however, also acquired, in their ranks, the degree of instruction attainable at the time. In this system of teaching there was little room for the exact sciences, and technical instruction was totally wanting. Private instruction certainly supplied, in some respects, the want of material and positive learning; but the mass of the people were very much wanting in general information, and, if Turkish literature made considerable progress among the higher classes, little was made in the propagation of scientific knowledge.

Military reforms under Selim III. and Mahmoud II. necessitated the creation of some institutions for teaching the military and medical sciences, and thus the High Military College, "Mektébi Harbieh," the Artillery and the Military Medical Schools, were created. In addition to this, "Idadieh" schools, to prepare pupils for the instruction given in these newly-created institutions, were inaugurated in Constantinople and the chief towns of the seven army corps. Mahmoud II. founded also a Naval College where the English language was, and is yet, taught besides Turkish. These four institutions are still existing, and the Harbieh school includes a special section for the higher education and training of Staff officers. They contain, together with their "Idadieh" or preparatory schools, nearly 10,000 students. The Military Medical school has also a section for the instruction of veterinary surgeons.

Under the reign of Sultan 'Abdul Mejid, the father of His Majesty the present Sultan, serious attempts were made to institute throughout the Empire a regular system of instruction, and, in consequence, schools called "Rushdieh," where Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and the elements of the necessary sciences are taught, were created by hundreds in the capital and the provinces.

The Egyptian, Cretan, Montenegrin and Syrian difficulties, and the Crimean War and other events of the two reigns of 'Abdul Mejid and 'Abdul 'Aziz prevented Turkey from making much advance in intellectual development. The reign of 'Abdul 'Aziz saw the creation of another kind of "Rushdieh" schools under military supervision. These military "Rushdiehs" are scattered over all parts of the Empire, and their number has been considerably increased by His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid II. More than 9000 pupils go there to get a solid elementary education.

During this reign, also, a college was founded in Pera on the type of French Lyceums. In this college, called "Sultanieh" school, French is compulsory and a scientific education is given by French instructors in their own

language. Besides French and sciences, Turkish literature, Arabic and Persian are taught, and there are also professorial chairs for Greek, Armenian, German, English and Italian. There are more than 800 pupils in this institution.

The "Mektébi Sanayi," a technical and professional institution established in Constantinople, contains 400 young men learning some useful trade, and many chief towns of vilayets possess similar institutions.

At the same time another high school was created to train the "‘Ulema" candidates for the Sheri' magistracy. This college, called "Mektebi Newab" (school for Sheri' magistrates), is a very important establishment, where the Mahomedan law and jurisprudence are taught by the most prominent members of the "‘Ulema" class.

His present Majesty, 'Abdul Hamid II., has always been a sincere partisan of the diffusion of knowledge, and in spite of tremendous political and social difficulties, his reign eclipses the preceding one in this respect as well as in all other matters connected with public prosperity and progress. Even the horrors of an unfortunate war were not allowed by this energetic sovereign to be a serious obstacle to the execution of his educational designs, which he wisely considers to be the best means of regenerating Turkey.

The educational policy of His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid began by a master stroke. During the dreadful time of war, when the Russians were approaching Adrianople, H.I.M. thought of founding the "Mulkieh" school, a preparatory college for the Civil Service. This watchfulness for the education of the people, when all the powers of the State were absorbed by the great struggle of 1877-78, was conceived in the same spirit as the policy of the Prussian Monarchy after Jena, and which set free the German Fatherland from the Napoleonic oppression.

The "Mulkieh" school contained at first five classes, three lower and two higher, in which Turkish and French, Mathematics, Natural Science, Geography, General and

Ottoman History, Political Economy, International Law, Civil and Administrative Laws, and Finances, besides some other sciences, were taught to the pupils, who were destined to occupy the posts of Sub-governors, Vice-Consuls, Secretaries of Legation and Embassy, Auditors to the Council of State, etc. At the present time more than two hundred "Mulkieh" scholars might be named, who, having finished their studies, have been admitted to different State functions, and some of whom occupy exalted positions. Even in the Palace many dignitaries owe their position to qualifications which they had acquired as students of this college, and they have always been subject to special regard from His Imperial Majesty, who took the school under his high protection from its foundation. Afterwards some changes advantageous to the school were introduced, such as the addition of the Arabic and Persian languages, and the compulsory study of Greek and Armenian, for at least five scholars in each class, a very intelligent and useful measure, due solely to the initiative of His Majesty. These and other improvements necessitated the creation of two other classes, one higher and the other lower. It is hardly necessary to state that this school is open to all Ottoman subjects, without any distinction of religion or race.

His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid has shown equal thoughtfulness for the legal profession, by founding a Law School in the capital. This school has four classes, and the scholars who are successful in the examinations are received, after a short course in the Tribunals, as Assistant Judges in the first instance, Deputy Procurators-General, Judges of Instruction, Presidents of the Provincial Courts of First Instance, and are also allowed to exercise the profession of advocates.

This Law School is a most important institution, and is of great use in raising the moral standing and professional knowledge of the Turkish magistracy.

Another preparatory school in the style of the lower

classes of "Mulkieh," a special school for the blind and the dumb, a school for the Fine Arts, for "Mines and Forests," special classes for Civil Engineers joined to the Artillery College, special classes for Merchant Captains joined to the Naval School, Agricultural schools in Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonika, and Brussa, with model farms, two Trade schools for poor girls in Constantinople, and several similar institutions, are samples of the Imperial activity, proving how much care H.I.M. takes to advance the moral and material well-being of his subjects.

The limits of a summary do not permit of a full description of these very interesting institutions. I hope to have the opportunity to give further details in a future article on Turkish Progress; but I cannot leave this subject without a few words on the firm basis that has been laid for the diffusion of instruction in the vast Ottoman Dominion. To start with, funds were necessary for such a serious work; and H.I.M. found two sources of revenue of such a nature that, growing and increasing by themselves, there is no further need for Government subsidies on behalf of public instruction.

These sources of revenue are: 1st, The pious foundations (Evkaf) whose maintenance is no more necessary; as for example, the endowments for the maintenance of a mosque that is no more in existence, etc. The basis of such endowments being real estate, this revenue is capable of great expansion, landed property at the present time being at its very lowest value in most parts of the Empire. 2nd, The third part of the 15 per cent. by which the tithe has been increased. This revenue is also of an expansive nature, as is seen by the increase of the State revenues wherever railways have been constructed and pushed on into the interior of the country.

With the new income the Department of Public Instruction was able to endow many chief towns of the provinces and Livas (a subdivision of the province) with a preparatory school, where Mahommedans and non-Mahommedans

are admitted on perfectly equal terms. Their numbers continue to increase. As to primary education, it is difficult to say exactly the number of the schools founded ; but it is estimated that, with those enumerated, 2000 schools with far more than 100,000 pupils, have been instituted in the sixteen years of His Majesty's reign.

Reforms effected in the Turkish administration since the promulgation of the "Tanzimat" (reforms) by the Sultan 'Abdul Mejid, and especially during the benevolent and intelligent reign of the present Sultan, are too evident and visible to need any demonstration. Under the "Tanzimat," not only the Ottoman Government, but also Ottoman society underwent a complete change ; and in a comparatively short time Turkey, excluded until then from European public life, acquired a dignified position among civilized nations. This spirit of essential reform exhibited by 'Abdul Mejid has found a zealous supporter in his august son, and changes have been realized which can be compared only to the work of Peter the Great, which it may be considered they have surpassed, owing to their sincerity and the profound influence they have had on the mass of the people.

Turkey has always distinguished itself by its religious tolerance and mild treatment of conquered nations. When the massacre of St. Bartholomew was considered a pious act, and in every part of Europe "*autos-da-fé*" were thought the best safeguard of religion, the ancestors of His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid thought it a sovereign duty to assure by edicts and charters, the free exercise of the different religions in Turkey, and grant to the non-Mussulman communities these privileges, which, it is true, tend to form States within States, but which establish also an admirable equilibrium between the different nationalitiés which lie in perfect peace under the Ottoman sceptre.

"Tanzimat" and the subsequent special laws regulated the constitution of the non-Mussulman communities ; and everybody knows now that His Majesty the present Sultan

has always been the great protector and partisan of this tolerant policy. I do not enlarge upon facts which ought to be universally known and appreciated, and which do the greatest honour to the wise and merciful sovereign who knows how to be the true father of his people.

The civil equality enjoyed by non-Mussulmans since the foundation of the Empire has been extended to political matters also. It can be said with truth that Turkey is one of the few States where religious differences are not considered as obstacles to the perfect political equality of the citizens. After the "Tanzimat" this equality was more conspicuous. Non-Mussulmans not only kept and extended their ancient privileges, making their condition in some respects superior even to those of the Mahommedans; but they gained also all the rights proper to a dominating faction. They are received in civil functions, where from the beginning many of them attained exalted positions, such as those of Secretary of State, Director-General, Under Secretary of State, Governor-General, Ambassador, etc. If they are exempt from military service and are obliged instead of it to pay the Government a small sum, totally disproportionate to the blood tax imposed upon the Mussulman people of the Empire, that is a defect the burden of which is felt only by the latter, and the non-Mussulman, get nothing but profit from it. Notwithstanding this ineligibility, the Military Medical College is open to all classes of Ottoman subjects, there are many non-Mussulman military doctors and surgeons in the army, and they are completely in the same position as their Mussulman colleagues.

The councils of the Empire are mixed assemblies, where all classes of Ottoman subjects are represented. The Council of State contains many members of different religious communities, and in the "Idareh" (administrative) councils of provinces, Livas and Cazas, the half of the elected members must by law always belong to the non-Mussulman communities of these localities. As the dif-

ferent religious chiefs of the same are natural members of these councils, it happens many times that against a Sheri' judge and mufti there are four or five spiritual chiefs of non-Mussulman people, which, although in minority in the province, acquire a predominant voice in the administrative councils. That is an interesting organization not well known in Europe, which by its liberality rivals the most perfect systems of provincial administration. Except Crete and Samos, in every part of the Ottoman Empire the Mussulman population is in a great majority, and even in the Macedonian and other similar districts more than half of the inhabitants are Mahommedans. For this reason the present organization of the provincial administration is totally advantageous to the non-Mussulman communities; and in Crete and Samos special laws insure a majority in councils to the Greek population.

The administration of justice in Turkey has also improved very much during the last three reigns. Before the reforms, Turkey had only "Sheri'" tribunals; these were charged with all kinds of jurisdiction, civil, penal, and commercial, but being at the same time affected by the religious matters of the Mussulman communities, judges were naturally of the "'Ulema" class, and non-Mussulman as well as Mahommedan civilians were excluded from the magistracy. The procedure then used was rather summary, and sometimes did not suffice for the requirements of modern needs, and some necessary legal arrangements were totally wanting, especially those in connection with commerce.

A complete organization of the Department of Justice was felt necessary to establish a perfect equality with the non-Mussulman subjects of the Empire and to satisfy the want of existing laws in connection with modern requirements. First the Government began with the penal law, adopting a law nearly derived from the French Code pénal, and creating everywhere correctional and criminal Courts totally independent of the Religious Department. Afterward Commercial Laws, derived also from the French

"Code de Commerce" and "Code de Commerce Maritime," were adopted, and commercial tribunals were instituted. With the publication of the "Mejelleh" by a special commission composed of the most eminent jurists of the Empire, the matters of the civil law also had been committed to the care of newly instituted civil tribunals, and the Sheri' tribunals remained, with their attributes, as regard marriage, divorce, succession, wills, etc., which are considered in Turkey as coming under Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in this quality left in what concerns the non-Mussulmans to their respective patriarchates and community councils. Under the reign of 'Abdul 'Aziz, the new penal, commercial, and civil tribunals divided into Courts of First Instance, Appeal and Cassation, jurisdiction was committed to the charge of the newly-created Ministry of Justice, and the magistracy became an open career for all the citizens of the Ottoman dominions.

The reign of His Majesty the Sultan 'Abdul Hamid has witnessed the most effective improvements in this respect. The re-organization of Provincial Tribunals, the nomination of Procurators- and Advocates-General, the establishment of a regular system of advancement for judges, and a firm guarantee insuring their trustworthiness and impartiality, the institution of Criminal and Civil procedures, are samples of this reforming policy applied to the administration of justice, besides the creation of a Law School destined to furnish the Department of Justice with able and well-instructed functionaries.

The re-organization of the Police took place during this reign, which has witnessed so many acts for the welfare of the Ottoman people. The ancient confusion between the duties of the police, gendarmerie and department of penal jurisdiction ceased, and the gendarmerie as an armed force being attached to the War Department, the Ministry of Police remained with its essential attributes with regard to public safety. Much has been and is still being said about the insecurity prevailing in Turkey. It is, however, never men-

tioned that Constantinople is one of the great cities of the world where the number of committed crimes is relatively very small, and that the Ottoman provinces, if we pay regard to their great extent, and their sparse population, can also be considered very safe. The average rate of crime in London and Paris is much above that of Constantinople, and the few cases of brigandage which created such a disturbance in the European Press are as nothing compared to what occurs in the United States, or in other countries which as regards scarcity of population and other circumstances are situated similarly to Turkey.

The great financial improvement effectually realized during the present reign need hardly be pointed out. Everyone knows what immense progress Turkish finance has made during late years. When His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid ascended the throne of his fathers Turkey was a bankrupt State, her sources of revenue were altered and the dangers of a great war threatened the country. This war soon broke out and undermined still more these sources by wresting from Turkey many fertile and productive provinces as the price of peace, and creating a new debt of thirty million pounds, besides obliging the Ottoman Treasury to pay Russia an enormous war indemnity. The case was desperate, and a really firm hand was needed to change a state of things apparently without any possible hope of improvement. Everybody knows what His Majesty did in this emergency. The debts of the Empire were classed under various heads and reduced to an amount in accordance with equity and without usury; an administration totally in European hands and comprising the delegates of the Ottoman bondholders was instituted and charged with paying off the mortgages and interests of this debt; different revenues of the Empire were assigned to this administration of the Public Debt, and the Turkish Government acted in this transaction with so much good faith, that Turkey replaced the annual tribute that Bulgaria owes to the sovereign Treasury according to the Berlin

Treaty, being included among the ceded revenues, by a part of the Customs revenue, and did not attempt to damage her creditors in spite of all the fault being on the side of their respective Governments. Now Turkish bonds are among the most secure in Europe, and Turkey can borrow money at 5 per cent. interest when in former times it could not do so at the rate of 12 per cent. The actual consolidated and other debts of the Empire, which amount to a capital of one hundred and ten million pounds, are comparatively small, and with the present system of mortgage will be totally paid in a short space of time.

Since the accession of his Majesty many heavy taxes have been abolished or diminished, and in spite of this the general revenues of the Empire show a remarkable tendency to increase. The receipts, which fell after the war to nearly eleven million pounds, now reach sixteen millions, and in spite of the extraordinary expenses caused by the adoption of a new style of rifle, and the completing of all the war material and the execution of the military reorganization, the Treasury Department has paid many of its old debts. For example, the annuities of the war indemnity, a sum of £350,000, are now punctually paid, and in the present unfavourable state of Russian finance, that is an important sum on which Russians can rely with confidence.

This improvement in finances is the natural consequence of the general prosperity which begins to prevail in Turkey. Means of communication have been considerably increased during the present reign. The junction of the Ottoman, Bulgarian, and Servian railways, by the construction of the two lines from Bellowa to Vakarel, and from Uskub to Vrania, has put the two great ports of Constantinople and Salonika in direct communication with Europe. A line from Salonika to Monastir is in course of construction, which will form an easy mode of transport for the products of Albania, and which, with its branches, will reach the shores of the Adriatic. The projected Dedeh-Agach-Salonika line will benefit a country as large as Belgium with the blessings of a rapid and easy means of transport

and communication. In Asia Minor, the Smyrna-Cassaba and Smyrna-Aidin lines, two very important English enterprises, have been most successful, and with new branches more than doubled. A line from Ismid to Angora is in course of construction, and will at no distant period be completed. A small line from Mudania to Brussa also is in course of construction, and a concession has been granted for a line from the shore of the Sea of Marmara to Iconium (Coniat), and the construction of several other very interesting railway lines is projected. A small line from the port of Messina to Adana promises, if extended, to be a great source of prosperity to the southern and central parts of Asia Minor.

In Syria the Jaffa-Jerusalem line is in course of construction; a steam tramway line from Beyrout to Damascus and Hauran will soon be commenced, and an English company has recently obtained the concession for the Syrian railways of the Acka-Damascus-Hauran-Haifa regions. Besides these railway lines, many thousand kilometres of paved roads have been finished, and are a great aid to communication.

His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid has granted many other useful concessions to European capitalists, as for example, those of the waterworks, quays, and gas-lighting of Constantinople, the quays of Beyrout, the tramways of Damascus and other towns, the irrigation of plains, the drainage of marshes, the establishment of factories and manufactures.

All these factors have naturally greatly benefited commerce and agriculture, which will in time be a great source of wealth to the Ottoman people. The import and export trade of Turkey is increasing in a remarkable manner. The tonnage of the ships anchored in the harbours, and the returns of the Custom House are the best proofs of the increase of the national wealth under the present reign; but another is also to be seen in the enormous increase in the value of land in the commercial cities of the Empire. The Ottoman Government does its best to improve agriculture, and the creation of model farms, besides the

enable the peasants to obtain the necessary knowledge and capital. I hope in a future article to be able to quote figures that will prove more eloquent than all the systematic detractions of Turkey's interested enemies.

The fighting resources of Turkey, completely disorganized after the last Russian War, have not escaped the all-reforming vigilance of His Majesty the Sultan, whose first attention was given to the Army and Navy; the Turkish fleet has been strengthened by the addition of a great number of torpedo-boats. The army has been reorganized on the Prussian system, the best known; the stock of artillery, greatly diminished by the war, has been replenished by the acquisition of hundreds of new Krupp and Canet guns, and a new magazine rifle has been adopted. Now Turkey is able to place 500,000 well-equipped soldiers under arms, besides the Kurd Cavalry which is being organized, and will prove a large auxiliary force. Every year Turkey is sending officers and civilians to different European countries to acquire experience and perfect themselves in their respective branches, and those, on their return, are always named to such posts as will enable them to make the most profitable use of their knowledge.

Everybody who investigates the actual conditions of Turkey in an impartial spirit will see that this country is in a period of transition and development. What it needs is peace; peace, for the maintenance of which His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid has made such signal efforts and sacrifices, benefiting by this, not only his own country, but also nearly all European nations. This is one of the merits of this truly great sovereign, and there is no doubt that impartial history will take account of it. As to Turkey, we must only say that in every respect it is not an insignificant quantity in the general economy of Europe, and its claims to be ranked as a great and progressive Power are more serious than many partial judges are inclined to admit.

NOTES ON THE DISCOVERY OF MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED ANCIENT ARTIFICIAL CAVES NEAR TŌKYŌ.

BY SHOGORO TSUBOI, (RIGAKUSHI).

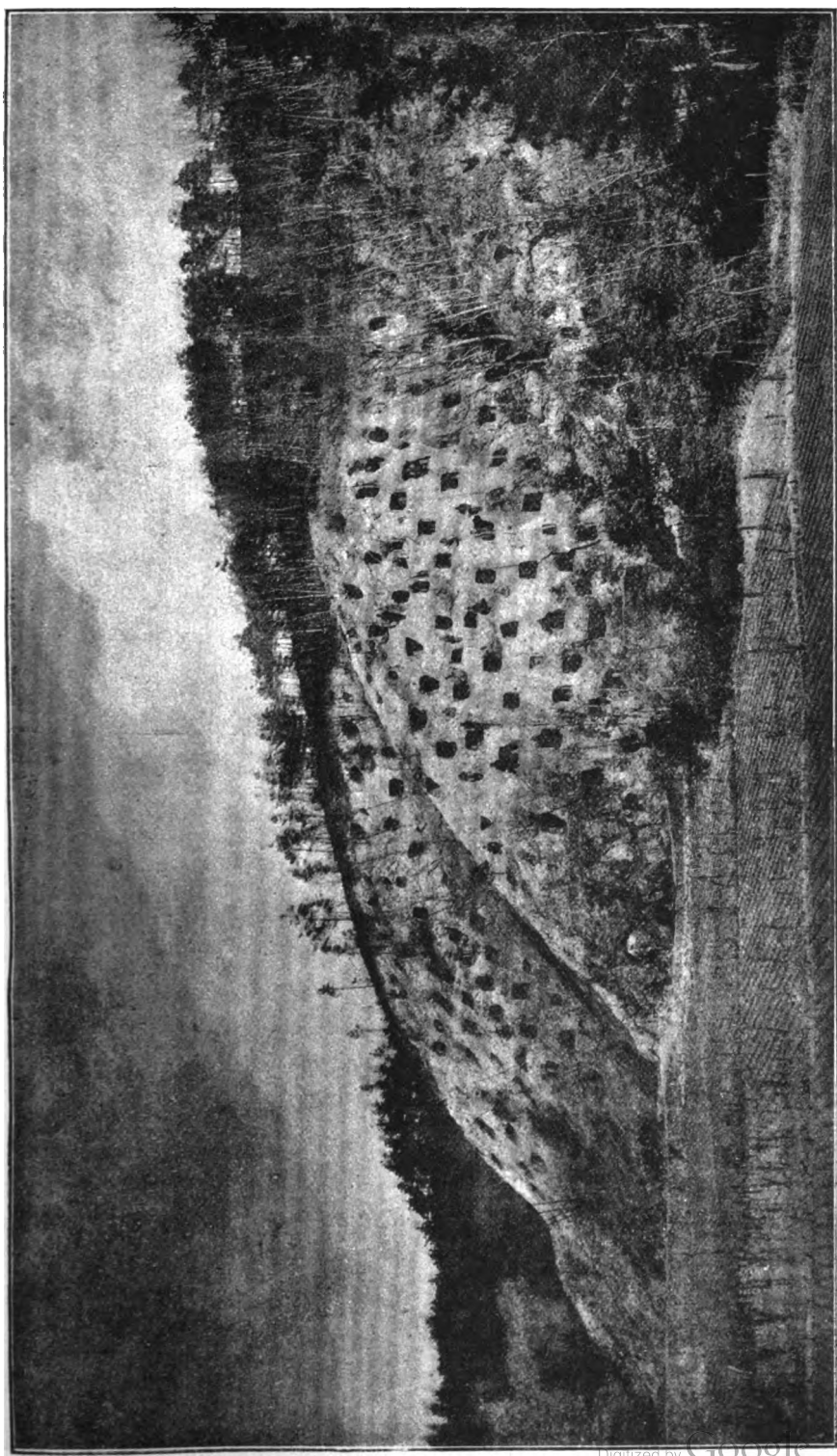
IN the summer of 1887, I visited a village called Kita-Yoshimi (now called Nishi-Yoshimi), about 30 miles northwest of Tōkyō, in order to re-examine some ancient artificial caves I had already seen a few years before. As their number did not exceed 20, their sketches and measurements were easily taken, in less time than I expected. I spent my remaining time in examining the position and arrangement of the caves. I was inclined to think, by comparing them with those of similar caves in other parts of Japan, that more caves must still be hidden beneath the surface-earth of the hill, on which the ones already known were scattered irregularly. In one place, two or three caves were seen side by side ; in another, three or four were found with definite distances between them ; while isolated ones were not wanting. Though I could not positively declare that there must be more caves to fill up the spaces between those already exposed, yet probability and analogy compelled me to make special researches.

The place had already been visited by many archæologists, both Japanese and foreign : among the former, by Messrs. K. Kashiwagi, O. Ucheyama, and T. Negishi, and among the latter, by Professor E. S. Morse and Mr. Henry von Siebold. Most likely, these learned persons also had thought, as I have just stated, that I did : but circumstances prevented them from determining the matter personally. Thus the interesting work fell into my hands. With the permission of the owners of the land, workmen were hired, and were set, under my orders, to dig out the trees and shrubs, and remove the surface-earth from spots giving some indications of yet undiscovered caves. My

anticipations turned out correct. To our great satisfaction, the entrances of several caves were soon found. This was on the 6th of August. I thereupon changed my original plan, and resolved to stay longer and to make further researches.

The hill itself is of greyish tufaceous sandstone ; and the surface earth is blackish soil ; so it is easy to distinguish one from the other. By removing the earth, that filled the newly found entrances, chambers were discovered similar to those in the already known caves, though with some differences in detail. The excitement of the workmen was very great. Love of money and curiosity added vigour to their arms, and one cave after another was found in rapid succession. Hidden caves were sought, at first, only in spaces between two known caves, whose distance seemed to be somewhat greater than that between other caves placed side by side ; but the horizontal spreading of the roots of trees, and the hollow sound produced by heavy stamping of feet, soon suggested the probable existence of many others.

After making sure that the research would be fruitful, I reported the matter to the Imperial University of Japan, and asked pecuniary assistance, to complete the discovery. My hopes were fulfilled ; and the necessary sum of money was put at my disposal. I increased the number of workmen, and ordered them to uncover a portion of the hill, from its top down to its foot, by removing the surface-earth, together with the plants growing in it. We seemed no longer searching for caves ; but the caves might be said to show themselves of their own accord. When the part of the hill was thus entirely denuded, a great number of caves were exposed to view. Before my research, the number of caves known was, as I said, not more than 20 ; but now the number came up to 237. The aspect of this part of the hill was totally changed. Formerly, like other parts of the hill, this also was thickly covered with trees, shrubs, ferns and grasses, and only a few caves could be seen from a distance of 20 metres from the foot of the hill. Now, the exposed part is nothing but a huge block of tufaceous sand-



GENERAL VIEW OF THE HILL.

stone, thickly covered with caves, readily distinguishable even at the distance of half a mile.

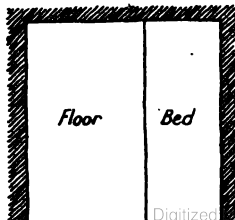
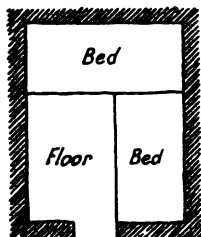
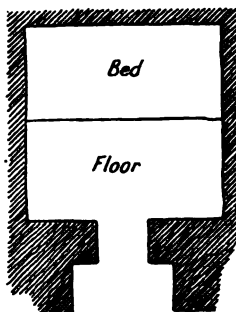
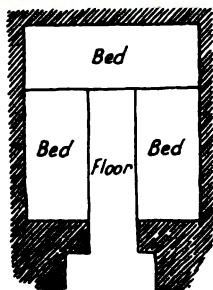
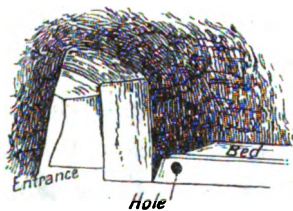
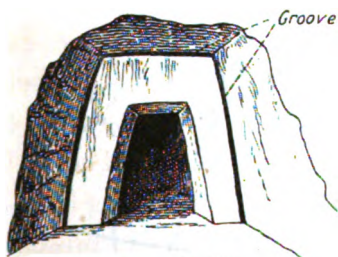
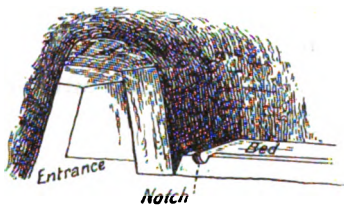
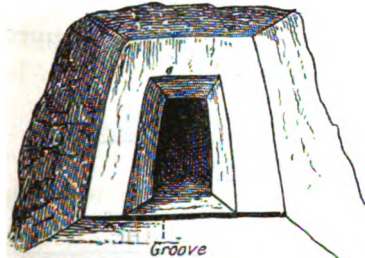
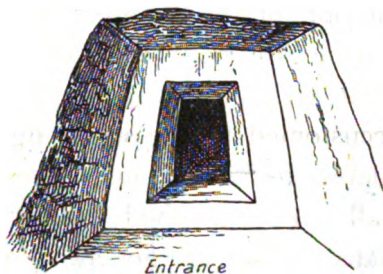
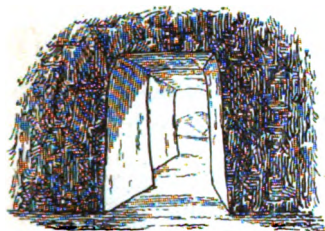
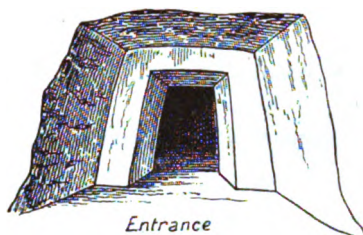
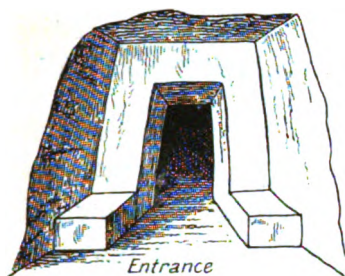
As the sloping surface of the hill is uneven, the openings to the caves are not always quite distinct. In many cases, they turn inwards insensibly, to form the sides of the passage-ways that connect the chambers with the exterior. A passage-way consists of two portions, inner and outer. In general, the outer portion is one metre in height, width and length; and its floor gradually rises towards the inner passage-way. The roof and side walls of that portion are either flat or slightly concave. Generally, the former is horizontal, and the latter converging upwards. The vertical section through them, therefore, is somewhat like the lower half of the capital letter A. In rare cases, the roof of this portion is again divided into two parts of different levels, the inner part being placed about 10 c.m. below the outer.

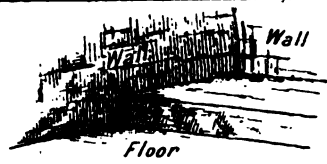
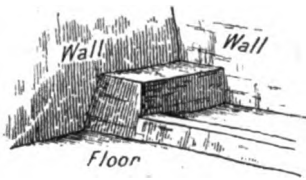
The inward courses of the roof and the side walls of the outer portion of the passage-way are abruptly stopped by a sort of diaphragm. This forms the inner portion of the passage-way. Here, the roof is about 15 c.m. lower, and the side walls are also about 15 c.m. nearer the long axial line of both these passage-ways. Generally, the floor of the inner portion is continuous with that of the outer; but in some cases, the former is about 15 c.m. higher than the latter. At the junction of the two portions, in the direction of the front face of the diaphragm, is found a groove on the floor, or grooves on the side walls and the roof, apparently intended for keeping some kind of doors in their places. In some cases, again, at the foot of a diaphragm, along each side wall of the outer portion of the passage-way, is found a projection of about 30 c.m. long, and 15 c.m. high, with a width equal to the distance between the walls of the same side of the two portions. The thickness of the diaphragm, or the length of the inner portion, is generally one metre, or but little less.

By going into the passage-way with our bodies bent,

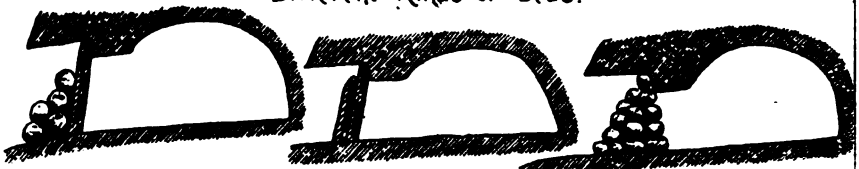
we enter a chamber which widens on both sides, either equally or unequally, and whose roof is, more or less, higher than that of the passage-way. As light comes only from the entrance, through the narrow and low passage-way, the interior of the chamber at first is very dark. Yet, after a while, the floor, the back and side walls, the roof and the front wall gradually begin to be dimly seen. The eye, accustomed to the weak light after a few minutes' stay, enables us to recognize even rudely scratched lines on a wall. The finished chambers are rectangular in their plans. They are generally 2 m. or $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. square, though larger ones are by no means rare. I say finished chambers, because there are many which seem to have been left unfinished. These are irregular in form and rough in execution. Leaving a description of these unfinished chambers for a subsequent part of this paper, I will here speak only of the finished ones. The roof of the chamber forms a dome, the apex of which is little less than 2 m. distant from the floor. Except in one case, there exists no precise demarcation between it and the walls below. Even in this exception, the demarcation is but partial, being found only at the upper part of the back wall. The surface of the dome is generally plain, but in some cases lines are drawn from the four corners towards the apex, presenting the appearance of a continuation of the dihedral angles formed by the meeting of each of the two neighbouring walls below. In one case, at the middle of the dome is found a rectangular depression 40 c.m. wide, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. long and about 2 c.m. deep. Into the walls of some caves are cut shelves of different descriptions and holes of varying depth. The latter constructions seem to have been intended for receiving the ends of horizontal poles; for two holes are always found at the corresponding points on the opposite walls, generally about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. above the floor.

In general, the floor of the chamber is continuous with that of the inner portion of the passage-way; but in some cases the former is about 15 c.m. higher than the latter;

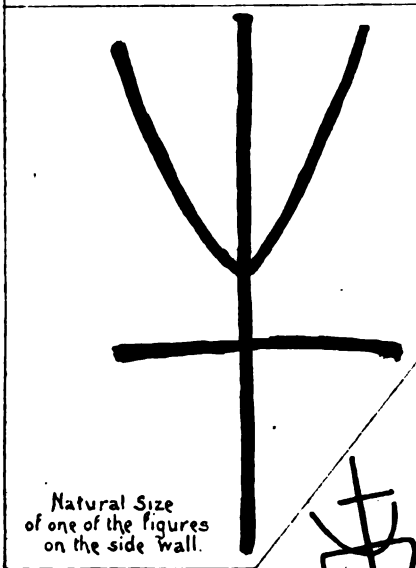
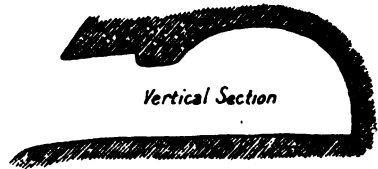
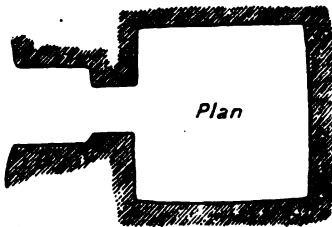




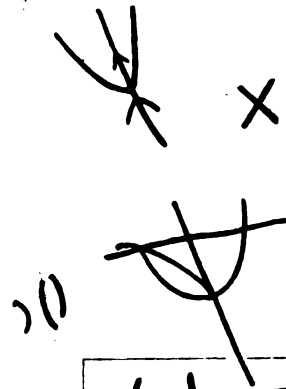
Different Kinds of Beds.



Modes of Closing Entrances.



Natural Size of one of the figures on the side wall.



and in rarer cases, the floor of the inner portion of the passage-way is raised about 10 c.m. above that of the chamber and the outer portion, as if a rock of that thickness had been placed over the floor, which is continuous throughout the passage-way and the chamber. Like that of the passage-way, the floor of the chamber inclines upwards towards the back wall. It rarely extends throughout a chamber as one plane, for almost all the chambers are provided with one, two, or three bed-like constructions. The number of these varies according to the size of the chambers, or I had better say that a chamber varies in size according to the number of the bed-like constructions; to contain which, probably, it was originally excavated. This construction, which, for the sake of brevity, I will hereafter call a bed, is always placed along a wall. In general, a bed is about 2 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 15 c.m. high. It has often a vertical rim of about 15 c.m. in width and 15 c.m. or more in height, along its free margin; and in rare cases such a rim is raised directly from the floor, forming the space between it and the nearer wall, like that of the upper part of a rimmed bed. In a few cases, a bed has a rectangular elevation at one end along a wall. Its width is the same as that of the bed on which it is formed; its height is about 30 c.m.; and the distance between its free margin and the wall, measured in the direction of the length of the bed, is also about 30 c.m. In one case, a kind of bed, marked only by a raised rim on the floor, is divided unequally by a secondary rim placed at right angles to the principal one.

When there is only one bed in a chamber, its position is either along a side or a back wall. When a chamber has two beds, the latter may be found either along two side walls, or one along a side wall and the other along the back wall. For three beds in a chamber, there is but one way of arrangement. They are placed along the back and two side walls, in such a manner that their free margins, together, present the form of the Greek letter Π . A rim

of a bed is often notched and only rarely pierced through, close to its one extremity, apparently for the purpose of sweeping out dust or letting out water. Sometimes a chamber or a passage-way has a system of furrows either along the foot of the walls or along the median line, undoubtedly intended for carrying off moisture and keeping the chamber dry. All the projections and elevations, above mentioned, are made not by putting separate pieces of stones on the spots, but by leaving the rocks of those parts uncut. Thus every cave, with its passage-way and chamber together with all their details, is cut out in one block; and consequently the whole group of the caves also may be said to be in one block.

Many caves are often so close to one another that the thickness of the partition wall of neighbouring ones, or the distance of the floor of the upper and the roof of the lower one, is hardly 30 c.m.; but there are only three cases in which any internal communication exists between two finished caves. In one of these cases, a hole of the size of a man's foot, is found passing vertically from the floor of the passage-way of a cave above to the ceiling of the chamber of a cave below; this hole seems to have been made by an accidental breaking of that portion of the partition. In another case, a hole passes obliquely from the foot of the side wall of the upper chamber to the connecting portion of the ceiling and the side wall of the lower. This hole, which seems to have been made accidentally, and enlarged artificially, is just wide enough for an ordinary man to crawl through on all fours. The smoothness and polish of the surfaces of this hole, especially at the lower part, show that it must have been touched and rubbed with the hands for a considerable time. In the third case, a round hole, about 30 c.m. in diameter, passes horizontally through the partition wall of two neighbouring chambers. From its direction and execution, we may safely say that this hole was bored artificially and purposely. Excepting these cases, each cave is independent of the other.

As the slope of the hill faces more to south and west, the entrances of the caves, the direction of which naturally vary according to that of the slope on which they are found, face mostly to south, south-west, and west. As I said before, the surface of the hill was formerly covered with earth, the thickness of which was in general greater towards the foot of the hill. The earth-covering not only closed the entrances of the caves, but often completely filled up the passage-ways, and even the chambers, to four-fifths of their height. Many chambers were found to contain rain-water, with a sediment of mud at its bottom. From this it will be seen that the entrances of the caves may have been closed with earth, under the combined action of rain and gravity. Besides these natural modes of closing, there are some artificial ones. Thus the passage to the chamber was often found to be cut off at the front end of the inner portion of the passage-way by a pile of round stones, or by one or more layers of slabs, or again by a combination of both, the former being placed before the latter. These slabs, when found, were always attached to the front face of a diaphragm, their margins being often fitted into the grooves, to which I have already alluded. In rare cases blocks of stones, specially hewn to size, were found lying at the foot of the front face of the diaphragm, and on some of these stones grooves were found for receiving the lower margins of the slabs. In many caves, the artificial closing of a chamber was incomplete, presenting the appearance of a partial removal of the stones, especially of the upper part. Very probably such caves were twice shut and twice opened; that is to say, they were at first completely shut artificially, then partially opened, again completely shut naturally, and at last completely laid bare again by us.

One of the most interesting events during the research, was the accidental discovery of a group of marks cut into the rock. One day, while sitting in a cave with my back to the side wall of the inner passage-way, the chamber being on my right side and the entrance on my left, I noticed a

peculiar spreading of the fibrous roots of some plants on the side wall which I was facing. No sooner had I taken hold of and pulled off these fibres, than the depressed lines, along which they had grown, became visible. After rubbing off the earth and removing the roots carefully, the side wall was found to be covered with several depressed figures, of which seven were very distinct. They are about 3 m.m. deep, and their forms, sizes and arrangements are as represented in the annexed plate. As the cave, on whose side wall these figures are to be seen, was found partially closed with a pile of round stones, some figures—at least the lower ones—must have been covered by the pile of stones. The space left unclosed was only large enough for a man to crawl in and out; so the figures, found on the upper part of the side wall, can also hardly be said to have been executed after the pile was made. Thus there seems to be no doubt of the ancient origin of these figures. By referring to the plate, it will be seen that all the seven figures are more or less bilaterally symmetrical; and the five larger ones have each a median vertical line and a pair of branches curved upwards. It is hard to believe that these figures are nothing but a thoughtless combination of lines drawn at random. As it would be absurd to say that they have some relations with Roman characters, because there is among them an X, so also would it be, to suppose them to be of Japanese or Chinese origin, because two figures resemble *na* (ナ) and *ki* (キ) of the former, or *ju* (十) and *sen* (卅) of the latter. Nor are they either the Loochoo numerals or the Corean characters. What seem to approach nearest to these figures are the marks often found on the ancient Japanese unglazed pottery called *Iwaibe*. Here is a collection of some of them. By comparing these marks with the figures found on the wall, the general resemblance between them will readily be recognized. The pottery marks are probably the personal marks of the potters, and I think that the figures in question are also the personal marks of the ancient cave-makers. In

another cave, rude drawings of two men and a quadruped were found on the front wall of its chamber, just above the inner extremity of the passage-way ; but as I have neither sketches nor descriptions of them at hand, I am now unable to say any more about them.

Besides well-executed and finished caves, which I have hitherto described, there are many rough and apparently unfinished ones. Careful examination of the latter shows that their size is smaller, their execution rougher, and their form more irregular. This fact, together with the presence of rough shelf-like depressions outside the caves, and the traces of simple diggings made into the surface of the slope, led me to believe that these excavations are caves in different stages of execution. The cutting process of a passage-way, the gradual differentiation of walls from a ceiling and a floor, and the formation of a bed being traced, I have succeeded in connecting a horizontal group of a few holes, not deeper than 18 c.m. with an ordinary finished cave of 2m. square, by an unbroken series of unfinished caves. The existence of these unfinished caves may be accounted for in two ways. The first is the unskilfulness of the ancients in surveying. In some cases a smaller and more roughly made cave is found, so close to a larger and better made one, that the former more or less overlaps the latter, producing a small opening that connects one cave with the other. It is very probable that the ancient maker of the new cave stopped his work on finding that the space to which the digging was to be extended had already been occupied by a previously made cave. The second is the nature of the rock of the hill, which I have already mentioned to be a sandstone. To dig a cave into this must have been a very tedious work. The longer the time required in completing a cave, the greater is the probability that the action of many causes would prevent the completion of the work. It is, therefore, not to be wondered that there should be many unfinished caves on a hill of such hard stone. We must admit, then, that several

of the excavations which I have mentioned are caves in different stages of execution.

By examining the traces of the diggings, the forms of at least the edges of the implements used may be known. The implement first used seems to have been a pointed chisel, at least 20 c.m. long, perhaps driven in by means of a hammer ; that used next seems to have been a straight-edged adze ; and that used for the finishing touches to have been most probably an adze curved outwards and a comb-like instrument, both used in the manner of a plane. Not only the hardness of the rock, but also the traces of digging and finishing, show that the ancient cave-makers were undoubtedly acquainted with the use of some metallic implements.

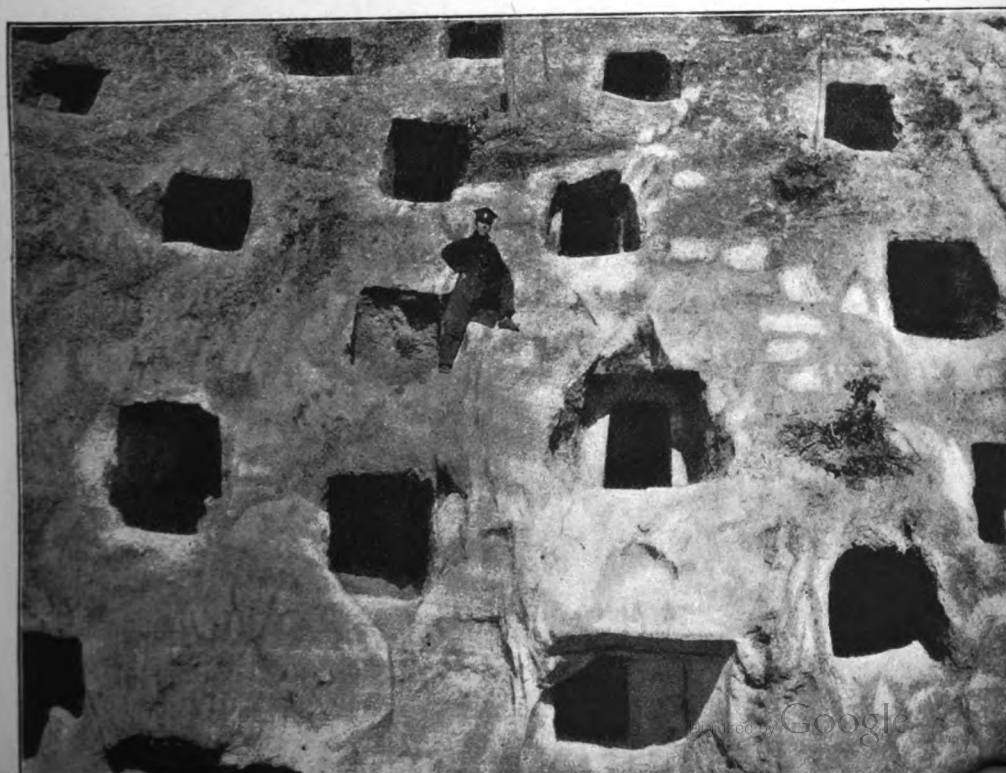
The general forward continuation of the floor of the passage-way, and also in some cases that of the furrows upon it, show that the rock of the hill, at least at the front portions of the caves, was bare at the time when the caves were first made. The traces of steps, or rather of alternate series of foot holders, cut into the rock and apparently of the same age as the caves, are visible here and there. The presence of such traces leads me to think that not only the front portions of the caves, but the entire surface of the hill, where the caves are found, was originally bare. When the covering soil was removed, the rock was found so worn out as to make it utterly impossible to reach some of the caves by walking. But it is highly probable that before the edges had been rounded and the projections broken by the long-continued action of the weather, the surface of the hill must have had many more almost level portions than at present ; and the few steps which only can now be seen must have existed in many more steep portions of the hill. These considerations clear away the doubt, how the ancients could have walked on such an uncomfortable hill slope as this appears to us at present.

Several objects of different ages were found in the caves. Among these finds are a few pieces of *Kwan-yei-tsu-ho*;



UPPER PORTION OF THE HILL.

S. TSUBOI.



a small Japanese coin, and a piece of *Tenki-tsū-hō*, a Chinese coin of exactly the same size. But as the latter coins are, in rare cases, mixed with the former, which are still in current use among the Japanese, the presence of either does not tell much about the age of the caves. The brass bowl of a tobacco pipe and the bronze disc of a hand-mirror are also among the objects found. Careful examination shows that the former is about 250 years, and the latter 600 years old; but the caves are undoubtedly older than both. Unglazed pottery, known as *Iwaibe* and of greater antiquity than the objects mentioned above were also found. Their positions were generally outside the slabs or stone piles; but in a few cases, also inside of them. The fact that the *Iwaibe* potteries were found in those two positions, shows that the artificial closing of the chambers with stones and the deposition of the potteries in the caves belong to the same age. Two *Maga-tama*, or curved jewels, made of agate, one *Kudatama*, or tubular jewel, made of green jasper, some iron swords, numerous iron arrow-heads, and a few small incomplete rings of gold, silver, copper, and iron were found in the chambers. Many fragments and a few more or less entire *Tatemono*, or hollow cylinders made of clay, were also found in or in front of the passage-ways. Archaeology tells us that these objects are of the same age as the *Iwaibe* potteries.

In other localities, the hollow clay cylinders are found encircling sepulchral mounds, the stone chambers of which generally contain *Iwaibe* potteries and other objects mentioned above. The time when these mounds were made, is generally estimated to be seventeen or eighteen centuries ago. Thus it is clear that some of the caves of which I speak were used as burial-places about the beginning of the Christian Era, and the object of the artificial closing of the chambers with stones is thus easily understood. Except one skeleton, which was lying on the fragments of the rock, fallen from the ceiling of one

chamber, and consequently of late origin, neither human bones nor traces of cremation were found in any cave. As bones may easily be decomposed, broken, and dispersed under the alternate states of immersion into water and drying up, caused by the accumulation of rain-water percolating through the upper portion of the artificial shutting, and its escape through the lower portion, this negative evidence cannot be looked upon as conclusive against the view that some of these caves were used as burial-places. The majority of the caves, however, were found not to contain objects commonly discovered in sepulchral mounds, nor to be closed artificially. Even the caves which show traces of having been used as burial-places, can hardly be said to have been made for that purpose.

As I have already said, the figures, resembling pottery marks, scratched on the wall of the inner portion of the passage-way, were found partially covered with piles of stones. If the cave had been made as a burial-place, the artificial closing of the chamber, or the covering of the wall, must have been well known; and it is very improbable that the ancient cave-maker would have drawn those figures, whatever end they may have been meant to serve, on a comparatively insignificant part of the cave. It is even more improbable that he would have drawn them as the recreation of an idle hour, without a definite intention, on the wall of a cave, if that cave was made for so solemn a purpose. The fact that the course of the furrow on a cave floor was often found to be stopped by an artificial closing, seems also to point out that the caves were probably made for some other purpose than the burial of the dead. It is very hard to believe that the ancient workmen made such furrows on the floors of the caves, leading through the passage-ways, either entirely or partially, if these caves were intended for burial-places, and were consequently to have been closed up. The indications that the caves had been used for burial, were found in both unfinished as well as in finished caves; there were no

distinctions between the two cases, either in the modes of closing, or in the nature of the finds, to show the difference in ranks of the persons whose bodies were respectively placed in these caves. Hence it seems more natural to suppose that caves, already made or half made, for some other purpose, had been utilized afterwards, conventionally, as burial-places, without regard to their finish, than to suppose that caves, specially intended for receiving the dead, apparently of the same rank, were made sometimes well and sometimes roughly. The general resemblance in form and execution, not only of the passage-ways, but also of the chambers, seems to show either, that all the caves were made simultaneously, or that some of them were left open for a long time, so as to let the workman examine and copy their internal structures. Neither of these two was likely to be the case, if the caves were originally meant for burial-places.

Before and after the discovery of the caves of Nishi-Yoshimi, I made several journeys to different parts of Japan, and visited about thirty similar cave districts. The general results of the examinations of several hundred caves in these places, is also in favour of the view, repeatedly stated above, that the object of making these caves must have been something besides making a place for the dead. But as there exists no record or tradition, to tell us for what other purpose these caves were made, let us turn to other countries, to see whether there are any similar caves, and if so, for what they are intended.

Examples of artificial caves are by no means rare. In some countries they were made as burial-places, in others for religious purposes, and in others, again, they were intended for dwellings. Those, however, which in structure and arrangement resemble most the caves of Nishi-Yoshimi, are, so far as I know, the caves of China and Canary, both of which belong to the category of dwelling-caves. I heard from Messrs. R. Ōhara and C. Ino-uye, accurate descriptions of the dwelling-caves which they had themselves

examined; in different parts of China; and I read in Mrs. O. M. Stone's work, "Tenerife and its Six Satellites," of similar caves at Artenara in Gran Canaria. The descriptions of these caves agree with those of the caves of Nishi-Yoshimi, not only in the essential structure, but also in the narrowness of the passage-ways, and the presence of shelf-like depressions, cut into the walls, and bed-like elevations left on the floors. The shelf-like depressions and the bed-like elevations of the Nishi-Yoshimi caves may really be shelves and beds, and consequently the caves themselves may have been dwelling-places.

If we suppose this to be the case, the explanation of the general resemblance of the internal structure of the chambers, and the presence of the scratched figures on the side wall of the passage-way, become easier. The internal communications more or less artificially made between finished caves, may be the openings through which men in neighbouring chambers conversed with each other. Moreover, as the consequence of the above supposition, if we regard the burial of the dead to be a subsequent utilization of the caves, the indiscriminate employment of finished and unfinished caves for the purpose, and the stopping of the courses of the furrows by the artificial closing of the chambers, will be understood without any difficulty. Thus it is highly probable that the Nishi-Yoshimi caves were originally made for dwelling purposes, and afterwards utilized as burial-places.

The question will now arise—Is there any mention in Japanese history of cave-dwellings or cave-dwellers? Those who are acquainted with the ancient literature of the country, answer, without hesitation, in the affirmative. Though our records are equally silent about the makers and the original uses of any particular set of caves, we can gather from them many passages telling us that caves were much used as dwellings by a savage race called *Tsuchigumo*, and also, though in a far less degree, by the ancestors of the present Japanese. The latest mention of dwelling-caves

used by the latter, is one year before the accession of the second Emperor, that is 582 B.C. The custom of dwelling in caves was carried on by the *Tsuchigumo* to a much later date. The very name *Tsuchigumo*, given by the first Emperor to the savages, who then occupied the southern half of the main island of Japan, is said to signify "those who hide themselves in earth," that is those who dwell in caves. The latest mention of these cave-dwellers is 200 A.D. We are still ignorant of the difference in structure of the dwelling-caves of these two different peoples; hence I am unable to say precisely who were the makers of Nishi-Yoshimi caves, even if these views about the uses of these caves be correct.

I am fully aware that our investigations are yet very incomplete; but I am inclined to think at present that the numerous artificial caves, which I have discovered in Nishi-Yoshimi, were made for use as dwellings by a people acquainted with metallic implements; and afterwards, especially at the beginning of the Christian Era, were utilized as burial-places by the ancestors of the present Japanese. Some of the caves used as burial-places, were undoubtedly opened at different times by those who wanted to see the interior of the chambers or to rifle their contents. As to the relation between those who made these caves, and those whose bodies were placed in them; there are as yet no sufficient data to form any reliable or even probable opinion.

THE COUNTRIES OF OUR LAST FIGHT, AND OF OUR NEXT WAR.

LEGENDS, SONGS, AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN,*

(GILGIT, YASIN, HUNZA, NAGYR, CHITRÁL, &C., AND
KAFIRISTAN).

- I. DARDU LEGENDS, *in Shiná* (the language, with dialectic modifications of Gilgit, Astor, Guraz, Chilás, Hodur, Dureyl, Tanair, etc., and the language of historical songs in Hunza and Nagyr.

(Committed to writing for the first time in 1866,

By DR. G. W. LEITNER,

from the dictation of Dards. This race has no written character of its own.)

A.—DEMONS = YATSH (YUECCI?).

DEMONS are of a gigantic size, and have only *one eye, which is on the forehead*. They used to rule over the mountains and oppose the cultivation of the soil by man. They often dragged people away into their recesses. Since the adoption of the Muhammadan religion, the demons have relinquished their possessions, and only occasionally trouble the believers.

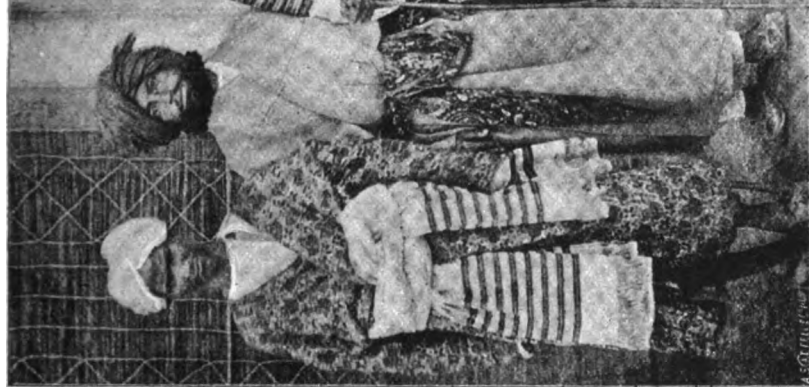
They do not walk by day, but confine themselves to promenading at night. A spot is shown near Astor, at a village called Bulent, where five large mounds are pointed out which have somewhat the shape of huge baskets. Their existence is explained as follows. A Zemindar (cultivator) at Grukôt, a village farther on, on the Kashmir road, had, with great trouble, sifted his grain for storing, and had put it into baskets and sacks. He then went away. The demons came—five in number—carrying huge leather-

* "Dardistan," or the country of the Daradas of Hindu mythology, embraces, in the narrowest sense of the term, the Shiná-speaking countries (Gilgit); in a wider sense, Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, and Chitrál; and in the widest, also parts of Kafiristan. (See my "Dardistan, part III.")

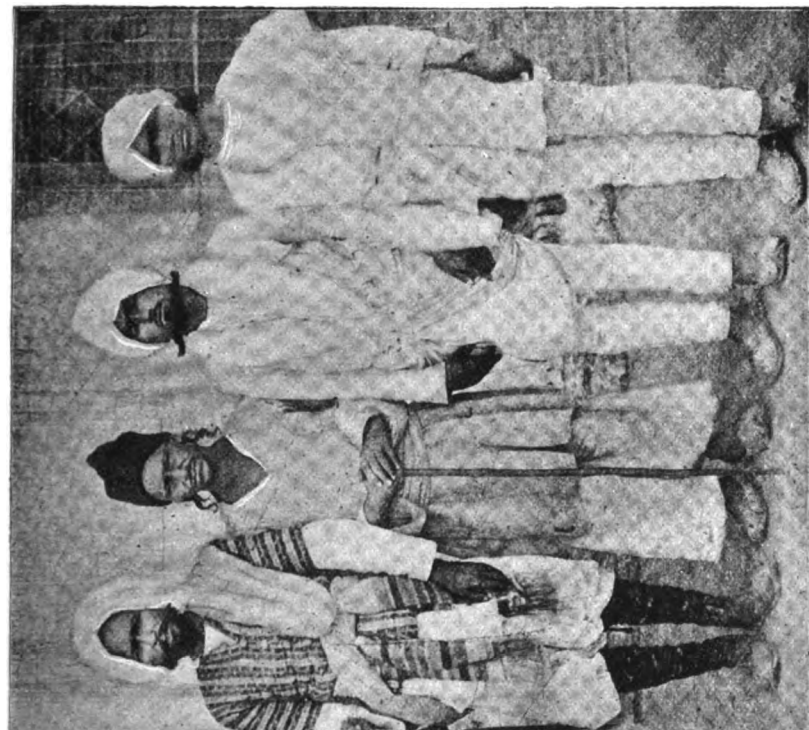
¹ "Yatsh" means "bad" in Kashmiri. Digitized by Google



GILGITI.



2 CHILÁSIS.



ASTORI.

LITTLE TIBETAN.

2 BASHGALI KAFIRS.

sacks, into which they put the grain. They then went to a place which is still pointed out and called "*Gué Gutumé Yatsheyn gau boki*," or "The place of the demons' loads at the hollow"—*Gué* being the *Shiná* name for the present village of *Gruköt*. There they brought up a huge flat stone—which is still shown—and made it into a kind of pan, "*tawa*," for the preparation of bread. But the morning dawned and obliged them to disappear; they converted the sacks and their contents into earthen mounds, which have the shape of baskets and are still shown.

I.—THE WEDDING OF DEMONS.

A *Shikari* (sportsman) was once hunting in the hills. He had taken provisions with him for five days. On the sixth day he found himself without any food. Excited and fatigued by his fruitless expedition, he wandered into the deepest mountain recesses, careless whither he went as long as he could find water to assuage his thirst, and a few wild berries to allay his hunger. Even that search was unsuccessful, and, tired and hungry, he endeavoured to compose himself to sleep. Even that comfort was denied him, and, nearly maddened with the situation, he again arose and looked around him. It was the first or second hour of night, and, at a short distance, he descried a large fire blazing a most cheerful welcome to the hungry, and now chilled, wanderer. He approached it quietly, hoping to meet some other sportsman who might provide him with food. Coming near the fire, he saw a very large and curious assembly of giants, eating, drinking, and singing. In great terror, he wanted to make his way back, when one of the assembly, who had a squint in his eye, got up for the purpose of fetching water for the others. He overtook him, and asked him whether he was a "child of man." Half dead with terror, he could scarcely answer that he was, when the demon invited him to join them at the meeting, which was described to be a wedding party. The *Shikari* replied: "You are a demon, and will destroy me"; on

which the spirit took an oath, *by the sun and the moon*, that he certainly would not do so. He then hid him under a bush and went back with the water. He had scarcely returned when a plant was torn out of the ground and a small aperture was made, into which the giants managed to throw all their property, and, gradually making themselves thinner and thinner, themselves vanished into the ground through it. Our sportsman was then taken by the hand by the friendly demon, and, before he knew how, he himself glided through the hole and found himself in a huge apartment, which was splendidly illuminated. He was placed in a corner where he could not be observed. He received some food, and gazed in mute astonishment on the assembled spirits. At last, he saw the mother of the bride taking her daughter's head into her lap and weeping bitterly at the prospect of her departure into another household. Unable to control her grief, and in compliance with an old Shīn custom, she began the singing of the evening by launching into the following strains:

SONG OF THE MOTHER.

ORIGINAL:—

Ajjeyn Birāni !² mey palise, shikk sanéy,
 (Thy) mother's Birāni ! my little darling, ornaments will wear,
Inne Buldar Bútshe angai tapp bey hani,
 (Whilst) here at Buldar Bútshe the heavens dark will become,
Nāgeri Phall Tshátshe Kani mirāni in,
 The Nagari (of race) Phall Tshátshe of Khans the prince will come,
Tēyn Mirkān málōse tshé gūm bagéy,
 Thy Mirkān father-from new corn will be distributed.
Sátti Yabeo wey bo ! Shadú Malik bojum thēm.
 Seven rivers' water be ! Shadu Malik a going will make,
Tey Mirkān mālō Tshe gi bage.
 Thy Mirkān, father, now ghee will distribute.

TRANSLATION:—

"Oh, Birāni, thy mother's own; thou, little darling, wilt wear ornaments, whilst to me, who will remain here at Buldar Butshe, the heavens will appear dark. The prince of Lords of Phall Tshatshe race is coming from

² The father's name was Mir Khan. The daughter's name was Biran. The bridegroom's name was Shadu Malik of Nagyr, of Phall Tshatshe race and the place of the wedding was Buldar Butshe.

Nagyr; and Mirkann, thy father, now distributes corn (as an act of welcome). Be (as fruitful and pleasant) as the water of *seven rivers*, for Shadu Malik (the prince) is determined to start, and now thy father Mirkann is distributing ghee (as a compliment to the departing guest)."

The Shikari began to enjoy the scene and would have liked to have stayed, but his squinting friend told him now that he could not be allowed to remain any longer. So he got up, but before again vanishing through the above-mentioned aperture into the human world, he took a good look at the demons. To his astonishment he beheld on the shoulders of one a shawl which he had safely left at home. Another held his gun; a third was eating out of his own dishes; one had his many-coloured stockings on, and another disported himself in pidjamas (drawers) which he only ventured to put on, on great occasions. He also saw many of the things that had excited his admiration among the property of his neighbours in his native village, being most familiarly used by the demons. He scarcely could be got to move away, but his friendly guide took hold of him and brought him again to the place where he had first met him. On taking leave he gave him three loaves of bread. As his village was far off, he consumed two of the loaves on the road. On reaching home, he found his father, who had been getting rather anxious at his prolonged absence. To him he told all that had happened, and showed him the remaining loaf, of which the old man ate half. His mother, a good housewife, took the remaining half and threw it into a large granary, where, as it was the season of Sharó (autumn), a sufficient store of flour had been placed for the use of the family during the winter. Strange to say, that half-loaf brought luck, for demons mean it sometimes kindly to the children of men, and only hurt them when they consider themselves offended. The granary remained always full, and the people of the village rejoiced with the family, for they were liked and were good people.

It also should be told that as soon as the Shikari came home he looked after his costly shawl, dishes, and clothes,

but he found all in its proper place and perfectly uninjured. On inquiring amongst his neighbours he also found that they too had not lost anything. He was much astonished at all this, till an old woman who had a great reputation for wisdom, told him that this was the custom of demons, and that they invariably borrowed the property of mankind for their weddings, and as invariably restored it. On occasions of rejoicings amongst them they felt kindly towards mankind.

Thus ends one of the prettiest tales that I have heard.

2.—THE DEMON'S PRESENT OF COALS IS TURNED INTO GOLD.

Something similar to what has just been related, is said to have happened at Doyur, on the road from Gilgit to Nagyr. A man of the name of Phûko had a son named Laskirr, who, one day going out to fetch water was caught by a Yatsh, who tore up a plant (" reeds " ?) " phuru " and entered with the lad into the fissure which was thereby created. He brought him to a large palace in which a number of goblins, male and female, were diverting themselves. He there saw all the valuables of the inhabitants of his village. A wedding was being celebrated and the mother sang :—

Gúm bagé déy, Buduléy Khatúni.
 Gúm bagé déy, huhá huhá !!
 Gí bagé déy, Buduléy Khatúnise.
 Gí bagé déy, huhá huhá !!
 Motz bagé déy, Buduléy Khatúni.
 Motz bagé déy, huhá huhá !!
 Mô bagé déy, huhá huhá !! &c., &c.:

TRANSLATION :—

Corn is being distributed, daughter of Budul.
 Corn is being distributed, hurrah ! hurrah ! (*Chorus.*)
 Ghee is being distributed, &c. (*Chorus.*)
 Meat is being distributed, &c. (*Chorus.*)
 Wine is being distributed, &c., &c. (*Chorus.*)

On his departure, the demon gave him a sackful of coals, and conducted him through the aperture made by the tearing up of the reed, towards his village. The moment

the demon had left, the boy emptied the sack of the coals and went home, when he told his father what had happened. In the emptied sack they found a small bit of coal, which, as soon as they touched it, became a gold coin, very much to the regret of the boy's father, who would have liked his son to have brought home the whole sackful.

B.—“BARAI,” “PERIS,” “FAIRIES.”

They are handsome, in contradistinction to the Yatsh or Demons, and stronger; they have a beautiful castle on the top of the Nanga Parbat or Dyarmul (so called from being inaccessible). This castle is made of crystal, and the people fancy they can see it. They call it “Shell-batte-kôt” or “Castle of Glass-stone.”

I.—THE SPORTSMAN AND THE CASTLE OF THE FAIRIES.

Once a sportsman ventured up the Nanga Parbat. To his surprise he found no difficulty, and venturing farther and farther, he at last reached the top. There he saw a beautiful castle made of glass, and pushing one of the doors he entered it, and found himself in a most magnificent apartment. Through it he saw an open space that appeared to be the garden of the castle, but there was in it only one tree of excessive height, and which was entirely composed of pearls and corals. The delighted sportsman filled his sack in which he carried his corn, and left the place, hoping to enrich himself by the sale of the pearls. As he was going out of the door he saw an innumerable crowd of serpents following him. In his agitation he shouldered the sack and attempted to run, when a pearl fell out. It was eagerly swallowed by a serpent which immediately disappeared. The sportsman, glad to get rid of his pursuers at any price, threw pearl after pearl to them, and in every case it had the desired effect. At last, only one serpent remained, but for her (a fairy in that shape?) he found no pearl; and urged on by fear, he hastened to his village, Tarsing, which is at the very foot of the Nanga Parbat. On entering his house,

he found it in great agitation ; bread was being distributed to the poor as they do at funerals, for his family had given him up as lost. The serpent still followed and stopped at the door. In despair, the man threw the corn-sack at her, when lo ! a pearl glided out. It was eagerly swallowed by the serpent, which immediately disappeared. However, the man was not the same being as before. He was ill for days, and in about a fortnight after the events narrated, died, for fairies never forgive a man who has surprised their secrets.

2.—THE FAIRY WHO PUNISHED HER HUMAN LOVER.

It is not believed in Astor that fairies ever marry human beings, but in Gilgit there is a legend to that effect. A famous sportsman, Kibá Lorí, who never returned empty-handed from any excursion, kept company with a fairy to whom he was deeply attached. Once in the hot weather the fairy said to him not to go out shooting during "the seven days of the summer," "Caniculars," which are called "Bardá," and are supposed to be the hottest days in Dardistan. "I am," said she, "obliged to leave you for that period, and, mind, you do not follow me." The sportsman promised obedience and the fairy vanished, saying that he would certainly die if he attempted to follow her. Our love-intoxicated Nimrod, however, could not endure her absence. On the fourth day he shouldered his gun and went out with the hope of meeting her. Crossing a range, he came upon a plain, where he saw an immense gathering of game of all sorts and his beloved fairy milking a "Kill" (markhor) and gathering the milk into a silver vessel. The noise which Kibá Lorí made caused the animal to start and to strike out with his legs, which upset the silver vessel. The fairy looked up, and to her anger beheld the disobedient lover. She went up to him and, after reproaching him, struck him in the face. But she had scarcely done so when despair mastered her heart, and she cried out in the deepest anguish that "he now must die within four days." "However," she said,

"do shoot one of these animals, so that people may not say that you have returned empty-handed." The poor man returned crestfallen to his home, lay down, and died on the fourth day.

C.—DAYALL = WIZARDS AND WITCHES.

The gift of second sight, or rather the intercourse with fairies, is confined to a few families in which it is hereditary. The wizard is made to inhale the fumes of a fire which is lit with the wood of the *tshilt*³ (Panjabi = Padam), a kind of fir-wood which gives much smoke. Into the fire the milk of a white sheep or goat is poured. The wizard inhales the smoke till he apparently becomes insensible. He is then taken on the lap of one of the spectators, who sings a song which restores him to his senses. In the meanwhile, a goat is slaughtered, and the moment the fortune-teller jumps up, its bleeding neck is presented to him, which he sucks as long as a drop remains. The assembled musicians then strike up a great noise, and the wizard rushes about in the circle which is formed round him and talks unintelligibly. The fairy then appears at some distance and sings, which, however, only the wizard hears. He then communicates her sayings in a song to one of the musicians, who explains its meaning to the people. The wizard is called upon to foretell events and to give advice in cases of illness, etc. The people believe that in ancient times these Dayalls invariably spoke correctly, but that now scarcely one saying in a hundred turns out to be true. Wizards do not now make a livelihood by their talent, which is considered its own reward.

There are few legends so exquisite as the one which chronicles the origin, or rather the rise, of Gilgit. The traditions regarding Alexander the Great, which Vigne and others have imagined to exist among the people of Dardistan, are unknown to, at any rate, the Shiná race, excepting

³ Elsewhere called *tshi*.

in so far as any Munshi accompanying the Maharajah's troops may, perhaps, accidentally have referred to them in conversation with a Shñn. Any such information would have been derived from the Sikandarnama of Nizami, and would, therefore, possess no original value. There exist no ruins, as far as I have gone, to point to an occupation of Dardistan by the soldiers of Alexander. The following legend, however, which not only lives in the memories of all the Shñn people, whether they be Chilasis, Astoris, Gilgitis, or Brokhpá (the latter, as I discovered, living actually side by side with the Baltis in Little Tibet), but which also an annual festival commemorates, is not devoid of interest from either a historical or a purely literary point of view.

D.—HISTORICAL LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF GILGIT.

"Once upon a time there lived a race at Gilgit, whose origin is uncertain. Whether they sprang from the soil, or had immigrated from a distant region, is doubtful; so much is believed, that they were Gayupí = spontaneous, aborigines, unknown. Over them ruled a monarch who was a descendant of the evil spirits, the Yatsh, that terrorized over the world. His name was Shiribadatt, and he resided at a castle, in front of which there was a course for the performance of the manly game of Polo. (See my Hunza Nagyr Handbook.) His tastes were capricious, and in every one of his actions his fiendish origin could be discerned. The natives bore his rule with resignation, for what could they effect against a monarch at whose command even magic aids were placed? However, the country was rendered fertile, and round the capital bloomed attractive gardens.

"The heavens, or rather the virtuous Peris, at last grew tired of his tyranny, for he had crowned his iniquities by indulging in a propensity for cannibalism. This taste had been developed by an accident. One day his cook brought him some mutton broth, the like of which he had never tasted. After much inquiry as to the nature of the food on which the sheep had been brought up, it was eventually

traced to an old woman, its first owner. She stated that her child and the sheep were born on the same day, and losing the former, she had consoled herself by suckling the latter. This was a revelation to the tyrant. He had discovered the secret of the palatability of the broth, and was determined to have a never-ending supply of it. So he ordered that his kitchen should be regularly provided with children of tender age, whose flesh, when converted into broth, would remind him of the exquisite dish he had once so much relished. This cruel order was carried out. The people of the country were dismayed at such a state of things, and sought slightly to improve it by sacrificing, in the first place, all orphans and children of neighbouring tribes! The tyrant, however, was insatiable, and soon was his cruelty felt by many families at Gilgit, who were compelled to give up their children to slaughter.

“Relief came at last. At the top of the mountain Ko, which it takes a day to ascend, and which overlooks the village of Doyur, below Gilgit, on the side of the river, appeared three figures. They looked like men, but much more strong and handsome. In their arms they carried bows and arrows, and turning their eyes in the direction of Doyur, they perceived innumerable flocks of sheep and cattle grazing on a prairie between that village and the foot of the mountain. The strangers were fairies, and had come (perhaps from Nagyr?) to this region with the view of ridding Gilgit of the monster that ruled over it. However, this intention was confined to the two elder ones. The three strangers were brothers, and none of them had been born at the same time. It was their intention to make Azru Shemsher, the youngest, Rajah of Gilgit, and, in order to achieve their purpose, they hit upon the following plan.

“On the already-noticed plain, which is called Didingé, a sportive calf was gamboling towards and away from its mother. It was the pride of its owner, and its brilliant red colour could be seen from a distance. ‘Let us see

who is the best marksman,' exclaimed the eldest, and saying this, he shot an arrow in the direction of the calf, but missed his aim. The second brother also tried to hit it, but also failed. At last, Azru Shemsher, who took a deep interest in the sport, shot his arrow, which pierced the poor animal from side to side and killed it. The brothers, whilst descending, congratulated Azru on his sportsmanship, and on arriving at the spot where the calf was lying, proceeded to cut its throat, and to take out from its body *the tilbits, namely the kidneys and the liver.*

"They then roasted these delicacies, and invited Azru to partake of them first. He respectfully declined, on the ground of his youth; but they urged him to do so, 'in order,' they said, 'to reward you for such an excellent shot.' Scarcely had the meat touched the lips of Azru, than the brothers got up, and vanishing into the air, called out, 'Brother! you have touched impure food, which Peris never should eat, and we have made use of your ignorance of this law, because we want to make you a human being,'⁴ who shall rule over Gilgit; remain therefore at Doyur.'

"Azru in deep grief at the separation, cried, 'Why remain at Doyur, unless it be to grind corn?' 'Then,' said the brothers, 'go to Gilgit.' 'Why,' was the reply, 'go to Gilgit, unless it be to work in the gardens?' 'No, no,' was the last and consoling rejoinder; 'you will assuredly become the king of this country, and deliver it from its merciless oppressor.'

"No more was heard of the departing fairies, and Azru remained by himself, endeavouring to gather consolation from the great mission which had been bestowed on him. A villager met him, and, struck by his appearance, offered him shelter in his house. Next morning he went on the roof of his host's house, and calling out to him to come up, pointed to the Ko mountain, on which, he said, he plainly discerned a wild goat. The incredulous villager began to

⁴ Eating meat was the process of *incarnation.*

fear he had harboured a maniac, if no worse character ; but Azru shot off his arrow, and accompanied by the villager (who had assembled some friends for protection, as he was afraid his young guest might be an associate of robbers, and lead him into a trap), went in the direction of the mountain. There, to be sure, at the very spot that had been pointed out, though many miles distant, was lying the wild goat, with Azru's arrow transfixing its body. The astonished peasants at once hailed him as their leader, but he exacted an oath of secrecy from them, for he had come to deliver them from their tyrant, and would keep his incognito till such time as his plans for the destruction of the monster were matured.

" He then took leave of the hospitable people of Doyur, and went to Gilgit. On reaching the place, which is scarcely four miles distant from Doyur, he amused himself by prowling about in the gardens adjoining the royal residence. There he met one of the female companions of Shiribadatt's daughter (*goli* in Hill Punjabi, *Shadróy* in Gilgiti) fetching water for the princess, a lady both remarkably handsome, and of a sweet disposition. The companion rushed back, and told the young lady to look from over the ramparts of the castle at a wonderfully handsome young man whom she had just met. The princess placed herself in a spot from which she could observe any one approaching the fort. Her maid then returned, and induced Azru to come with her on the Polo ground, the "Shavaran," in front of the castle ; the princess was smitten with his beauty and at once fell in love with him. She then sent word to the young prince to come and see her. When he was admitted into her presence, he for a long time denied being anything else than a common labourer. At last, he confessed to being a fairy's child, and the overjoyed princess offered him her heart and hand. It may be mentioned here that the tyrant Shiribadatt had a wonderful horse, which could cross a mile at every jump, and which its rider had accustomed to jump both into and out

of the fort, over its walls. So regular were the leaps which that famous animal could take, that he invariably alighted at a distance of a mile from the fort and at the same place.

On that very day on which the princess had admitted young Azru into the fort, King Shiribadatt was out hunting, of which he was desperately fond, and to which he used sometimes to devote a week or two at a time. We must now return to Azru, whom we left conversing with the princess. Azru remained silent when the lady confessed her love. Urged to declare his sentiments, he said that he would not marry her unless she bound herself to him by the most stringent oath; this she did, and *they became in the sight of God as if they were wedded man and wife.*⁵ He then announced that he had come to destroy her father, and asked her to kill him herself. This she refused; but as she had sworn to aid him in every way she could, he finally induced her to promise that she would ask her father *where his soul was*. 'Refuse food,' said Arzu, 'for three or four days, and your father, who is devotedly fond of you will ask for the reason of your strange conduct; then say, "Father, you are often staying away from me for several days at a time, and I am getting distressed lest something should happen to you; do reassure me by letting me know where your soul is, and let me feel certain that your life is safe."' This the princess promised to do, and when her father returned refused food for several days. The anxious Shiribadatt made inquiries, to which she replied by making the already-named request. The tyrant was for a few moments thrown into mute astonishment, and finally refused compliance with her preposterous demand. The love-smitten lady went on starving herself, till at last her father, fearful for his daughter's life, told her not to fret herself about him, as *his soul was [of snow?] in the snows*, and that he could only perish by fire. The

⁵ The story of the famous horse, the love-making between Azru and the Princess, the manner of their marriage and other incidents connected with the expulsion of the tyrant deserve attention.

princess communicated this information to her lover. Azru went back to Doyur and the villages around, and assembled his faithful peasants. Then he asked to take twigs of the fir-tree or *tshi*, bind them together and light them—then to proceed in a body with the torches to the castle in a circle, keep close together, and surround it on every side. He then went and dug out a very deep hole, as deep as a well, in the place where Shiribadatt's horse used to alight, and covered it with green boughs. The next day he received information that the torches (*talên* in Gilgiti and *Lome* in Astori) were ready. He at once ordered the villagers gradually to draw near the fort in the manner which he had already indicated.

“King Shiribadatt was then sitting in his castle; near him his treacherous daughter, who was so soon to lose her parent. All at once he exclaimed, ‘I feel very close; go out, dearest, and see what has happened.’ The girl went out, and saw torches approaching from a distance; but fancying it to be something connected with the plans of her husband, she went back, and said it was nothing. The torches came nearer and nearer, and the tyrant became exceedingly restless. ‘Air, air,’ he cried, ‘I feel very, very ill; do see, daughter, what is the matter.’ The dutiful lady went, and returned with the same answer as before. At last, the torch-bearers had fairly surrounded the fort, and Shiribadatt, with a presentiment of impending danger, rushed out of the room, saying ‘that he felt he was dying.’ He then ran to the stables and mounted his favourite charger, and with one blow of the whip made him jump over the wall of the castle. Faithful to its habit, the noble animal alighted at the same place, but alas! only to find itself engulfed in a treacherous pit. Before the king had time to extricate himself, the villagers had run up with their torches. ‘Throw them upon him,’ cried Azru. With one accord all the blazing wood was thrown upon Shiribadatt, who miserably perished. Azru was then most enthusiastically proclaimed king, celebrated his nuptials with the

fair traitor, and, as sole tribute, exacted the offering of one sheep, instead of that of a human child, annually from every one of the natives.* This custom has prevailed down to the present day, and the people of Shîn, wherever they be, celebrate their delivery from the rule of a monster, and the inauguration of a more humane government, in the month preceding the beginning of winter—a month which they call Dawakió or Daykió—after the full moon is over and the new moon has set in. The day of this national celebration is called ‘nôs tshill,’ ‘the feast of firs.’ The day generally follows four or five days after the meat provision for the winter has been laid in to dry. A few days of rejoicing precede the special festivity, which takes place at night. Then all the men of the villages go forth, having torches in their hands, which, at the sound of music, they swing round their heads, and throw in the direction of Gilgit, if they are at any distance from that place; whilst the people of Gilgit throw them indifferently about the plain in which that town, if town it may be called, is situated. When the throwing away of the brands is over, every man returns to his house, where a curious custom is observed. He finds the door locked. The wife then asks: ‘Where have you been all night? I won’t let you come in now.’ Then her husband entreats her and says, ‘I have brought you property, and children, and happiness, and everything you desire.’ Then, after some further parley, the door is opened, and the husband walks in. He is, however, stopped by a beam which goes across the room, whilst all the females of the family rush into an inner apartment to the eldest lady of the place. The man then assumes sulkiness and refuses to advance, when the repenting wife launches into the following song:—

* Possibly this legend is one of the causes of the unfounded reputation of cannibalism which was given by Kashmiris and others to the Dards before 1866, and of which one Dardu tribe accuses another, with which, even if it should reside in a neighbouring valley, it may have no intercourse. I refer elsewhere to the custom of drinking a portion of the blood of an enemy, to which my two Kafirs confessed.—(“Dardistan,” Part III.)

ORIGINAL :—

Mù tútè shábilès, wò rajò tolyá.

I of thee glad am, oh Rajah's presented with tolaks !

Mù tútè shábilès, wò ashpa panu.

I of thee glad am, oh steed's rider.

Mù tútè shábilès, wò tumák gñu.

I of thee glad am, oh gun-wearer. [Evidently a modern interpolation.]

Mú tútè shábilès, wò kangár gñu.

I of thee glad am, oh sword-wearer.

Mú tútè shábilès, wò tshapàn bānu.

I of thee glad am, oh mantle-wearer.

Mú tútè shábilès, shá mul dé gñum.

I of thee glad am, pleasure's price giving I will buy.

Mú tútè shábilès, wò gúmy tshino.

I of thee glad am, oh corn-heap !

Shábilès shá mul dé gñum.

Rejoicing pleasure's price giving I will buy.

Mú tútè shábilès, wò gñéy loto.

I of thee glad am, oh ghee-ball.

Shábilès sha mul dé gñum.

Rejoicing pleasure's price giving I will buy.

TRANSLATION :—

Thou hast made me glad ! thou favourite of the Rajah !

Thou hast rejoiced me, oh bold horseman !

I am pleased with thee who so well usest gun and sword !

Thou hast delighted me, oh thou who art invested with a mantle of honour !

Oh great happiness ! I will buy it all by giving pleasure's price.

Oh thou [nourishment to us] a heap of corn and a store of ghee !

Delighted will I buy it all by giving pleasure's price !

" Then the husband relents and steps over the partition beam. They all sit down, dine together, and thus end the festivities of the ' Nôs.' The little domestic scene is not observed at Gilgit ; but it is thought to be an essential element in the celebration of the day by people whose ancestors may have been retainers of the Gilgit Raja Azru Shemsher, and by whom they may have been dismissed to their homes with costly presents.

" The song itself is, however, well known at Gilgit.

" When Azru had safely ascended the throne, he ordered the tyrant's palace to be levelled to the ground. The willing peasants, manufacturing spades of iron, ' Killi,' flocked

to accomplish a grateful task, and sang whilst demolishing his castle :

ORIGINAL :—

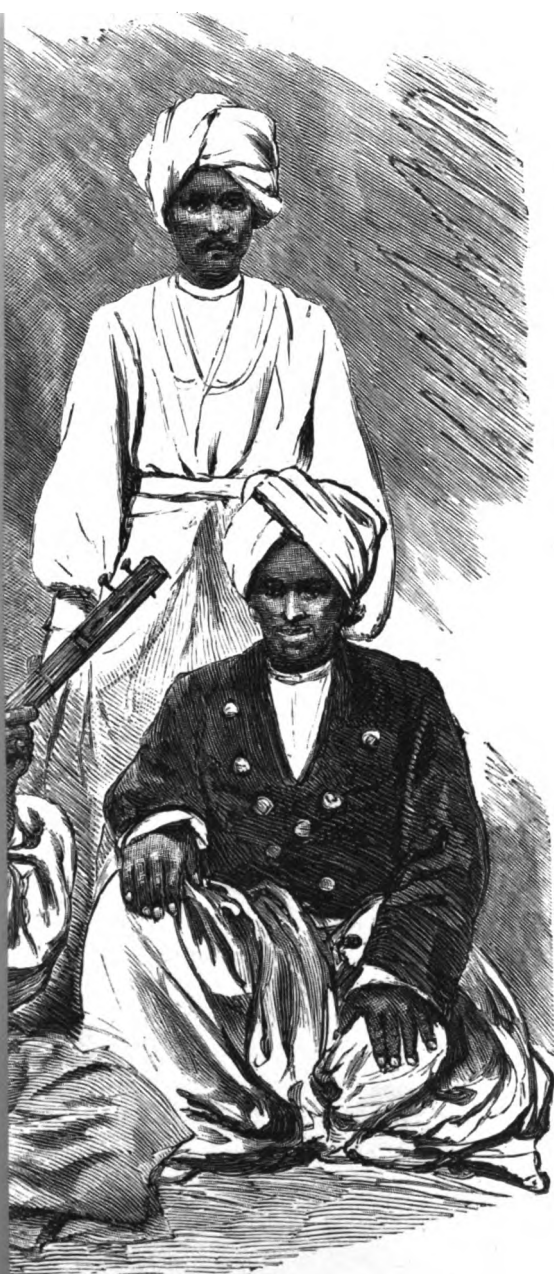
Kúro tēyto Shiri-ga-Badāt djé kurb
 [I am] hard said Shiri and Badatt !⁷ why hard ?
Demm Singéy Khotó kúro
 Dem Sing's Khotó [is] hard
Na tshumáre kille téy ráke phala thém
 [With] this iron spade thy palace level I do
Tshaké ! túto Shatshó Malika Demm Singéy
 Behold ! thou Shatshó Malika Dem Singh's
Khotó kurb na tshumare killéyi
 Khotó hard ; [with] this iron spade
Téy rake-ga phalatém, tshaké
 Thy palace very I level, behold !

TRANSLATION :—

“ ‘ My nature is of a hard metal,’ said Shiri and Badatt. ‘ Why hard ? I Khoto, the son of the peasant Dem Singh, am alone hardy ; with this iron spade I raze to the ground thy kingly house. Behold now, although thou art of race accursed, of Shatsho Malika, I, Dem Singh's son, am of hard metal ; for with this iron spade I level thy very palace ; look out ! look out ! ’ ”

During the Nauroz [evidently because it is not a national festival] and the Eed, none of these national Shin songs are sung. Eggs are dyed in different colours and people go about amusing themselves by trying which eggs are hardest by striking the end of one against the end of another. The possessor of the hard egg wins the broken one. The women, however, amuse themselves on those days by tying ropes to trees and swinging themselves about on them.

⁷ Elsewhere called “ Shiribadatt ” in one name.



SHÂN.

MY RUSSIAN RECORDS.

A CONTINUATION OF RUSSIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CENTRAL
ASIAN CARTOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY.

WHAT does Russian Science record through early intelligent inquiries into the geography of that region of Central Asia which is now a province of the Empire ?

I have mentioned the first-fruits of Russian scientific exploration, the delineation of the Aral by Gladyshef and Muravin in 1740. Let me here do this credit also to Müller, who checked, in companionship with Kushelef, in his first efforts, yet ventured a second time among the Kirghiz in 1742; and finally produced a route map to Tashkend, interesting because for more than a century after, no educated Russian penetrated east of the Sary-Su.*

I make here only a passing allusion to Nikitin's journey to India in 1469, not solely because it is more a curious record than a contribution to science, but also because, dealing as I am exclusively with Inner Asia, Nikin touched nowhere upon it, although in Count Wielhorski's translation [Hakluyt Society's Journal, 1857] he is made to have reached Bokhara, through an erroneous identification of Chebokhara (modern Barfrush) with that city.

. A certain envoy from the Emperor Baber appeared in Moscow in the year 1533, with proposals of interchange of expressions of brotherly friendship, which were however rudely and arrogantly declined by the Grand Duke Vassili. In this century, viz. in 1589, Bokhara sent her first representative to the Russian Czar; Khivà had opened relations with Russia earlier and sent frequent emissaries (ceaselessly from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth), although Cossacks of the Yaïk had repeatedly invaded and ravaged that Khanat from the earliest times.

The first Russian Embassy, under Ivan Kokhlof, proceeded, in 1620, at the friendly request of the Amir

* Wasting its waters short of the Lower Jaxartes.

Imam Kuli of Bokhara, to that Asiatic State. The Amir's Envoy Adambai returned with the Russian party, as well as a certain emissary from Khiva, then known as the Urganj or Yurganj country, the directions being that from Astrakhan the Russian and the Bokharian Envoys should proceed to Bokhara by the way deemed the shortest.

They take ship, and crossing the Caspian, are driven to Tiub-Karagan, make their way through Turcomans to Urganj, and on to Bokhara. Kokhlof's journey across the Ust-Urt is not traceable, nor indeed is Anthony Jenkinson's with any detail; but Kokhlof passes to Urganj, and indeed from Urganj to Bokhara and back the same way, with an utter disregard of names of intermediate localities, which renders his account geographically worthless.

On the other hand, it is historically of some value as illustrating the political situation in Khiva at the time, and as adducing evidence relative to passing events in Bokhara.

The value of the entire narrative lies, however, in the nature of the Instructions given to the Russian Envoy with reference to the manner in which he should comport himself at the Amir's Court and to the language which he should employ. He was commanded to refuse to dine at the same table with any other envoy, to insist upon the Amir rising at the mention of the name of the Tsar; and above all, to extol his master's virtues, greatness and glory; to represent that even certain independent peoples and sovereigns were submissive to him and obedient to his will and behests, and generally to impress upon the Amir many falsehoods as truths.

The Kniaz Khilkof who gave publicity for the first time to Khokhlof's narrative in 1879, in his Collection of Russian State Papers, sums up the value of it in these words:—
“If all Instructions of the kind, which repose in our various archives of Russia were printed, we should be as thoroughly acquainted with our early policy as we are with that of the present day. We have indeed here not alone a marvellously accurate definition of the attitude which a

Russian Envoy should assume in a given State or towards a given Sovereign, but an equally ample definition of the relations of Russia with all the Powers of Europe and Asia in general with which Russia has any sort of political communications. And this general character of our Instructions is perfectly reflected in the Instructions given to Khokhlof. It is particularly interesting by reason of the praises which he is enjoined to lavish in Bokhara on his Sovereign, by reason of the astounding acumen exhibited, on the one hand in the anticipation of all the questions which the Khan of Bokhara could possibly put to him, and, on the other, in the provision of appropriate and more or less characteristic replies to them.

And truly the lines of these Instructions have been those of all subsequent general directions given to Russian Envoys, modified only to suit different Courts. So to corroborate the observation of Kniaz Khilkof, here quoted, and my own remark as to the misrepresentations, I here give a specimen of the language held by Russian Envoys in Europe.

The Envoy Luke Joanovitch, sent in 1585 to the Emperor Rudolph by the Tsar Theodor, was instructed: "And if thou be asked about the Kizyl-bash and about the Persian, how they stand to His Majesty the Tsar and Grand Duke, and how to the Turk, thou shalt make answer, saying: Those Sovereigns who dwell between His Majesty's dominions—of Astrakhan and of the Kizyl-bash country, the Bokhara King and the Turkestan King, the Kazan King, the Urganj King and the Georgian and Isurian, also the Kal-muk, the Shemakha and the Shevkal Kings—they are all at peace with the Kizyl-bash and between themselves by the advice and at the request of the Tsar, and that in all great matters of amity or difference they refer and report to the Tsar; whereupon the Tsar orders, and they fulfil accordingly in all obedience, frequently sending envoys to the Tsar, with all due respect and deference."

In the year 1646, the merchant Anis Gribof was despatched to Bokhara with a letter to the Amir Nadir Muhammad;

but Bokhara and Urganj were then involved in a war with Persia. Gribof, owing to this circumstance, passed into Persia and went no farther. Nadir was succeeded by 'Abdul 'Aziz, and for twenty-three years after this, Russian communications with Central Asia were suspended.

In 1669, the Tsar Alexis sent Simon and Boris Pazukhins to Bokhara, and in 1670 Ivan Fedotof to Khiva.

The Khan Abul Ghazi of Khiva is said to have appropriated all the merchandise of certain Russian traders to Khiva, in 1646, to the value of 10,257 roubles; as this caused rupture of all relations with Khiva, the Russian authorities retaliated in like manner on Khivan traders, detaining them at Astrakhan; and the Russian Government, moreover, demanded compensation, which was absolutely refused by the Khan. Ausha, succeeding his father Abul Ghazi, sent two conciliatory Missions in 1666, and in 1669, to the Tsar; hence, therefore, the despatch, three years later, of Fedotof.

We have here a group of the only interesting early records of travel which Russian archives have hitherto produced, but unfortunately they are not much more than records. The original accounts, with the itineraries, like most others, were found missing from their places in the year 1806, and all that exists are the summarized reports which Messrs. Khanikof, Charykof, Minayef and some others have made the most of.

It appears that the Tsar Alexis, in sending his emissaries to the far East, was moved by a greater consideration for the interests of his country than was shown by his predecessors. He exhibited a knowledge of the requirements of trade and commerce, with a desire to stimulate industries and to base his relations with the rulers of Central Asia on the sounder basis of practical acquaintance with the geography, economical, social, and political conditions of their countries and people, as evidenced in the very different style of Instructions with which his emissaries were provided.

But nothing more than historical information of the past

conditions of these countries was to be extracted from all that remained of the records of these journals, and those of Khokhlof, Pazukhin and Fedotof came, for the first time, under the notice of J. N. Khanykof in 1851.* Of this group, the summaries of Daùdof's Mission to Bokhara, and Mahmed Isup Kasimof's journey, extending from Bokhara to India, are by far the most curious and interesting. These appear to have been first published in 1879, in the "St. Petersburg Journal" of the 15th (27th) September. The Tsar Alexis instructed Daùdof to ascertain the source of the Darya (literally, river)—between the Oxus and the Jaxartes the distinction was not then known,—to make inquiries about the course of that river, the towns and populations on its banks, and to gather information as to the occupations of the different populations, and as to the directions of routes. Daùdof's commission was confined to Bokhara, but Kasimof and a man named Shishkin were to proceed thence to the "Shah of India," to learn all about that sovereign, to ascertain his name and title, how he should be addressed, and what countries adjoin his dominions.

The loss of the itineraries of these routes is particularly to be lamented, for, to judge by the general summaries of the reports, they may possibly have anticipated in some particulars the information given by Burns, Moorcroft, and others.

Kasimof passed through Balkh, Gorbant, and Charikar, to Cabul, a different route from that described by the English travellers here named. He is supposed to have returned through Bamian to Balkh, crossing the Oxus at Chardjui, and returning to Astrakhan through Khiva, accompanied by an envoy from Balkh to the Tsar.

This interesting record of Russian travels up to the eighteenth century closes with what must perforce be a mere mention of the travels or voyage on the Caspian of

* Khanykof's explanatory note on the map of Khiva, &c., "Journal of Russian Imperial Geographical Society." See also Khanykof's note on Pazukhin's record in "Report of Third Oriental Congress," vol. ii.

a certain Dubrovin, in 1690, who presumably constructed a chart of that sea, on which he exhibited a water connection between the Aral and the Caspian, traced along the southern extremity of the Ust-Urt. I have in my possession all the records here referred to, but the only allusion to Dubrovin is in the late Professor Grigorief's annotations to Blankennagel's description of Khiva, and Professor Grigorief's reference is through Eichwald.

From this period to that of the reign of Peter I., fruitless were the Missions to Russia from the Asiatic Khans, for Russia did not reciprocate, giving her particular attention to quelling disorders on the Lower Volga, and endeavouring to coerce or cajole the Kalmuks and the Kirghiz. Peter, in 1717, sent out that famous expedition to Khiva under Bekovitch Cherkasski, which gave rise to the saying, "perished like Bekovitch." Four thousand men accompanied Bekovitch with some hundreds of picked troops, yet only some twenty-five, or thereabouts, ever returned home to tell of the sad fate of the force. A complete narrative has, of course, been given, and a Russian story has been founded upon the melancholy event; but these are both of our own and very recent times.

It does not appear that Peter availed himself of any Russian travels in Asia when he equipped his expedition, unless indeed the information with which he provided himself in Hamburg and in Paris was from Russian sources unknown to himself. He did nevertheless take some geographical materials with him to those countries, to be collated for him by persons more competent than any he could find at home.

If Russians had acquired but very little scientific information concerning Central Asia upon which a tolerably accurate map could be based, they had at least in various ways accumulated a rich store of knowledge of the social and political state of affairs in the Steppes and in the Khanats, from a continued intercourse with Asiatics on their Siberian and south-eastern frontiers from Tobolsk

to Astrakhan. It is true that the great mass of reports was lying dormant in the many archives of the Empire, and notably in the Department of Foreign Relations; yet it is difficult to realize the fact, repeatedly stated by Russian writers, that even up to the year 1873, when Khiva was invaded and finally crushed by three large Russian detachments, no State of Central Asia was so little known to the Russians as Khiva. Rarely had anyone passed from Russia to Bokhara who had not traversed Khiva.

The "Turkestan Gazette" for 1873, publishing a series of letters from Dr. Basiner on his journey to Khiva in 1842, endorses the following words written by Basiner and repeated by most Russian writers on Central Asia:—

"Almost nowhere in all the terrestrial globe, excepting perhaps in Central Africa and New Holland, is there a country so little known to us as the Khanat of Khiva, called also Khowarezm, Khuarezm and Khorezm. The reason for this lies in the geographical position of that country, which is not suited for habitation and is waterless (!), surrounded by steppes and deserts, occupied by predatory hordes," an additional reason, he adds, being, "the extreme suspicion of the Khivans, who regard every European as an enemy or a spy." He proceeds to say: "If, notwithstanding the dangers and obstacles on the way to Khiva, the traveller survives the hardships of the journey across the deserts, inevitable death awaits him in Khiva, which may be exemplified by the melancholy fate of Dr. Fries, who was killed in Khiva in 1838. With very few exceptions, only the accredited Agents of Russia and England enjoyed special protection in those (*sic*) States; the safety of these was in a certain degree guaranteed, and although they encountered difficulties, yet they returned home alive. Such was the case with Jenkinson, Muravief, Abbott and Shakspeare."

The statement concerning the productiveness of Khiva is at variance with the almost exhaustive work on Khiva by Dr. Basiner himself, published in 1848, at St. Peters-

burg, in the German language, with map, plans, and engravings, and abounding with statistics of all sorts. A copy of this work is in my possession and now under my hand. But we must remember that Dr. Basiner was writing to the "Turkestan Gazette," to justify the invasion of Khiva.

It should also be observed that the danger to the European in Central Asia has ever arisen, not from the mere fact of his being a Feringhi, but from the bare circumstance of the political jealousies and intrigues at the Courts of the several Central Asian potentates, for Asiatics, however fanatical, are not ferocious or bloodthirsty.

The Russian peasant-merchant Abrosimof left an account of his experience in Khiva during a fifteen years' residence there. This man's narrative was published in the same "Turkestan Gazette" (*vide* also "Turkestan Annual," 1873). He said that the Khivans dwelt in a fertile oasis, that they possessed an abundance of everything for their own sustenance, that the people were kindly, that his reception and treatment were hospitable from the lowest up to the Khan, that he enjoyed perfect liberty, and that the only drawback to the Russians, with all their inclination to fraternize or cultivate relations with Khiva, were the difficulties and hardships of the route, which Russians had not sufficient strength, energy, or ability to struggle with and overcome.

As regards the almost utter want of information concerning, let us here say, Khiva alone, the same Abrosimof, or his reporter, observes: "In the streets of Astrakhan and in the caravan-serais we always meet Khivans, Bokharians, Kirghiz, Turcomans; to come to us, they traverse with ease and comfort large tracts of desert with their laden camels." Exactly so; hence in Astrakhan, Orenburg and elsewhere the Russian acquaintance with the populations of Bokhara and Khiva as well as the Khirghiz, and with the political, social and commercial conditions of those countries, was next to a most familiar one. But we need not marvel at the acknowledged ignorance of Russian officials, or of

Russian Orientalists, when we learn, as we do from such authorities as Mr. P. Savelief, who wrote on "Khiva and the Khivans" in 1840, that "Khiva was the most inaccessible of the Central Asiatic States," while it was only seventeen days distant from the Caspian coast at Krasnovodsk. Savelief had, indeed, learned from Russian travels that Khiva was "a small but fruitful oasis," and that "the sandy argillaceous soil of Khiva yields all the food needed by the Khivans;" but he had not heard of Abrosimof, and did not know how practicable was the journey even from Mangishlak, and how ready were all intermediate clans and "Sultans" to facilitate communication, when Orenburg and Astrakhan did not put out its feelers of political agitation and intrigue. At the same time, Mr. Savelief involuntarily acknowledges the prevalent ignorance in Russia concerning those regions in his announcement of the translation into German of a collection of statements respecting Khiva made by escaped Russian captives. He refers, at the same time, to "precious materials for a geography of Central Asia in the archives of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which await publication;" but time has proved that even he could have had but a vague notion as to what they were, because most of these materials have been discovered in various other archives, a great many being altogether missing.

"Helmertsens Nachrichten über Khiva," u.s.w. (translated into Russian in 1840) was then all that was at that time commonly accessible; for Muravief's book (in 4to., with maps, plans, etc.) was so rare that another Russian writer on Central Asia, referring to it, took it to be a work published in French as a "*Voyage en Turcomanie et à Khiva, etc.*" This book I also have in my possession, together with the separate map and plans, etc., having picked it up with other rare Russian works hereinafter to be alluded to, for a mere song.

I conclude this portion of my paper with another reflection on the want of appreciation in Russia of such

works as that, for example, of Baron de Bade on the Turcomans, a traveller who was compelled to address a French public on a question so relevant to Russian interests. This work and his Notes on the Turcomans were republished in the Journals of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, 1849, not before the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in 1847, had fully gauged the merits of that scholar's researches. In 1820 only foreigners—a Negri and a Meyendorff—could be entrusted with a Mission to Bokhara for thoroughness of work and satisfactory results. Khanykof's "Bokhara" is of a secondary importance, although also a work of great value; but then Khanykof, being of Tartar origin, was enabled through his culture to sift well the chaff from the grain in all he collected on matters relating to Tartary.

ROBERT MICHELL.

Pensance.

THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT IN PERSIA:

AN EXPLANATION,

BY GENERAL A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER.

IN the January number of the IMPERIAL ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, Mr. C. E. Biddulph * taxes the Telegraph Department in Persia with neglecting to utilize properly the services of the staff, and regrets that the numerous Englishmen scattered over the line of telegraph for the last quarter of a century—many, particularly the civil members of the staff, possessing a very high class of intelligence—have not been turned to any practical use, as mines of information, sources of influence, etc., and also accuses the British Legation at Teheran of partly being the cause of this state of affairs by their disagreeable criticisms, by their jealousy of the Telegraph Department, and by their resenting any infringement of what they consider their special province, namely, local information of any description. As I have been more or less connected with the Telegraph Department for the last quarter of a century, I can explain some of Mr. Biddulph's statements and modify others. The officers of the English Telegraph Department in Persia are in the country for the definite purpose of keeping up the line and forwarding telegrams, and the Government can hardly be expected to keep up a special extra staff for exploring the country. Line-men must of course remain under the line, and it is obvious that if they did not do so the line could not be kept up as it is. Some may think that other officers should, when travelling, take unknown routes, explore, and obtain information, but the officers travel only when transferred from one station to another (and then

* We desire to state, in justice to Mr. C. E. Biddulph, that he seems to have had no wish to publish his remarks on the "Persian Telegraph Department" in our columns. The MS. of that article was sent to us together with some other MSS., and chosen by ourselves as the most interesting and important of the batch. Mr. Biddulph wrote shortly after the issue of the January number—in which his article had appeared—that this particular MS. had been sent by mistake.—EDITOR:

their time is limited) or on inspection ; they must therefore, in both cases, keep to the high road. The authorities have never restricted all the attention of the subordinates of the Department to the mechanical discharge of their official duties, and have utilized the travels of its more intelligent officers whenever possible, without detriment to the telegraph service. Subordinates get, and always have got, all possible assistance, and whenever they wish to go out shooting or surveying, they need only ask their immediate superior for casual leave and the superior officer always grants it, if the exigencies of the service permit. Very few of the subordinates of the Department possess the slightest aptitude for surveying work. It does not follow that because a man possesses the highest possible intelligence he should be able to make a survey. Former directors, as the late Captain Pierson, and the late Sir Oliver St. John, both Royal Engineer officers, who laid the basis of a correct map of Persia, and others, did their utmost to interest their subordinates in the country and its inhabitants, but, with rare exceptions, not a man who could do even the most elementary work came forward.

As to the disagreeable criticisms and jealousy on the part of the British Legation at Teheran, I doubt whether they exist. It was at the recommendation of the Legation that one of the superior officers of the Telegraph Department was appointed Consul at Isfahan last year, and that a subordinate officer was appointed Vice-Consul at Muhamrah two years ago.

In spite of the obligation on the part of the officers to keep to the line when travelling on duty, and obtaining leave and paying their travelling expenses when going away from the line, various officers have done good work collecting information and surveying ; and such work has been duly acknowledged by the Government of India. Only lately I have seen a letter from the Quartermaster-General which mentions "the many occasions on which useful service has been rendered to the Intelligence Depart-

ment by the director and by the members of the Telegraph Department in Persia."

I regret to see Mr. Biddulph's sweeping remark regarding the military control of the Telegraph Department, and utterly fail to see why this control should be "absurd" and "the great misfortune of the Department." The Department has always been under military control, and has worked exceedingly well under it; and it would be unwise to change the system now, simply, as far as I can see, for the sake of one or two discontented civilians. I have been, about half a dozen times, up and down the road between Bushire and Teheran, and there is not a town, village, caravanserai, or "chapar khaneh" where I have not heard the military officers universally spoken of with the greatest praise and affection; and many official documents can show that the British Government as well as the Persian authorities, from the Shah down to the smallest local governor, have always appreciated their services in Persia. I do not for a moment suppose that Mr. Biddulph has any personal feeling against the military officer now directing the Department, but I cannot help thinking that he would have written differently had he obtained a little more information and not based his statements on communications made by the pensioned non-commissioned officer of the Royal Engineers, whose acquaintance he made, and other persons with fancied grievances. This pensioned non-commissioned officer has somewhat imposed upon Mr. Biddulph, and the tale of "seventeen years at a place without a European neighbour within seventy miles" is very sad, but not true. Mr. Biddulph would certainly not have written as he did had he known the fact that the pensioned officer usually passed the summer months of every year at Isfahan, and that he could have been transferred to another station several times, but objected. The traveller in Persia hears many tales, but he should not believe them all.

Teheran, 26th February, 1892.

DISEASE MICROBES ANTICIPATED IN SANSKRIT MEDICAL WORKS.

[The illustrious Vaidak physician, Pandit Janardhan of Lahore, has sent us the following important and interesting article.—Ed.]

“ORGANIC GERMS OF DISEASES AS KNOWN TO INDIAN SAGES.”

ORGANIC germs may be either produced or introduced into the system by any of the following causes:—

1. By taking food while suffering from indigestion ; and by the use of unwholesome food.
2. By excess in taking heavy, oily, or fatty food ; as also by the excessive use of ice, or iced water.
3. By mixing foods, the natures of which are contrary one to the other, as heating with cooling food, etc.
4. By want of exercise, and by lazy habits in general ; among which is specified that of sleeping during the day, except in the months of Jyeshtha and Aṣāḍha. [June-July.]
5. By using kidney beans, *visa* (the lotus-root growing in the water), *sālu* (the deep-rooted lotus-root), *kaseru* (the water-lily root), and oleraceous vegetables in general.
6. By excess in the use of any drink, such as vinegar, milk and *gur* (unclarified sugar) ; and of sub-acid drinks like orangeade, wine and water.
7. By the use of animal food, especially of immature animals, such as kids, chickens, etc.

All these produce abnormal disturbances of phlegm and bile, which in turn cause the growth of insects (organic germs) of various kinds, in the human body. They are principally produced in the stomach and intestines. They invade the blood, where they can be detected, as also in the excreta and sputa. Twenty kinds are known and described as follows : Some resemble a barley-corn, while in others, this resemblance is almost perfect. Others are in form somewhat like miniature sea-shells, or flattish scales with red tails. Some resemble earth-worms (*gandhapadas*), while others are small white organisms, some of them with two mouths.

These seven kinds are white in colour, and thin in form ; they penetrate the human body, but live principally in the intestines and on their contents. They produce constipation, local pains and aches, weakness, paleness of complexion, loss of appetite, diminution of normal heat, and excessive sweating. They also cause five kinds of heart disease, which result in lunacy. Those which resemble earth-worms, especially cause both dull and acute pain in the abdomen, flatulence, inflammation and corrosion of the bowels.

The organic germs existing in the phlegmatic system and mucous discharges are :—

1. *Darbakusumas*, resembling the flowers of the sacrificial grass ; 2. *Mahâkusumas*, like a large rose-flower ; 3. *Pîlimas*, like spiders ; 4. *Chipitas*, like oyster-shells ; 5. *Pipîlikas*, like white-ants ; 6. *Dârûṇas*, very hard in substance. The heads of all these have a downy growth ; their bodies are spotted with brown, and they have tails. Some of them resemble small coriander sprouts or seeds, are white in colour, very small in size. They especially attack the head, destroy the fatty tissues, the eyes, the palate, and auricular organs, and cause many head diseases, which again react on the heart. Noticeable symptoms are colds, loss of normal heat, and salivation.

Organic germs existing in the blood are :—

1. *Kesaromanakhadas*, which destroy the hair, down, and nails ; 2. *Dantadas*, the teeth ; 3. *Kikvisas*, the gums ; 4. *Kuṣṭhayas*, which produce leprosy ; 5. *Parisarpas*, or spreading ill around. These germs contain blood in their organism, are dark coloured and flat, and have an oily look. From them proceed all the diseases caused by what is called impurity of the blood.

The intestinal group are produced or introduced by excess in the use of leguminaceous, farinaceous, and vegetable food in general, salt, and unclarified sugar (*gur*). The phlegm group proceed from excessive animal diet, milk, sugar, and vinegar. The blood group are caused by the use of unwholesome and indigestible food, and by mixing as articles of food substances having contrary tendencies.

When any of these three classes of organisms become multiplied to an abnormal extent, a diseased habit of body results, which appears in want of appetite, anæmia, consumption, aches, and sharp pains, heart affections, general uneasiness, diarrhœa, cholera, and other so-called epidemic diseases.

The first fifteen kinds of these organic germs or insects are visible to the naked eye, but the other five are not.

I have taken the above-mentioned statements from the *Susanta Uttara Tantra Adhyāya*, liv., On the living germs of diseases, and how they are produced. This, however, is not the only work which treats of this subject ; it is of frequent recurrence in our books. In the *Astāng Rech*, by *Vāg Bhatta*, section *Nidhan* (on Pathology, or the causes of disease), chap. 14, slokas (couplets) 42 to 56 deal with organic germs or disease-producing insects.

There are said to be twenty different kinds of insects or parasites, which feed upon and thus neutralize the impure matters which would otherwise remain uneliminated in the human body. If they fall below the normal number, these effete matters increase and produce one set of diseases ; if they rise above the normal number, they cause other disturbances, and produce another set of diseases.

Of these twenty, two kinds are external, and eighteen are internal. The external ones are produced by impurity of the blood and excess of perspiration. The internal are produced in the blood, the phlegm, and the contents of the intestines. The former resemble the sesamum seed, both in form and size, and have many legs. As they increase in size, they cause boils, pimples, and ulcers, itch and other skin diseases. The internal ones produce leprosy and other diseases.

Phlegmatic worms are produced by the excessive use of sweets, sour milk, curds, and new rice. Excessive use of farinaceous and herbaceous food, and whatever leads to abnormal evacuations, produces intestinal worms. The phlegm worms live in the intestines and stomach, and are of seven kinds : 1, horse-whip-rod shaped, attacking the intestines ; 2, long earth-worm shaped ; 3, shaped like the

ear of rice, attacking the life-blood ; 4, axe shaped, attacking the sinews and nerves ; 5, long and thin, living on undigested food ; 6, like the efflorescence of long grass, living on effete matter in the veins ; and 7, copper-coloured, producing an ill odour.

The abnormal increase of these organic germs produces indigestion, uneasiness, salivation, nausea, swellings, epidemic fevers, cholera, fainting fits, emaciation, cold and sneezing.* Their names are :—1. *Kaishûda*, destroying the hair ; 2. *Loma Vidhûna*, destroying the bulbs of the hair ; 3. *Lop Dwîpa*, affect the colour of the hair ; 4. *Udambea*, which are like the insects in the fruit of the Gullar tree (*Ficus sylvestris*) ; 5. *Shoushar Motu*, intestinal worms ; 6. *Apad*. These six kinds of germs are invisible to the naked eye ; and when they are abnormally increased, they produce leprosy and other disorders.

1. *Kakcruk*, horse-whip-rod shaped ; 2. *Mukeruk*, of a smoky colour ; 3. *Sonsurel*, which are yellow ; 4. *Sabênâsak*, are white ; 5. *Lelîh*, of a shining black. The abnormal increase of these sorts of worms causes continuous pains, indigestion, leanness of the body, roughness and yellow discoloration of the skin, and local irritation of the intestinal canal.

These twenty sorts of worms are mentioned in all old books of Hindi Medicine, among which I specify the following :—Bhao Parokash, part ii., para. 10. Madhava Narain Choraza, Prime Minister of King *Pathara*, has devoted a section of his work especially to this subject. Whatever people may choose to say about the discovery of bacilli and microbes as a new thing in medical science, it is quite evident that the principle of this discovery was many ages ago given in our Sanskrit books of medicine ; and the details elaborated and tabulated can be produced to prove this statement.

PUNDIT JANARDHAN.

* It would seem that even the influenza bacillus, if such there be, was not unknown in India.—ED.

SOME GEOGRAPHICAL IDENTIFICATIONS IN EGYPT.

BY PROF. E. AMÉLINEAU.*

NOTWITHSTANDING many great works published on the Geography of Egypt, some questions raised by the geography of Ancient or of Coptic Egypt still await a solution. Thus we do not yet know what Greek names answer to the Egyptian appellations of certain towns, nor, on the other hand, what are the Egyptian names of certain towns known to us under Greek forms.

There have been lengthy discussions on the situation of certain towns, and quite recently attempts have been made to identify names in a manner contrary to all that tradition had taught us regarding them, and a great stir has been made over alleged discoveries, which were to change the aspect of geographical science as far as concerns Egypt, that ancient country which still holds in reserve so many surprises for the investigations of men of learning.

For my part, I have been obliged, in conformity with the programme of the French Academy (*Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*), to study, after so many forerunners, the geography of Egypt. I have early recognized that a considerable number of errors had crept into the works of my two immortal predecessors, Champollion and Quatremère; and I have been able to rectify them by the help of new documents of which they had no knowledge. By means of these, a certain number of problems receive a definite solution. The most important of these documents is a List of the Egyptian Bishoprics, which is found in a few *scalæ*, and is yet unpublished.†

* Translated from the French by C. H. E. Carmichael, M.A.

† Since I wrote this paper, M. J. De Rougé has published a little book on the Geography of the Delta, containing in an appendix a List of Bishoprics professedly from a MS. of the Bodleian Library, at Oxford; but,

I propose here to give briefly the results of my researches without dwelling at length on details which would be comparatively of little interest. I must, at the outset, ask permission of my colleagues to let me try and prove an opinion contrary to their own. I beg them to believe that it is without any *arrière pensée*, without any contempt for their labours, that I have begun from the beginning at a study which might have seemed already completed. If I combat the results at which my colleagues have arrived, and which do not appear to me to be definitive, I retain the greatest respect for them individually, and the greatest admiration. The truth is difficult to arrive at in everything. If I think, for my part, that I have found it, I am quite ready to condemn my own ideas, if I am proved to have been mistaken, and I promise to examine with the deepest care the arguments which may be addressed to me with that view.

I. *MENEAIATOR*.

Strabo speaks of the *nome* Menelaïtes as not far from Alexandria. Much discussion has been devoted to this name without any agreement having been reached. The List of the Bishoprics of Egypt gives us precise information as to its position by giving us its capital. That capital exists to this day; it is Edkou. It gives, in fact, the following equation (*égalité*) :—*Μενελιατου* = *ⲉⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩⲣ* = 1,51.

This town is placed in the List of Egyptian Bishoprics immediately after Alexandria and before Rosetta.

But was the town of Edkou really called *ⲉⲃⲁⲱⲟⲩⲣ* in Coptic, and in Greek *Μενελιατου*? The Memphitic *scala*, which I used for my large work on the Geography of Egypt under the Arabs, give to the town of Edkou

unfortunately there is no such manuscript in the Bodleian, as I have ascertained a few days ago; and as the List of Bishoprics came into the possession of the author by the intervention of M. Revillout, I cannot learn where this list was taken from. I regret to say that a number of blunders have crept into the printed list in M. J. De Rouge's book.

another name, and that name is **TKWOY**. This name of **TKWOY** has given rise to the gravest errors on the part of Champollion and Quatremère. The former thought that the town of Tkôou, mentioned in the *Eulogium* (which I have edited) of Macarius, Bishop of a town of that name, is the same as the town of Edkou, and that on the strength of a misinterpreted phrase.*

The town of **TKWOY**, spoken of in the Coptic work, is the town called by the Arabs *Qâou el-Kebir*, and it is utterly impossible that the bishop of that town should have asked for the help of the monks of Schenoudi, if that town had been on the shores of the Mediterranean, since a space of some 150 leagues would have separated the succoured from the succourer, at a time when it was most important that the help should come quickly; while if this town answers to *Qâou el-Kebir*, the distance between the temple in which Macarius was to be burned alive and the monastery of Schenoudi is only ten leagues. This explains how Visa, the disciple of Schenoudi, arrived in time to deliver Macarius.

Quatremère, again, after having first taken for a mistake the name of **TKWOY**, attributed to the town of Edkou † by the MSS. of Montpellier, has fallen into the opposite error, by maintaining that this name only meant the town of Edkou, and that the town of Qâou was called **TXWBI**.‡ It is quite true that the name **TXWBI** is rendered in Arabic by Qâou in some *scalæ*; but the *scalæ* which give the name of **TKWOY** to that same town are much the more numerous, for out of ten *scalæ* used by me, six bear **TKWOY** = ,ⲧ, and only four the name of **TXWBI**. Moreover, the List of Egyptian Bishoprics gives also the name of **TKWOY** to the town of Antæopolis in *Qâou el-Kebir*. We see, therefore, that as regards numbers, the highest probability is in favour of the name of **TKWOY** for *Qâou el-Kebir*, all the more so because the four MSS. which have the

* Champollion, *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 242-9.

† Quatremère, *Mém. Hist. et Geog. sur l'Egypte*, i. 216-17.

‡ *Ib.* 516.

reading **ΤΧΩΒΙ** seem to have been based on one and the same original, and the position of the town of *Qāou el-Kebir* is wrongly given. Lastly, I would remark that if this town was really called **ΤΧΩΒΙ**, we should not have had for the first letter of the Arabic transcript the letter ق, but rather خ; so that the word **ΤΚΩΟΥ** is really the prototype of the name **كوا**, from which the feminine article has fallen. Similarly, the name **ادكوا** descends directly from this same word **ΤΚΩΟΥ**, with preservation and previous vocalization of the article; so that the illustrious De Sacy also fell into error in thinking that this town was called **ادكوا** instead of **ادكوا**.*

These observations show that the name of this town of Edkou is indeed **ΤΚΩΟΥ**; but then, what becomes of the name **Θβαϋουρ** given to this same town in the List of Bishoprics? To this question there is a twofold answer. Either the town of Edkou had two names, which may seem likely, but which was not the custom in the Coptic epoch: or else the names **ΤΚΩΟΥ** and **Θβαϋουρ** were those of two different towns, lying near each other, and of about equal importance, so much so that the bishopric might as well have been seated in the one as in the other; and that one of the two having somehow disappeared, the other naturally succeeded to its inheritance. Thus, if the name of Edkou did not precisely answer to the town called *Μενελιατου* in ancient times, yet its territory was that of the *nome* Menelaïtes. I need not point out that the reading *Μενελαιτου* is a mistake for *Μενελιατου*: besides, there are but two adjoining letters to move, and we have gained for Science the fact that the *nome* Menelaïtes was on the site now occupied by the town of Edkou.

II. ΓΑΒΑΣΕΟΣ.

The Greek name of this town corresponds with the well-known name used in the Roman *Itinerary*, Cabasa, from which is derived the name of the *nome* Cabasites. This

* De Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, 660.

name was decidedly near that of $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$, or rather, in the Sa'idic dialect, $\kappa\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$, so much so that Champollion* and Quatremère† simply made the two places identical. The first person to put forth this opinion was Father Georgi;‡ it seemed a very probable view to Quatremère, and Champollion had not the slightest doubt of it, for he says: "According to Ptolemy, the town of Cabasa and its dependencies lay between the Phermutiac branch and the Great River; *i.e.*, the Canopic branch, in Egyptian, Schetnoufi. In fact, there exists, at some distance from the Rosetta (or Canopic) branch, a town (*bourg*) which still bears among the Arabs the name of Kabas,§ and which is situated about four leagues south of the town of Foueh." And immediately he adds, "The Egyptian name of Cabas was $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ in the dialect of Memphis." ||

This opinion has again recently come to the front, thanks to M. de Rochemanteix, who considers Schabas, or $\kappa\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma\alpha$ as the plural of $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$.¶ I need not demonstrate the inanity of this last opinion; there is, in fact, between the two words only the resemblance of one letter, and that comes too near the etymologies laughed at by Voltaire.

Nevertheless, it would have been easy, at least for Quatremère, who knew it, to have known that in the *Synaxare*, a Coptic martyrology, the name of $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ corresponded with اقفيس , which is the exact transcript of the word $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ or $\kappa\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$. If he had afterwards searched the *Etat de l'Egypte*, he would have seen that this village, which still exists, was to be found there in the province of Behnésa, as it is now in the province of Minieh, district of Feschn, which is hardly a suitable place for a town which ought to be found between Pténétô and El-Baschrout, or El-Scharout, as the *scale* place it, for the *nome* of Pténétô had its centre

* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 234.

† Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. 148.

‡ Georgi, *De Miraculis S. Coluthi*, p. cxciv.

§ Champollion, *Ib.* 234. He cites a MS. map of Father Sicard and D'Anville, *Mém. sur l'Egypte*, 79.

|| Champollion, *op. cit.* 234.

¶ *Journ. Asiat.* 1887, July-Aug. p. 146, n. 1.

in the modern district of Desouq, as I said afterwards. Thus, Champollion and Quatremère had carried it to Northern Egypt, as the classical texts obliged them. It is not permissible, nowadays, to entertain the smallest doubt as to the town called by the Greeks and Romans Cabasa; the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt, indeed, furnishes us with the following equation (*égalité*):— $\Gamma\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\omicron\varsigma = \text{ΤΒΑΚΙ ΧΑΤΑCEN} = \text{شبابس سنهور}$. From which we see that if the χ was sometimes pronounced after a local fashion, the ش represented a sibilant (*chuintante*), it was more often pronounced *dj*; and the Greeks and Romans, not possessing that letter in their alphabet, rendered it by the hard *g*, or the hard *c*, which is very like it. The town of Schâbas still exists on the spot which Champollion rightly assigned to it, in the province of Gharbyah, and district of Kafr-ez-zaiât.

III. AGNOU.

Strabo speaks of this town also, when he says: "After the Bolbitic branch a sandy promontory stretches afar; it is called the Horn of Agnou." Then he gives its neighbourhood by saying, "Afterwards come the Tower of Perseus and the Wall of the Milesians."

Down to the present day, the identification of this town had remained unknown. The List of the Bishoprics of Egypt permits this identification, for it contains the following equation:— $\text{Αγνου} = \text{ΠΙCΗΙΝΙΟΥ} = \text{نستارة}$. Thus we are at once made acquainted with the Coptic and Arabic names of the town which the Greeks called *Αγνου*. The Coptic name, Pischiniou, was known to Champollion, who had no great trouble in identifying it with Nesteraoueh*; but he did not know the Greek name. A passage in the work of the Arab geographer Aboulfeda gives us the exact position of this town: "If one leaves Damietta and follows the sea-board towards the west, one passes Bourlos, then Nesteraoueh, then Raschid or Rosetta."†

* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 226-37.

† Aboulfeda, *Descr. de l'Égypte*, pp. 298 and 230 of the Arabic text.

Ibn Haukal determines its position still better, and what he says of it may be read in the supplementary note which Silvestre de Sacy has added to his *Etat de l'Egypte*.^{*} It was at that time the capital of a small province which embraced the shores of Lake Borlos and of the Mediterranean. It disappeared at a later date, though it still existed at the end of the seventeenth century, since Vansleb mentions it.[†] Lake Borlos has, in fact, encroached upon the adjacent shores, and swallowed up the town.

IV. *ΗΛΕΑΡΧΙΑ*.

This name, which has given rise to considerable controversy, is made easy of identification, thanks yet again to the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt. That list gives us the following equation:—*Ηλεαρχια* (the reading in the list is *Ηλεαιχια*) = *πρωαρωτ* = *الشروط*. The place is next after the town of Agnou which was Nesteraoueh, and before Nikétou or Singar, which precedes Borlos. Consequently it must have been situated at no great distance from the ancient lake of Borlos. The *scale* also mention it, and place it between Djapasen and Parallou or Borlos, giving it the name of El-Baschrout, reduplicating the article, or El-Baschlout, a new form of almost concurrent use of “r” with “l,” to render an indefinite (*indécise*) articulation between the two articulations represented by that Egyptian letter.

Champollion knew this name, *πρωαρωτ*, and has placed the village which he marked between Daqaleh and Damietta.[‡] He thus falls into very considerable error, since the town of Damietta, like Daqaleh, formed part of the third ecclesiastical province of Egypt, while Pischarôt belonged to the first, that is to say, the province of Alexandria. Quatremère, on the other hand, has discussed at great length the position of Elearchia, and has the following remarks thereon: “I have suggested (*insinué*) in my

^{*} De Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte*, cf. 669, 707-8.

[†] Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*, 24.

[‡] Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. p. 136-137. Digitized by Google

paper that perhaps the Baschmour extended westward of the branch of Damietta as far as Lake Borlos." *

He had previously said, "The country of Elearchia, or of the Bucolics, as it has been described to us by the ancient writers, is if I mistake not, absolutely identical with the province of Baschmour." † I have not got to connect the two questions, I only desire to establish the position of Elearchia. This word, which means Marsh Province, was suited to a country lying between the Phatmetic branch of the Nile, and the sea-shore.‡ It was divided into two parts, one of which was under the town of Pakhnemunis, and the other under the town of Phragonis. Now, according to Ptolemy, Pakhnemunis was the capital of the *nome* of Lower Sebennis, and Phragonis is the town which the Egyptians called Farrahin, and which, together with Tida, was situated in the modern district of Kafr-esch-scheikh, province of Gharbyeh. Therefore, the Elearchia comprised the whole country bordering on the Lake of Borlos, north and east, and that is where Pischarôt must be placed. Consequently, Quatremère, who arrived at very nearly the same result, has carried somewhat too far the limits of this province, when seeking to include in it the *nome* of Nimeschôti, and the town (*bourg*) of Naïsi, which corresponds to the *Isæum* of the ancients. This canton of Nimeschôti must have meant Low-lands, like its name in Arabic, *Asfal el-Ardh*; although these low-lands perhaps became marshes, the name which has been given them distinguishes them clearly from the lands of Elearchia.

The town of Pischarôt, by its place in the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt between other towns, all of which appear to have been situated on the Lake of Borlos, seems to me to have been likewise near that lake, and to the south rather than to the north of it. At the present day it has disappeared, for the marsh lands which border the

* Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. p. 233.

† Hierocles, 726. Quatremère, *ibid.*

‡ Ptolemy, *iv.* 5.

lake have increased greatly since the Moslem, and especially the Turkish, conquest.

V. NIKETOT.

This town is placed by the List of Bishoprics between Borlos and El-Scharout, *i.e.*, between the town situated on the Lake of Borlos, the capital of that country, and Elearchia, or the Canton of the Marshes. We have for this name the following equation:—*Νικητου* = *πρωτηχερον* = *سنحجار*. Champollion * and Quatremère † have confused this town with another, which was called in Egyptian *conḡar*, and they have made this town of *conḡar* the seat of a bishopric, following Vansleb, who indeed cites Singar, and rightly so, as the seat of an ancient bishopric. But this town of Singar (*sic*) cannot, I think, be confounded with Pischenkherou. The two names differ so much, that they may be regarded as separate places; on the other hand, the position assigned, by the *scala* which contains this name, to the town of Songar between Samannoud and Damietta, would scarcely suit the town which the other *scale* mentioning Pischenkherou place between Abiar and Birma, *i.e.*, in the province of Béhérah or in that of Gharbyeh, pretty nearly at the point where those two provinces meet. But the List of Bishoprics does not permit us to place it there, since it ranks it in the first ecclesiastical province, and the position given by the other *scale* would be too southerly. We must therefore place it near the Lake Borlos of antiquity, and that position explains how it has disappeared by reason of the advance of the waters of the lake. The *Etat de l'Egypte*, edited by Silvestre de Sacy, in fact, places it in the province of Nesteraoueh. But are we compelled to say that there were not two towns of that name in Egypt? I am far from claiming this, and the fact of the existence of two towns of the same name in Egypt is a well-known fact which it is impossible to deny; but if

* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii., p. 233.

† Quatremère, *op. cit.* i., p. 279.

there were two towns of this name, the second has disappeared, and has left no trace of its existence, beyond its name.

VI. ΠΤΕΝΕΤΩ.

The name of this *nome*, which corresponds with that of the *nome* Phthenotites of the classical authors, has given rise to numerous debates. Quatremère has identified the town of ΠΤΕΝΕΤΩ with the name Tantouà cited in the *Etat de l'Egypte* *; but if this identification is correct, that learned author has not pointed out where Tantouà was situated, since the *Etat de l'Egypte* does not show this any more plainly than by placing the town in the province of Gharbyeh, the most extensive of all in the Delta. Champollion,† on the other hand, has identified the town of Pténétô with the town so celebrated under the name of Bouto, situated, according to Herodotus, at the mouth of the old Sebennyitic branch, and according to Ptolemy, between the Canopic and Sebennyitic branches.‡ This great authority is therefore utterly wrong, and I will proceed to prove it.

Pliny the Elder says that the *nome* of Pténéthu had Bouto for its capital. That is not a reason for identifying Pténétô with Bouto. It was often the case in Ancient Egypt that certain towns which had at first given their names to the *nomes* of which they were the capital (and all the names of *nomes* were originally names of towns, except at a certain date) afterwards lost their importance, on account of the rise of some other and more lucky town, which became the capital in its stead, and also lost their rank without the name of the *nome* being changed. The most striking example of this is the case of the town of ΤΚΕΖΛΙ, in Arabic Daqaleh, which gave its name to the province of Daqahlyeh, and which is now only a small village. Nevertheless, the capital of the *nome* Phthenotites,

* Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. 385-6.

† Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 227-9.

‡ Plinius.

i.e., Bouto, will help us to know the position of that town, when I shall have shown the situation of Pténétô.

The *scalæ* which have preserved this name place it between Schâbas and Nesteraoueh or between Schabas and Danouscher, and only separated from the town of Nesteraoueh by Danouscher and Edkou. This position is true (*juste*), but far from being exact (*précise*). The List of Bishoprics places it after Borlos and before a bishopric which has no Greek or Arabic name, and which has now disappeared, that of Petrefschi. It is indeed in the same region, but the site is not given with the precision which might have been desired. The *Acts* of a martyr, Didymus of Tarschébi, tell us that the Greek town Tarschébi was in the *nome* of Pténétô.* Now the village of Tarschébi, which has become Darschaba in Arabic, is to be found in the district of Desouq, province of Gharbyeh. Towards the close of these *Acts*, mention is made of the villages of Koprit, Tiamrô and Psaradous, two of which still survive in the names of Kabrit and Demrou. Psaradous has now disappeared, but at the end of the fourteenth century it was still mentioned in the *Etat de l'Egypte*.† Of these three villages, the first two are in the district of Desouq, and I do not doubt that the village which has disappeared should also be placed in that district. Thus we have the position of the *nome* of Pténétô well defined, and the position we obtained is altogether different from that assigned to it by Champollion, as may be seen on the map which he drew up himself, and which he placed at the beginning of his book, since he marks it on the east of Lake Borlos, while in point of fact it lay to the south of that lake.

This position enables us also to assign the place of Bouto, which Pliny made the capital of the *nome* Pténétô. We have seen above that the *nome* Menelaïtes bounded the *nome* Pténétô on the north; on the east it was bounded by the *nome* Sebennyitis Inferior, on the south by the Saïtic *nome*.

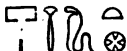


* Hyvernat, *Actes des Martyrs de l'Egypte*, 387.

† De Sacy, *op. cit.* 643.

It was therefore clearly defined. Consequently, if the testimony of Pliny the Elder be true, Bouto must be placed in the small space occupied by the *nome* Pténétô, in that same district of Desouq of which I have already spoken. But what becomes, then, of the testimony of Herodotus, when he says that this town was situated at the mouth of the Sebennytic branch? To this testimony may be opposed, firstly, the combined witness of Ptolemy and Strabo. The former places the town of Bouto in $61^{\circ} 30'$ E. longitude, and $30^{\circ} 4'$ N. latitude. He gives the situation of Bouto, if possible, still more precisely, when he says that this town lay between the Gréat River and the River Taly, west of the Great River, between Métélis and Cabasa; and in fact it was so near the latter town, that the figures given for its position are exactly the same.* I know very well that we must not place much reliance on the figures of Ptolemy, for Heaven knows how far they may not have been altered by transcribers; but these figures are explained (*commentés*) by the text, which affirms that this town lay between Métélis and Cabasa. Now Métélis is Foueh, and Cabasa as we have seen, is Schâbas. Métélis lay to the north and Cabasa to the south, in an almost straight line perpendicularly drawn from the one to the other. Half-way lies that very district of Desouq where I believe Pténétô should be placed. Strabo, for his part, says: "After the Bolbitine mouth a sandy promontory stretches out for some distance; it is called the Horn of Agnou. Then come the Tower of Perseus and the Wall of the Milesians. After the wall of the Milesians, as we advance towards the Sebennytic mouth, there are some lakes, one of which is called the Lake Bouto, from the town of Bouto; then come the town of Sebennytis and Sais, the metropolis of the Lower Region, where Minerva is worshipped. . . . In the neighbourhood of Bouto is situated Hermopolis."† This text is

* Ptolemy, *Geog.*, ed. 1605, 105, 106.

† Strabo, xvii. 18.

in formal contradiction with that of Herodotus, by placing Bouto in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis. Now Hermopolis is Damanhour, and the *nome* of Pténétô borders on the district of Damanhour. I further believe that the town of Bouto, in Coptic **ΠΟΥΤΟ**, still survives. In Old Egyptian this town was called  Pa-ouat'it, whence by contraction **ΠΟΥΤΟ**, as  has given rise to **ΠΟΥΣΙΡΙ**, and  Pa-Beset, has given rise to **ΠΟΥΑΣΤΙ**. Now, in the Arabic transcriptions we have to remark that a composite name may take a vowel before the first letter; according to this, **ΠΟΥΤΟ** would in Arabic become *أبطر*. The village of Abtou is still to be found in the place formerly occupied by the *nome* of Pténétô, in the same district of Desouq. The coincidence is remarkable, and I, for my part, am persuaded that the name Abtou represents **ΠΟΥΤΟ**.

But if so, what becomes of the statement of Herodotus? That statement will appear still more singular to us if we examine what he says of the mouths of the Nile. According to him, the Nile had three principal mouths, the Canopic on the west, the Pelusiatic on the east, and the Sebennytic in the centre; then two others, which branch off from the third and which bear the names of Saitic and Mendesian. Then he adds: "The Bolbitine and Bucolic are not natural (mouths); they are canals which have been excavated by man." * From this it might be concluded that the Sebennytic mouth passed through the middle of the Delta to Djemmouti, or Sebennytus, which gave name to it, and consequently that it was identical with that which the Copts called the Middle, or Phatmetic, mouth (**ΦΑΘΜΗΤ**), now called the Damietta mouth. Herodotus, in fact, says that the Sebennytic mouth, starting from the angle of the Delta, cuts through the middle of it, and falls into the sea, into which it pours a quantity of water which is neither the

* Herodotus, ii. 17.

least in volume nor the least renowned.* The Bolbitine branch is known, it is the Rosetta branch; and the same is the case with the Mendesian branch. There remain the Bucolic and Saïtic mouths. The former of these is named after the pastures in the marshes through which it passes; now we know that these famous marshes were identical with Elearchia, and were in the neighbourhood of Lake Borlos. The latter has never had any substantive existence, and only owes its apparent existence to a copyist's error in writing Saïs instead of Tanis; for the Tanitic branch, which existed as far back as the Seventeenth Dynasty,† is the only one which is not named by Herodotus. We are, therefore, on this side of the question, brought back to the same result, viz., that the Damietta branch was that which is called by Herodotus the Sebennytic, because the town of Sebennytis was the most important on its course. Now, how could the town of Bouto be situated on that branch? It is utterly impossible. We must confess that the Greek author, writing from notes taken in his travels, grievously erred, either through his memory failing him, or because his notes were out of their proper order; or else the transcribers made a mistake in copying out the text of the Father of History.

What seems to have lent a considerable colour of truth to his assertion is the mistake which was made between the Sebennytic branch and that which Strabo calls by that name, and which Herodotus called the Bucolic branch. This branch started from Sebennytis, and one can quite understand its being called Sebennytic. After this we might well think that it was on this Bucolic branch that the town of Bouto was situated. Thus understood, the words of Herodotus might be accurate, for the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt mentions two towns of the same name yielding the following equations:—1. *Λεωντων* = *ΠΟΥΤΟ-ΚΕΘΗΡ* = (*sic*) *نطو وترس*; 2. *Παχνομενος* = *ΚΒΟΥΤΟΘΕΡ* (*sic*), without any corresponding Arabic form. It is much

* Herodotus, *ubi supra*.

† De Rougé, *Inscription d'Akmes*.

to be regretted that the town of Tirsa, or Tersy, no longer exists, for we should have had a touchstone for recognizing the position of this town of Bouto, which formed one diocese with Tirsa. Moreover, the identification of Pakhenumis with another Bouto would make the existence of two towns of Bouto certain, the former situated in the modern district of Desouq, while the latter was the capital of the *nome Sebennytes Inferior*.

However this may be, the results of the present investigation are none the less full of significance for the study of Egyptian geography, and it is certain that the *nome* of Pténétô was situated in the modern district of Desouq, and that this *nome* had for its capital a town called Bouto, the celebrated town which contained an oracle of Latona, according to Strabo, viz., the sanctuary of Dap. We thus see what help the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt may render to Egyptian geography. This is only a small portion of the results to which it has given rise. It also gives us information as to the existence of Pharouat; as to the Greek name of the town of Psalsiné, *i.e.*, *Cleopatris*; as to the name of the second town of Leontôn, *i.e.*, Nathô; as to the town called *Diospolis Inferior* by the ancients, and Pounemou in Coptic, and El-Qalmoun in Arabic; as to the existence of three towns called Apollonopolis, one of which is called in Coptic Sfehet, the second Qosqam, and the third is Edfou; as to the Greek name of Qous-varvir, which was Diocletianopolis, etc.

It may suffice to merely indicate these results, which I have developed more fully in my work on the Geography of Egypt in the Coptic Age. I must now examine into another question, much debated of late, and show why I think that the true solution for it has not yet been found.

VII. HEROOPOLIS.

The site of this town is well known, from the fact that the ancient writers have instructed us very accurately on the point, by placing it near the Red Sea, at the mouth of

the Canal which joined the Nile to that Sea ; but the name has been very differently understood.

Champollion thought that the town of Avaris was the same as Heroopolis, and placed it at Abou Keysched.* I am unable to admit the identity of Avaris with Heroopolis. Avaris, according to the inscriptions of the Seventeenth Dynasty, does indeed appear to have been situated in one of the Deltas of Ptolemy, where there were navigable canals (*pour manœuvrer*), which could not be the case with a town situated at the mouth of the canal uniting the two seas. Quatremère has, in fact, proved that this town should be placed on the Wady Toumilat. He has also pronounced in favour of Abou Keysched, but has rejected the identification of Avaris with Heroopolis, in which he is quite right.† Moreover, D'Anville has arrived at the same conclusion.‡

Such was the position of the question when, in 1883, M. Naville carried out those excavations in the neighbourhood now called Tell el-Maskoutah, which the French engineers had called Ramses, after the *savants* of the *Commission d'Égypte*, and where they had established their headquarters. He discovered two inscriptions which proved to him that he was indeed on the site of the town of Heroopolis, since the one was a miliary stone showing eight miles from that town to Klysmā.§ M. Naville has identified this town with the city of Pithom, built by the captive Israelites, herein contradicting the *savants* of the *Commission d'Égypte*, who identified it with Ramses. With all respect for the labours of my friends, my colleagues, and masters, it is the *Commission d'Égypte* which is right, from my point of view, and M. Naville who is wrong. I will now try and prove this.


If we pay attention to the manner in which the Greeks rendered the names of Egyptian towns, we may notice


* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 87-92. † Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. 167-70.

‡ D'Anville, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*.

§ E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, pl. xi.

that either they have given names which simply transliterated the Egyptian names,—or they have tried to give an equivalent of the Egyptian names,—or they have only given a Greek termination to Egyptian names. The first method is remarkable in the cases of the towns of Atrib, Tmoui, Tanatô, and many others. In the second case, the towns of Apollo, Hermes, Diocletian, Theodosius, and others like these, prove that the Greeks gave to certain towns the names of the emperors, for certain causes, of which we are not aware, or which we may imagine; or else tried to make out what were the nearest divinities in the Greek religion to the Egyptian gods whose worship gave them the leading idea of the town which they wanted to indicate, as Diospolis, Hermopolis, Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, etc.

We see at once that the name Heroopolis has not simply a Greek termination, and that it cannot be assigned to some Greek god who might have been worshipped in that town, since the Greek Pantheon contains no Hero or Heroo as a god. Nor can we dream of a hybrid name, for the Greeks never took up with that way of naming a town; and, further, if the name of the god Horus seems at first sight to approach the name Heroopolis, the name of that god could never have been written Hero or Heroo, but Hor or Har in a composite name. We cannot therefore accept this. There remains the last category, which, like the names of Latopolis, the town of the peasant Latus, or the perch, of Phagroriopolis, the town of the peasant called Phagrorion by the Greeks, translates exactly the Egyptian name or some Egyptian speciality. No town name escapes this threefold classification, not even that of Kh̄n̄oboskion (*Χηνοβόσκιον*), which is the exact translation of *WENECHT*, the Coptic name derived from the hieroglyphic name into the composition of which entered, as its first part, the verb , which means "to fatten up" (*engraisser*). The name of Heroöpolis, or, as it was written by the amateur soldier in his leisure hours, Eropolis, Erocastra, has just the meaning of town of heroes or of heroic things. The classic

authors expressly mark the excellence of this etymology, when they write ἡρώπολις or ἡρώπολις. We have, then, to find in the nomenclature of the ancient Egyptian towns a name with this signification. Such a name is not difficult to find, it is the town of Ramses, the great city of valour or of heroic things, āā-naχtou. The name  in fact means exactly the same thing as Heroöpolis. The principal argument of M. Naville in favour of his identification of Heroöpolis with Pithom, is that the town of Heroopolis had a temple dedicated to Toum, and called Pa-toum. But this name should, perhaps, not be read as M. Naville has read it, the ideogram of the god may be differently read. Further, even if this name of Patoum was the sacred name of the town, it might have had another more ordinary name, and that name was Ramses, the great (city) of valour, Heroopolis. The case of two towns in Egypt being called by the same sacred name is not rare, but the ordinary name has consecrated another form. Besides, nothing can overthrow (*aller contre*) the statements in the Roman Itinerary, which place Thou or Thoum before Heroöpolis.

NOTES ON THE KABYLE LANGUAGE.

BY DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, M.R.A.S., F.S.A.

THE Kabyles are a people of Berber origin, inhabiting the Djurdjura mountains in Algeria, and also the country south of Cherchel (the Julia Cæsarea of the Romans), and the borders of the Metidja plain, which stretches away to the foot of the Atlas range. They were named by the Arabs from Arabic *Kabāil*, plural of *Kabīlah*, tribe, race, family.

The Kabyles are quite a different nation from the Arabs, being more fit for social progress, and of more laborious habits. Our Consul-General, Colonel Playfair, says one can trace among their customs the traditions of Roman law and municipal institutions, and that one frequently meets among them types, easily recognizable, of the Latin and German races. The fact is, many of them have without doubt intermarried with political and other refugees who sought their hospitality. The Kabyle language (*Thakabāilith*), is of Berber origin, and is not only spoken in the country inhabited by the Kabyles, but also in the highlands of Mount Atlas, towards Algiers, and in the province of Constantine, in which I have travelled. It is an unwritten language, but there is a grammar by Hansteau (Alger, 1858), a dictionary by Le P. Olivier (Le Puy, 1878); and Sadi Hamet has translated into Kabyle the Book of Genesis and the Four Gospels for the Bible Society. The language varies more or less between tribe and tribe, and between village and village; and even in different parts of the same village different words and expressions are used to denote the same thing. Nevertheless, in spite of these variations and different dialects, the basis of the language is the same, and the different tribes are all able to understand each other. The dialects are named Buji, Shieha, Tamazihl, Beni-Menassar, and Gadamsi.

The Kabyle contains some words which have an affinity to the dialects anciently spoken in the islands of Teneriffe, Gran Canaria, Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, Gomera, Palma, and Ferro (Hierro). It has also borrowed or formed a very large number of words from the Arabic. I will give a few of them: Sadi, sidna, lord, is from *sayyid*; lmelh, salt, from *milh*; thikant'arth, a bridge, from *kantara*; râud, thunder, from *raâd*; ah'ma, hot, from *hâmî*; lkafer, heathen, from *kâfir*; lkursi, chair, from *kursî*; dukan, tobacco, from *dukhân*; ruz, rice, from *ruz*; lfel, pepper, from *fulful*; sharif, gentleman, from *sharîf*; lkadi, judge, from *kâdî*; shit'an and iblis, Satan, from *shaytan* and *ablis*. They have also borrowed or formed words from the French; as lgraf, telegraph, from *télégraphe*; eboulis, police, from *police*; lkognac, brandy, from *cognac*; t'abla, table, from *table*; lgazêta, a gazette, from *la gazette*; lftisian, office, from *officier*; lbureau, bureau, from *le bureau*. With regard to the alphabet, I may note that *g* and *k* are sometimes pronounced softly; *h* is always aspirated; *kh* is pronounced like *j* in the Spanish name José; *r'* corresponds to the French lisp *r*; and *th* is pronounced as in English. The language has no article. When they borrow a noun from the Arabic, they frequently borrow the Arabic article also, but usually drop the vowel; thus *lkadi*, *lkursi*, *lkafer*. They do the same in borrowing words from the French; as *lgazêl'a*, *lbureau*.

In nouns, the initial *th* is generally the characteristic sign of the feminine gender. Names ending in *a*, plural, *ath*, are also generally feminine; as *lked'ma*, work. The plural of regular nouns is generally shortened, as *afellah*, labourer, plural *ifellah'en* for *ifellah-ien*. The vocables *bab*, *bou*, in the plural *ath*, before certain nouns is equivalent to master, possessor, the man; as *bab boukham*, the master of the house; *bou chamarth*, the man with the long beard; *ath lâkel*, intelligent men. I conclude with a short list of Kabyle words, those borrowed or corrupted from the

Arabic being marked by the letter A; those from the French by the letter F.

Kabyle.	English.	Kabyle.	English.
<i>akham</i>	house	<i>asammadh</i>	cold
<i>lmelh' (A)</i>	salt	<i>anzad'</i>	hair
<i>shakof</i>	ship	<i>amallal</i>	white
<i>thalefsa</i>	viper	<i>abarkan</i>	black
<i>al'ram</i>	camel	<i>amokran</i>	great
<i>thikant'arth (A)</i>	bridge	<i>lfil (A)</i>	elephant
<i>ar'iul</i>	ass	<i>izam</i>	lion
<i>thafunasth</i>	cow	<i>annamar (A)</i>	tiger
<i>ud'i</i>	butter	<i>l'khal</i>	vinegar
<i>ar'rum</i>	bread	<i>azzith (A)</i>	oil
<i>aūdiu</i>	horse	<i>askriou (A)</i>	soldier
<i>bunadem</i>	man	<i>abah're (A)</i>	sailor
<i>thamaɫ'puth</i>	woman	<i>lkahua (A)</i>	coffee
<i>lgraf (F)</i>	telegraph	<i>el bira (F)</i>	beer
<i>lfitsian (F)</i>	officer	<i>shi'an (A)</i>	devil
<i>ithbir</i>	pigeon	<i>afrukhh</i>	bird
<i>thithbirth</i>	dove	<i>aslam</i>	fish
<i>aākub</i>	field	<i>annāma (A)</i>	ostrich
<i>thafsuth</i>	spring (season)	<i>abrak</i>	duck
<i>anab'd'u</i>	summer	<i>ilef</i>	pig
<i>lkharif (A)</i>	autumn	<i>ikerri</i>	sheep
<i>shathua (A)</i>	winter	<i>afak'li</i>	bull
<i>lbasal (A)</i>	onion	<i>amkan lma-</i>	
<i>el lafth (A)</i>	turnip	<i>halla (A)</i>	camp
<i>l'tarkuk (A)</i>	prune (plum)	<i>thashammath</i>	candle
<i>āmmi (A)</i>	uncle (paternal)	<i>(A)</i>	
<i>khali (A)</i>	uncle (maternal)	<i>lr'erri (A)</i>	glue
<i>amazian</i>	small	<i>lbah'ai (A)</i>	sea
<i>akjun</i>	dog	<i>lmād'en (A)</i>	mine (subterra- nean)
<i>amshish</i>	cat	<i>adhu</i>	wind
<i>thazarth</i>	fig	<i>lboulis (F)</i>	police
<i>tsamar (A)</i>	date (the fruit)	<i>uzzal</i>	iron
<i>tsafah' (A)</i>	apple	<i>annah'as (A)</i>	brass
<i>ass</i>	day	<i>dahab (A)</i>	gold
<i>thatshināts</i>	mange	<i>lfe't'a (A)</i>	silver
<i>rasas (A)</i>	lead	<i>ad'r'ar' (A)</i>	stone
<i>liaman (F)</i>	diamond	<i>idh</i>	night
<i>ad'fel</i>	snow	<i>sidi, sidna (A)</i>	sir
<i>lahua</i>	rain	<i>lkognac (F)</i>	brandy
<i>rāud (A)</i>	thunder	<i>aggur</i>	moon
<i>lbrak (A)</i>	lightning	<i>lkasla (A)</i>	caravan
<i>agris</i>	ice	<i>ar'arbal (A)</i>	sieve
<i>ah'mu (A)</i>	hot		

Kabyle.	English.	Kabyle.	English.
<i>lkafur</i> (A)	camphor	<i>shrab</i> (A)	wine
<i>ithri</i>	star	<i>aman</i> (pl.)	water
<i>it'ij</i>	sun	<i>rabbi</i> (A) }	God
<i>lmādenus</i>	parsley	<i>allah</i> (A) }	
<i>lkura n dunith</i>	globe (the)	<i>asif</i>	river
(A)		<i>agulmin</i>	lake
<i>ajad'id</i>	new	<i>thajara</i>	tree
<i>'akad'im</i> (A)	old	<i>thizgui</i>	forest
<i>baba</i> (A)	father	<i>ai'fki</i>	milk
<i>imma</i> (A)	mother	<i>thaddarth</i>	village
<i>ammi</i>	son	<i>thamd'int</i>	town
<i>illi</i>	daughter	<i>agman</i>	mountain

POLYNESIAN RACES AND LINGUISTICS.

BY DR. EMIL SCHNEIDER.

THE Polynesian races, sometimes called Kanakas, inhabit the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Their relatives are found on the island of Madagascar in Eastern Continental Africa, in that region which may be considered as the Ophir of Solomon, and among the Navajoes living on the western frontier of the United States, between California and Arizona. How the Incas of Peru and the Aztecs of Mexico were related to them, we have not to investigate at present. Between the American and Australasian continents, from the Arctic to the Antarctic ice-mountains, more than 10,000 islands are situated, some high, beautiful, rich, of volcanic origin, but most of them small, barren coral reefs, only yielding cocoa-nut, bananas, bread-fruit, and abundant fish.

The highest active volcano on earth, Maunaloa, 14,000 feet above sea-level, and the snow-covered Maunakilea, 18,700 feet, are found on the paradisiacal island of Hawai, where all climates of the globe are represented. The immense extent of the water surface between the different island groups and their insulation account for the great variety of dialects in the Polynesian languages, of which there are fifty-nine.

Some differ from others only in the use of *k* instead of *t*, and *r* instead of *l*; while others are as far different as English is from German. As a general rule, Polynesians have no ear for the sound of consonants; they never use more than eleven and never a double one: they do without them as much as possible. If they try to pronounce *man-of-war*, which, according to their understanding, signifies ship as well as sailor, merchant-man and whaler, often a robber and kidnapper in former days, you only hear the vowels a-o-a, (the latter in the broad German pronunciation that

prevails through the Pacific), and in such rapid succession, that you hardly can find out what it means.

Polynesian and Malayan are often grouped together, because they are nearest neighbours on the world's surface. It is true that Malayan words, filtered through Micronesian and Melanesian channels, have been received into Polynesian dialects; but they are foreign words, as are the many which we had to introduce in our Bible translations, very often for tribes that, with their dialects, are dying away into oblivion. As different as the Kanaka is from the Malay in form, figure, and complexion, so much is his language different and original, more related to the Aryan family than to any other.

The migration of the Polynesian races went probably across a sunken continent (Lemur) from an Indian Aryan home. The names of Saaba, Savai, Java, Hawai, seem to be identical in their origin. Polynesian tales and songs contain references to Hebrew traditions. Paumakea is the Noah of the Old Testament. His landing in Hawai is related as follows:—

Lol, the goddess of earth, was betrothed to Lono,* the king of heaven. They loved each other tenderly. Lono's kingdom was very large. He had to go to war against Atua (night, darkness), and to visit all his provinces. Sunbeams were his greeting and kisses to Lol. During his absence Prince Wan (sea, ocean) tried to win beautiful Lol to himself. But she rejected him and was faithful to Lono, her bridegroom. Wan brought rich presents: corals, pearls, silver, gold, and precious stones, for his were all the treasures of the depths. Lol did not accept them, and they still lie scattered round the islands. Then he tried to submerge the land by his waves, but Lol's fortresses resisted victoriously. Finally he came in the darkness of night, with Lono's mantle of stars (the reflection of the starry heaven in a calm sea), speaking Lono's

* The same name was given to Captain Cook on his first visit to Hawai where he was worshipped as a god, but killed at his second landing in Kekeahula Bay, 1778.

language. Lol was deceived, thought it was her bridegroom, and let him in. When Lono returned and heard what had happened, he became very angry. In a great war he beat Wan, whose hair turned white with fear and trembling (the foam of the waves). Lol, for shame, sank to the bottom of the sea, and all men were drowned except Paumakea, the friend of Lono, who built a big canoe for himself and his family, to sail on the waves. When Lol got her firstborn son, she called him Hawai. His breast was red and burning with his mother's love, like the flames of Maunaloa (the volcano); his head touched heaven (the mountain Maunakilea, always covered with snow, ice, and thunder-clouds). There Lono rested sometimes to show that his wrath was gone; and Paumakea, the ancestor of all Polynesians or Kanakas, landed here. The Kanakas (men, friends) now spread over all the different islands, divided at Fiji; some went to Maoriland, some to Samoa, some to Birari. Lono made a covenant with Paumakea, as witnesses to which there are always many beautiful rainbows round Hawai. The languages of his children are different, but after a little while they can understand each other, because they have the same father.

As a curious incident of Aryan relationship, we may state that Normans and Kanakas call the Ursa Major by the same name and give it the same signification, though on the low coral islands there never had been a waggon and it is impossible to find the slightest resemblance to a canoe in the constellation. Since thousands of years, the *waka*=*wagn* of the Icelanders, *waen* of Anglo-Saxons, *wae* of Micronesians, stand for Odin's or Karl's waggon. The root is the Hawaiian *wa*, with the original meaning of division, opening, distance, in time and space; hence origin of thought and language. The same word and meaning exist in Samoan, Tahiti, Markesas. Raratonga, *wa*=wonder; *wae*=divide, break, separate; *wae-na*=field, that is fenced in, garden, in the middle; *wa-nae*=leg, foot; *waa*, *waha*=opening, mouth, cave; *maenga*=division; *ma-wae*=to

divide ; *wa-i-masina*=division between two moons, moonless night, new moon ; *wa-i-palolo*=time for catching palolo (fish) ; *wa-nu*=valley, cañon, abyss. Fiji : *wa-se*=to divide. Sanscrit : *vaka*=scull ; *vakra*, crooked ; *van'ka*, the windings of a river ; *vaktra*, mouth ; *vacha*, word.

It seems that here the root *wa*, preserved in Hawaiian, was lost in Sanscrit. Latin : *vaco*, to be empty ; *vacuum*, emptiness (Sanskrit : *vaj*) ; *vax*, voice ; *voco*, I call. Gothic : *wegas*, the waves. Old High German : *waga*, a cradle. Anglo-Saxon : *waeg*, wave. *Waa*, *waen*, *wan*, *van* have in different Polynesian and Micronesian dialects the meaning of canoe ; *waka*, raft ; Sanscrit : *vaha*. Latin : *vas*, *vasa*, *veho*, *vehiculum*, *via*. German : *wahn*, *wagen*, *weg*. Zend : *vaca*, waggon.

The migrating Polynesians, never having seen the original waggon, still brought, in the names of their stars, a remembrance of their old home to these distant islands, thus showing their relationship to their brethren far north.

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE *versus* NEW-FOUNDLAND.

A TRIANGULAR DUEL—AN IMPOSSIBLE ARBITRATION.

"In 1713, in 1783, and even in 1814 and 1815, the French shore was almost completely uninhabited. By the terms of the Treaties made at those epochs it ought to have remained uninhabited." M. Flourens (ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs) in the French Chamber, 19th January, 1890.

"Arbitration appears now to be the only method to which resort can be had, if a plain and authoritative definition is required of the extent and nature of the rights secured to France by the Treaties." Lord Salisbury to the British Ambassador at Paris, 24th September, 1890.

"The continued existence of the French right upon the coast of Newfoundland is anomalous and intolerable." The Delegates from the people of Newfoundland to the Colonial Office, 31st May, 1890.

A little later than the present period of the Parliamentary Session last year, the grievances of Newfoundland were a source, not only of anxiety to the Government, but of tempest in the Legislature. The permanent quarrel between the British and the French fishermen on the Treaty shore of Newfoundland (the part where the French have a Treaty right to fish) was under the superintendence of the naval officers of the two nations, to whom (let us at once admit it) great praise is due for many years of courtesy, tact, and moderation, not even yet exhausted. But no statute authorizes them to use coercive measures.

The catching and canning of lobsters is a new industry in Newfoundland. It is practised by both French and British. The French maintain that the British have no right to do either on the Treaty shore.

The British maintain that lobsters are not fish, that canning lobsters is not drying fish, and that the French have no right to do this in Newfoundland. But the British

admit that they are, by Treaty, bound not in any manner to interrupt, by their catching or canning of lobsters, the fishery of the French. This contention is accepted by the British Government, which however does not maintain it.

Early in 1890, in the hope of coming to some permanent agreement on the subject, the British and French Governments drew up and promulgated a *modus vivendi* for the season, permitting all lobster traps set up before 1st July, 1889, and prohibiting others. Mr. Baird, an owner of prohibited lobster traps, would not remove his. The British naval commander, Sir Baldwin Walker, in pursuance of instructions, landed a party and removed them. Mr. Baird brought an action for damages in the Supreme Court of Newfoundland. Sir Baldwin Walker pleaded his instructions, and justified his conduct as an act of State. This was in February, 1891. Sir James Winter, Q.C., the leading member of the popular Delegates of May, 1890, in an elaborate and learned speech, proved, in reply, that such a defence was an admission of illegality, and he obtained from the Supreme Court a confirmation of the doctrine:—"BETWEEN SOVEREIGN AND SUBJECT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS AN ACT OF STATE."

The Newfoundland Government asked leave to appeal to the Privy Council. The Supreme Court of Newfoundland granted permission, but the Government at home, with a good sense which does them credit, refused to ask a legal sanction for what was really a *coup d'état*.

In 1788 an Act had been passed giving power to the Crown to remove any persons or vessels from the Treaty coast and shore if it deemed such proceedings proper and necessary to the carrying out of the Treaty and Declaration of Versailles. This Act, renewed in 1824, was repealed in 1832 (when a Legislative Assembly was granted to Newfoundland) to expire in 1834. No Newfoundland Act had taken its place, and there was no statute, Imperial or Colonial, providing any authority to decide what was the extent of French rights, to maintain them up to that limit,

or to restrain any attempt at their extension beyond it. On 19th March, 1891, the British Government brought in a Bill to revive and extend the Act of 1788 (G. III. xxviii., Cap. 35). It passed the House of Lords; its extension was mitigated in the House of Commons.

A fresh delegation arrived, and Sir William Whiteway, Prime Minister of Newfoundland, was heard before both Houses. At the suggestion of the delegates the Newfoundland Legislature passed an Act and the Bill was dropped.

"The Newfoundland French Treaties Act, 1891," (C. 6488) is intituled, "An Act for the purpose of carrying into effect engagements with France respecting fisheries in Newfoundland." It begins by reciting Article 13 of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of Paris (1763), Articles 4, 5, and 6 of the Treaty of Versailles (1783), the Declarations of the Kings of England and France appended to the Treaty, Articles 8 and 13 of the Treaty of Paris (1814), and Article 11 of the Treaty of Paris (1815). The Act then declares that differences had arisen between the Queen and the French Republic about French rights as to the catching and canning of lobsters, and that an agreement had been made between the High Contracting Parties to submit them to a Commission of Arbitration.

The Act goes on to say that:—

1. The Commission shall decide all questions submitted to it about the catching and preparation of lobsters.
2. The two Governments engage respectively to execute the decisions of the Commission of Arbitration.
3. The *modus vivendi* of 1890 shall be renewed for 1891.
4. When the lobster question has been settled, the Commission may take cognizance of other subsidiary questions on the text of which the two Governments shall have previously come to an agreement.
5. The Commission shall consist of three juriconsults designated by common consent by the two Governments; of two delegates from Great Britain and two from France.

6. The Commission of seven shall decide by majority of votes and without appeal.

7. It shall meet as soon as possible.

The terms of the *modus vivendi* are then recited, and the Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Assembly of Newfoundland enact :—

1. That Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, shall have the powers conferred on the Crown by the Act of 1788.

2. That among the objects for which these powers are given shall be the enforcement of the *modus vivendi* of 1890 for the season of 1891 and during the Arbitration.

3. That a penalty of 200 dollars shall be imposed on any one contravening the provisions of the Act.

4. That this Act shall continue in force only until the end of 1893 *and no longer*.

When Parliament opened on 9th February last, Lord Kimberley asked how the Newfoundland Chancery Suit (by which we understand him to mean the Arbitration) was going on. The mysterious reply of Lord Salisbury was :—

“ The noble Lord asks about Newfoundland and refers to a Chancery suit. The noble Lord proceeded to say that he hoped that the efforts of Her Majesty’s Government had procured a settlement of that suit. Well, if Her Majesty’s Government had been let alone we should have procured such a settlement. Our efforts had the very fairest promise of success. Unfortunately a Bill was necessary, and that Bill had to pass through both Houses of Parliament. In this House the Bill met with a certain amount of criticism, but noble lords opposite did their part fairly, and I do not think any great harm was done. When, however, it got into the other House of Parliament matters took a very different turn, and I am revealing no diplomatic secret—for whenever the papers are published the fact must appear—when I say that the observations which were made by gentlemen who believed themselves to be, and announced themselves to be, on the point of coming into office at an early period were of such a character as to entirely destroy in the French Government any hope that they might obtain the execution of the decrees of the arbitrator when he might be appointed. Consequently, since that speech was delivered, we have not moved a single inch ; and up to this time the French Government have not ventured or thought it right to submit to the French Chamber the ratification of the engagement on the strength of which we proposed that Bill to Parliament. I am justified, therefore, in saying that if the Newfoundland business has not got further than it has at present, it is not because we have not made any efforts in the matter, but

because our efforts have been interfered with by the somewhat rash criticism that others have devoted to them. (Hear, hear.) But it is fair to say that the French Government are, I believe, awaiting the results of the legislation which has been promised in the Newfoundland Assembly. The Bill has been agreed upon by the Governments of Her Majesty and of Newfoundland which is to be submitted to the Newfoundland Assembly. I do not venture to prophesy what its fate will be ; but until that fate has been decided I cannot tell the noble Lord how soon the Chancery suit will come to a conclusion."

We do not understand how Lord Salisbury can expect from the Newfoundland Legislature any enlargement of the ample powers granted, though only till 31st December, 1893, in the Newfoundland French Treaties Act ; unless he fancies that he can persuade the Newfoundland Legislature to make it perpetual. Not a charming prospect this.

Nor do we understand why any of last year's speeches in the House of Commons should have diminished such expectations as the French had that the decision of the arbitrators would be carried out. But we are not sorry to find that the arbitration hangs fire.

There is an opinion growing up, not only in this country but throughout Europe, that a Treaty to decide all international disputes by something which its advocates call "arbitration," would ensure the peace of the world. Lists of "successful arbitrations" have been flaunted about, and among them have been included the Lake Boundary disputes with the United States, which were settled by negotiation ; the King of Holland's arbitration on the Maine Boundary, which the United States rejected ; the separatist dispute between Belgium and Holland ; and the disputes brought before the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Arbitration is thus brought before the multitude as an abstraction ; the quarrels between Governments are not investigated. It is just as if a mob of Africans were to be convinced that European medicines and European doctors were better than their own, and were to call upon some ignorant European to cure their diseases. The quack doctor's patients would die. The arbitration orators will perhaps carry their point, and disputes will be submitted to arbitra-

tion. The fighting will come afterwards. Disputes between foreign nations will not be peaceably decided by arbitrations unless the grounds of the disputes are understood by those who arrange the arbitrations. The contention of the peace agitators is that the Governments are not competent to make such arrangements. This is not an extravagant contention. But if so, there is no remedy till the disputes are understood by a sufficient number of the people.

There are disputes on which arbitration may be perfectly safe. But these are disputes where either side can afford to lose without being ruined. There are other disputes in which failure may be of little consequence to one side, but ruin to the other. Even if we were anxious to promote international arbitration as a principle and as a system, we should feel it our duty to such a cause to show that in the case of Newfoundland a successful arbitration—that is, one that should do justice to all parties—is an absolute impossibility, and that any attempt to obtain one is dangerous, and must, at the very least, impede the redress of the Newfoundland grievances.

This impossibility, however, requires to be explained,* The principal fallacy is that the trouble arises from an obligation to observe the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht. M. Flourens declared that by the Treaty of Utrecht the “French shore” ought to have remained uninhabited. Now what says Article 13 of the Treaty of Utrecht:—

“The island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Great Britain . . . nor shall the most Christian King, his heirs and successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter, lay claim to any right to the said island or islands or to any part of it or them. . . . But it shall be *allowed* to the subjects of

* The limits permissible to us forbid more than a skeleton of the narrative from 1713 to 1889. Such a narrative, however, appeared in two articles in the Diplomatic Fly Sheet in 1890. “The Case for the Fishermen and the Colony” in the July number, and “The Case of France” in that for October. All the provisions of the Treaties by which we are bound are printed verbatim in the Newfoundland French Treaties Act, 1891.

The Convention of 1857 and the Agreement of 1885 did not receive the consent of the Colony, which was a condition of their validity, and are therefore *not* recited in this Act.

France to catch fish and to dry them on land, in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern point, etc.”

M. Flourens, ex-Minister, does not, however, stand alone in his demand for the desolation of the Treaty shore. In a despatch dated 21st September, 1888, from Admiral Krantz, Minister of Marine and Colonies, to M. Goblet, Minister of Foreign Affairs, we find the following :—

“We were thus entitled to believe, *in consequence of this series of engagements*, that the right exercised by France on the coast of the island of Newfoundland reserved to our fishermen is nothing else than a part of her ancient sovereignty over the island which she retained, while ceding the soil to England, but which she has never annulled nor alienated.” *“Affaires de Terre Neuve, 1891,” French Yellow Book, p. 185.*

The “series of engagements” was the Articles of the mysterious Convention of 1857, which stipulated that the engagements were to depend on the consent of the Colony. This was refused by the Legislature in a tempest of just indignation, the Speaker telling the British Government that, if it wanted to give something to the French, it should give them London which belonged to it.

The Treaty of Utrecht expired by the fact of war. But by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, the British Government revived it in favour of the French in Newfoundland, and gave St. Pierre and Miquelon to the French King, which he engaged not to fortify. This was the first departure from the Treaty of Utrecht. It was probably made in the hope that the concession of these islands would relieve the British fishermen from some of the competition of the French. But no compensating restriction was placed on the French in Newfoundland.

Again, the French Treaty rights in Newfoundland dissolved in war. Again were they restored in the Treaty of 1783. From this epoch dates the permanent quarrel, not between England and France, but between England and France on one side and Newfoundland on the other.

The simple provision of the Treaty of Utrecht, that the French should be *allowed* to catch and dry fish, was changed

for a specification which went into more minute particulars. But these particulars were contradictory.

In Article 5 of the Treaty of 1783 we find :—

“The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present Article as they *had the right to enjoy* that which was assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht.”

In the Declaration by George III. we also find :—

“The 13th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and the method of carrying on the fishery, which has at all times been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there.”

But we also find the following :—

“In order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give cause for daily quarrels, His Britannic Majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting in any manner by their competition, the fishery of the French, during the temporary exercise of it, which is granted to them upon the coast of the Island of Newfoundland.”

In 1788 the 28 George III. cap. 35 was passed. It is intituled,—

“An Act to enable His Majesty to make such regulations as may be necessary to prevent the inconvenience which might arise from the competition of His Majesty's subjects and those of the Most Christian King in carrying on the fishery on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland.”

This Act permitted the officers of the Crown, if they deemed it necessary, to remove any stages, flakes, train-vats or other works whatever for the purpose of carrying on the fishery, erected by His Majesty's subjects on the Treaty shore ; and all ships found within the same limits, and to compel any of His Majesty's subjects to depart thence, *any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.*”

Several proclamations by the Governors of Newfoundland, one so late as 1822, attest the severity with which this Act was carried out. But as the French fishermen were not allowed to remain in Newfoundland in the winter, they were only too glad to employ the inhabitants to take care of their belongings during their absence, and never demanded that the Treaty shore should be uninhabited.

The interpretation given by the British Government to these contradictory sentences is that the French may take up any length of the Treaty coast and shore for catching and drying their codfish, but that the British may use any

of the space so long as the French leave it *unused*, and that the French right does not extend to catching, far less to canning, lobsters, which are prepared in buildings forbidden to the French by the Treaty. But this quasi-exclusive use of the Treaty shore was not "the method" under the Treaty of Utrecht. What then does Lord Salisbury mean by submitting to arbitration the interpretation of the contradictory terms of a Treaty, the meaning of which the negotiators themselves did not know?

The Treaty of 1783 changed the limits of the Treaty shore. It gave back to the English all between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. John on the east side, and added to the Treaty shore the whole of the west coast. Consequently the communication between the two sides is impeded both by land and by sea. A railway from east to west has been forbidden, lest some Frenchman should want the terminus to dry his fish on it; and, for the same reason, no man can there make a wharf or build a warehouse.

Owing to this blockade, Newfoundland, though larger than Ireland, has, after 178 years of British rule, a population of only 200,000. It is not surprising that the inhabitants should declare that the continued existence of the French right upon their coast is anomalous and intolerable.

Of late years the cod have nearly deserted the coasts of Newfoundland, and the French carry on their cod-fishery almost entirely on the Banks. But a new grief has made the Newfoundland cup of bitterness overflow. Both before and after the Treaty of 1783 both English and French allotted bounties to their fishermen going to Newfoundland *from Europe*. The English bounties have long ceased. The French bounties continue. A French statute (*loi*) of 22nd April, 1832, fixed afresh the bounties to be paid to sailors proceeding from France to the fisheries, and on the export of cod to the Colonies and foreign countries. A revised statute was passed 22nd July, 1851, and renewed for ten years on 28th July, 1860. We have not found a statute for 1870; but on the 15th December, 1880, the statute

of 1851 was renewed for ten years, and on 31st July, 1890, it was renewed to the 30th June, 1901. The statute of 1880 extended the bounties to expeditions equipped at St. Pierre and Miquelon.

The effect of this was not felt at first, but in a few years the increase of the quantity of French caught fish, cheapened by the bounties, began to tell. The imports of cod-fish into the port of Naples were :—

1885.					Cwts.
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	35,000
French	...	...	...	...	5300
Total					<u>40,300</u>
1886.					Cwts.
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	25,600
French	...	...	...	...	18,800
Total					<u>44,400</u>

Admiral Aube reported to M. Flourens as follows :—

1880	Ships	...	147	Tonnage	...	23,588
1886	„	...	187	„	...	30,337

To this he adds: 182 ships for the Bank fisheries equipped at St. Pierre and Miquelon in 1886. "*Affaires de Terre Neuve*," p. 126.

The exports, of quintals of 112 lbs. each, were :—

1881.					
St. Pierre	...	...	...	...	347,017
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	1,463,439
1886.					
St. Pierre	...	...	...	...	908,300
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	1,080,024

It is clear that the French might, by their bounties, drive the Newfoundlanders entirely out of the cod fish market.

The Newfoundlanders, while driven out of the fish market of the world, would be forbidden to seek any other employment, at least in Newfoundland. They are fighting the French bounties by the Bait Act, which, since 1887, forbids the sale of bait to the French; but the French, though they no longer fish for cod on the coasts of New-

foundland, fish there for bait, by treaty right ; and the blockade of the island continues. Besides, the French use the lobster catching and canning to carry out this blockade.

The Delegates complained that the British Government allow the French easement to take precedence of the British sovereignty. They said, 31st May, 1890 :

“ Where the Government of Britain is clearly of opinion that a claim set up by France is without a shadow of foundation, it is the duty of Britain to refuse to permit the exercise of the French claim, and for France to seek, and for Britain to refuse or grant, as she may deem wise, a settlement by arbitration ; Britain refusing to allow the exercise of the French claim over her soil until by the award of an arbitration the right of the French has been established.” “ *Affaires de Terre Neuve*,” p. 126. North America [6334].

Satisfactory arbitration is, we say, in this case impossible. Lord Salisbury, professedly, has proposed it because he thinks that he has found negotiation impossible. Certainly the basis for a negotiation has not been found, at least by our Foreign Office. But a war of bounties would soon lay a basis for negotiation.

Great Britain, by granting bounties to the inhabitants of Newfoundland, would violate no treaty with France, and she could easily destroy all the advantages in their bank fishery, which the French obtain by their treaty rights in Newfoundland. They would probably accept pecuniary compensation, which they now refuse.

On this point, however, we have no space for argument.

In recommending this plan to consideration, we may also suggest that it might be well to consider, first, how it was that the framers of the Treaty of 1783 came to be unable to know their own meaning ; and, secondly, whether the proposed Arbitration Commission is calculated to discover what these gentlemen evidently did not know themselves.

We have our opinions on these subjects, but having no space at present to justify them, we refrain from stating them.

CREATION BY THE VOICE AND THE ENNEAD OF HERMOPOLIS.

BY PROF. DR. G. MASPERO.*

THE theology of Heliopolis represented creation as effected by a series of muscular efforts and violent acts of the different gods of the Ennead, which gave the world the form it now bears. This theory doubtless seemed too materialistic for other Priestly colleges ; a different doctrine soon developed itself side by side with it, in which speech, and above all the simple emission of the voice produced the effects attributed by the School of Heliopolis to muscular force alone.

The human voice had, and still has among most Oriental nations, a power not attributed to it by Europeans. It is the magical instrument, above all others, without which the highest operations of the art cannot succeed. Each of its emissions awakens an echo in the world of the Invisible, and sets to work forces of which the vulgar herd suspect neither the existence nor the manifold activities. Doubtless, the mere text of a Summons (*Évocation*), the sequence of words of which it is formed, has its real value, but this value is only full when the human voice comes in to give life to the letter ; the spell, to be efficacious, must be accompanied by song, must become an *incantation*, a *Carmen*. When declaimed with the sacramental chaunt (*mélopée*), without the modification of a single modulation, it necessarily produced its full effect ; a false note, an error in the measure, the slightest break between two sounds, and it was null and void of effect. This is the reason why all who recited prayers or *formulae* intended to bind the gods to the ac-

* Translated from the French by C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

complishment of a determinate act, called themselves *Mâ Khrôou*, or correct-voiced, and this is true not only, as commonly thought, of the dead, but also of the living; the happy or unhappy results of the operation depended entirely on the correctness of their voice. It was therefore the voice which had the preponderating part in prayer and in sacrifice, *i.e.*, in the capture (*mainmise*) of the gods by man; without the voice, *formulæ* were but a dead letter. It is long since I established this point, and showed that in the alliance of voice and speech which constitutes prayer or a spell (*conjuración*), those were mistaken who only took account of speech and neglected the voice.

I have endeavoured to establish by texts, both in my lectures at the Collège de France and in my informal address (*Conférence familière*) at the Faculty of Protestant Theology, that the voice without speech was reputed to have the same effect as the two combined, and had been, according to certain Egyptian schools, the agent in Creation. I have elsewhere collected the texts; I do not therefore cite them anew here, but merely give their substance. They all come back to the same idea:—The Supreme God who is reputed to be the God of Creation, opens his mouth, and the gods come out of it, either the gods generally, or some particular god. Once come forth, the gods each set to work on that which they were predestined to accomplish. These texts have hitherto been translated under the influence of the preconceived idea that what was here meant was a *formula*, and not an emission of the voice: but this is only an instinctive interpretation, and the Egyptian phrases simply state the fact of a Divine mouth opening and gods issuing from it.

The meaning and value of the proceeding are set in relief by a passage from a magical book in Greek, in which the doctrine of the Creation is explained according to the system of the Marcosians.* I refer for a full exposition of

* Heretics of the second century after Christ, named after Marcus, who perhaps, says Blunt (*Dict. of Sects and Heresies*), a follower of Valen-

the system to the splendid publication by Leemans. I only give a *résumé* of the parts which touch more particularly on my subject. The Magician addresses himself to *Thoth* : — 'I invoke thee,' says he, 'Oh Hermes, thou who containest everything in every speech and dialect, as thou wast first celebrated by thy subordinate, the Sun, to whom the care of everything is entrusted.' The solar forms then salute *Thoth*, who answers them thus : 'And speaking, the god clapped his hands, and burst seven times into bursts of laughter. *Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha*, and when he had done laughing, seven gods were born,' one for each burst of laughter, as we see. When Hermes first laughed, light appeared, to light everything ; and the Creation began to take place. He laughed six times in succession, and each burst of laughter gave birth to a fresh being and a fresh phenomenon ; the earth, feeling the sound, in its turn gave utterance to a cry ; and bowed itself, and the waters were divided into three bodies (*masses*). Then were born Destiny, Justice, Opportunity, the Soul. The last, at its birth, first laughed, then wept, whereupon the god gave forth a breath, bent himself towards the earth and produced the serpent Python, which is possessed of universal prescience. At the sight of the dragon, the god was struck with stupor, and clacked his lips, whereupon an armed being appeared. The god, seeing this, was again struck with stupor, as at sight of a more powerful one than himself, and, lowering his eyes towards the earth, exclaimed, *Iao* ! The god who is master of everything was born of the echo of that sound.'

This passage clearly shows us the idea : the marked sound *kha, kha*, creates the gods, then after the laughter the whistling, after the whistling the clacking of the lips, after the clacking of the lips a body of sound, *Iao*, without significance in human speech. The Marcosians have only developed the old Egyptian conception of the Creation by the voice. Among them, as among the

heathen theologians of Egypt, the gods come out of the mouth of God by the simple emission of the voice.

This theory of creation by the voice is a refinement on that of creation by speech ; speech, in fact, represents something complex and concrete to a greater degree than mere emission of sound. Doubtless, the laughter, the whistling, the clacking of the Creator are so many material facts, but at least all that they express is contained in one only, undivided sound, produced without apparent effort, within a very brief space of time. Sound, thus understood, bears to speech the same relation as the whistle of the officer of the watch bears to the full word of command. It becomes almost an abstraction. In the beginning the Creator had spoken (*parlé*) the world ; later he produced it (*l'émit*) with a sound. It only remained for him to will it out of chaos (*néant*) by thought ; but that is a conception of which Egyptian theology does not seem to have dreamed. Even the idea of creation by the voice did not spread among the people as much as that of creation by muscular action. The Greek text, which I cited above, attributes it to *Hermes = Thoth*, and the Egyptian inscriptions show us that this was right. *Thoth* is, in fact, by nature the god of speech and of the voice, and the majority of the titles represent him as occupied in producing voice or speech, and in preserving the effect of it in writing. But *Thoth* is not a simple personality : mixed up at an early date with the Osirian myth, it is, above all, through the monuments of that myth that we know him at the present day. He appears to us as subordinate to the god of the dead, transporting the spirits on his Ibis wing to the Fields of *Iarou*, carrying out the weighing of the souls, and watching the scales, acting as a sort of clerk of the court. We also see him registering the actions of the kings as he had registered those of King *Osiris-onnophris*, and promising them centuries of life.

All this gives the idea of a secondary personage, and if we remark that he does not figure among the members of

the great Ennead of Heliopolis, but is relegated to the smaller group, one is apt to be strengthened in the belief that he played a part of minor importance in the development of Egyptian theology. But in so concluding we should be wrong.

The *Thoth* myth seems to have been elaborated in two different towns of the name of Hermopolis, one of which was in lower, the other in middle Egypt. The *Thoth* of the Delta has for his constant surname, as Brugsch has well noted, *Ouapou-rohoui*, he who judges between the parties, and this epithet shows us that it was he who chiefly introduced the Osirian element into the Hermes myth. Hermopolis the lesser, in fact, forms part of the same geographical group as Bouto, Mendes, Busiris, Heroöpolis, all towns belonging to gods of the Osirian Cycle, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Sit*. One form of the legend tells us that *Hor* and *Sit*, unable to gain the mastery the one over the other, carried their cause to *Thoth*, and that he judged between them: it was as a neighbour that he had been chosen as arbitrator, and we see by what a local accident he enters into the History of *Osiris*. The *Thoth* of the greater Hermopolis was swept away (*entraîné*) in the water of the lesser, but the town over which he held sway was too important for him altogether to lose his identity. He remained there, to the last, the supreme god that he had been in the beginning. He is there all that the "Feudal" gods are, the maker (*fabricant*), *Iri*, and the guide of all that is and of all that as yet is not, the "creator" of beings, "the architect (*fabricant*) of the whole of this universe." A hymn of the Ptolemaic age, which Brugsch cites in this connection, accentuates this character of creator, all-powerful, by placing *Thoth* on the same level with *Atoumou-Rū-Khopri*, the chief of the Ennead of Heliopolis.

But his method of creation is not the same as that of *Toumou*. It is in conformity with the god's nature, and is accomplished by the modes of action which are peculiar to

him. Now these modes are of two kinds, (1) the *formula*, spoken or written, and (2) the voice. The more ancient of the two is the *formula*; and it is by the recitation of magic *formulae*, by incantation, that he created the world. The voice, the properly cadenced (*juste*) voice, was at first only the necessary vehicle of the *formula*, but, by a process of abstraction, became the sole instrument of creation. The chief stages in this transformation may be noted at this point. In its beginning, the *formula* contains intelligible phrases in human speech, embracing the human name of the gods. Gradually, as we recede from the age in which it was drawn up, the sense becomes darker, partly through the change of Idiom, which alters while the prayer remains unaltered, partly by the change of ideas, which become refined and are alienated from the coarseness of early ideas; and it then comes to be thought (*sembler*) that the gods, in order to be reached, require the use of a language unintelligible to the rest of mankind, and desire to be called upon by names which are not those given them by the populace. The *formula* is completed by a gibberish (*galimatias*) of syllables and names, some borrowed from foreign tongues, others completely formed (*formés de toutes pièces*). In these the interjections and vowels ended by carrying the day, all the more easily that they constituted a veritable musical notation, marking the chaunt (*mélodie*) on which the emphatic passages were to be recited.

The invocations, so frequent from a certain date, in which certain series predominated, as, *e.g.*, *a a a a*; *e e e e*; *i i i i*; etc., are real invocations by the voice alone, in which the sound operates by its own force, without the help of words. This is the method which *Thoth* employed, and which the other gods borrowed from him. It had been known and used from a high antiquity, for the allusions to the gods coming out of the mouth of the Creator, of which I spoke above, are found on monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty. *Thoth*, therefore, created the

world at the same time that he put forth the gods from his mouth. But what were the gods so put forth, and what part did they play relatively to him?

His temple at Hermopolis, and the town itself, bore names of significance in regard to this question: Castle of the Five, Town of the Eight. Strange as it may seem at first sight, the latter is a mere mythological development of the former. The five gods, after whom the temple was named, had among them a supreme chief, *Thoth*, with four supplementary gods. By adding a goddess to each of these there was obtained an Octoad, after which Hermopolis is called the Town of the Eight, *Echmouneïn*. To sum up, these names show us in the theology of Hermopolis, two councils of gods, of whom the latter is derived from the former; a Council of Five, composed of a Monad and a Tetrad, a Council of Nine, composed of a Monad and an Octoad. These are, as we say, the two fundamental divisions of the Ennead of Hermopolis, and they have the same meaning. Creation is only accomplished, and the world can only last, on condition that the heaven separated from the earth shall remain firmly established on its four pillars. The first care of the Creator must therefore be, at Hermopolis as at Heliopolis, to produce the four gods who are to watch over the pillars; these are the most necessary gods, the first whose production is required, the last who must die. Therefore it is not only at Hermopolis and Heliopolis that they should be found; they ought to exist in all the towns, and their presence in all the systems of local religion necessarily favoured the rapid diffusion of the theories connected with the Ennead of Heliopolis. The names which they bore doubtless differed in various places. At Hermopolis they were called *Nou*, *Hehou*, *Kakou*, *Ninou*. Egyptologists, who have studied them—Lepsius, Dümichen, Brugsch, Wiedemann—have given them very varying characteristics. Without discussing their opinions, all of which appear to me to contain a great deal of truth, I think that at first these four gods were the

Guardians of the Four Pillars, the gods of the Four Cardinal Points, of the Four Winds of the world. The goddesses who are allotted to them belong to what I have called the class of grammatical goddesses. They are derived from the name of the god by the addition of the feminine inflection—*Nouit* from *Nou*, *Hehit* from *Hehou*, *Kakit* from *Kakou*, *Ninit* from *Ninou*; they are therefore beings produced by reasoning, as an after-thought, to make up a complete whole. They were invented at the time when the Ennead of Heliopolis was penetrating Hermopolis, and it became necessary to add to the Council of the Five the four goddesses who were wanting to it. The pair, *Nou-Nouit*, answered, as far as we may judge, to the pair, *Shou-Tafnit*, *Hehou-Hehit* to *Sibou-Nouit*, *Kakou-Kakit* to *Osiris-Isis*, *Ninou-Ninit* to *Sit-Nephthys*.

The slender importance of the part played by the goddesses, and even their actual uselessness in the system of Hermopolis, may easily be explained if we go back to what I have said of the method of creation employed by *Thoth*. *Thoth* creates by the formula and the voice. He opens his mouth, and the gods come out of it, the four gods who set the world in order (*disposent*), and bind earth to heaven. In the doctrine of Heliopolis the gods acted by brute efforts, being only able to exist and act by conforming themselves to the brutish conditions of humanity. They begot each other, and consequently must have for companions goddesses capable of conceiving and giving birth.

At Hermopolis, on the contrary, the exclusive use of the formula and of the voice passing from *Thoth* to his four assessors, rendered marriage useless for them. Since it was only necessary for them to speak in order to act, what need could they have of fertile companions? We can understand that they did without them down to the time when they were united with the divinities of the Ennead of Heliopolis, when they were obliged to duplicate themselves in order to rise to the number of eight. As marriage imposed upon them by the new dogma in no

way altered their natural character, we can also understand that their wives never attained to a clear and well-defined existence. They themselves, moreover, had not as sharply defined a personality as had the gods of Heliopolis, *Shou*, *Sibou*, *Osiris*, *Sit*, who had each his own method of action, differing from that of the rest, and which prevented any confusion between them.

The four gods of Hermopolis, on the contrary, had at their disposal only one means of action, always a sovereign mode, but always the same. There was therefore, in their manner of being, nothing to distinguish them necessarily the one from the other, and their very shapes had a general conformity, such as was not the case with the gods of the Ennead of Heliopolis. They are four beings of human shape, without attributes and without characteristic faces. They are four men with the head of a frog and four women with the head of a serpent. They are eight baboons gathered round *Thoth*, in adoration of *Thoth*, the chief baboon. Consequently it was not the custom to invoke them separately, but they were invoked collectively as the eight, *Khmounou*. In later times, the little individual existence which their condition left them was eventually withdrawn, and they were only spoken of as one being, whom the texts call by the name *Khomminou*, the god Eight.

The Ennead of Hermopolis never enjoyed the same popularity as that of Heliopolis. Its very abstract character prevented it from having any success except with theologians. Some of the gods who compose it are found mentioned even in the Pyramid texts; and it probably was received from that time in the schools of theology. Nevertheless, the oldest worship in which we see it adopted, and that in which it is the most fully adopted, is precisely that of Theban *Amon*. *Amon*, born to political life later than *Phtah*, was not in feudal relations, like *Phtah*, with the gods of Heliopolis. He had it in his power to be eclectic, and thus the more easily to make himself a place in the Ennead of Hermopolis, which was favourable to his tendency

towards unity and universal domination. The impersonal and almost abstract Octoad of Hermopolis, offered less resistance to his tendencies than the very individual and very living gods of Heliopolis. We therefore find fairly often, during the Theban epoch, and on Theban monuments, *Amon* substituted for *Thoth*, at the head of the Ennead of Hermopolis, and receiving in his stead the homage of the eight Baboons, or of the eight gods with the heads of frogs and serpents. He then creates by voice and by speech, and the Octoad which issues from his mouth continues the creation under his orders by the same method as it did under the orders of *Thoth*.

The fall of Thebes, and the consequent ruin of *Amon*, delayed still more the diffusion of the Ennead of Hermopolis, or rather its juxtaposition to the Ennead of Heliopolis in the sanctuaries. But on the other hand, the ever-increasing importance gained by Osiris, and the gods of his cycle, added to the influence of *Thoth* and of his methods.

The texts whose real compilation (*rédaction*) may be attributed to the last days of the Egyptian religion are so few that we can scarcely follow the development of myths and ideas. The preponderating part which Hermes played in the Greco-Roman epoch proves to us, that *Thoth*, and consequently his methods of creation by the speech and the voice, must have carried the day in the schools at least from the time of the Saïte Dynasties. The mode of action of *Atoumou* and the gods of Heliopolis had seemed decidedly too gross, and that of *Thoth* had been chosen in preference. Hermetic books, if not in their form, at least in their substance, represent the ideas of the last stage of the doctrine elaborated for *Thoth* by the priests of Hermopolis, and continued subsequently by the addition of the Heliopolitan elements adopted by the theologians of the Theban Dynasties, and transmitted by them to the *Theurgi* of the Alexandrian epoch. The word (λόγος) and the true voice (φωνή ἀληθής) of *Thoth-Hermes* carried the day over the brute force of the old gods of Heliopolis.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THERE is no doubting the statement that, in proportion to their importance, Oriental subjects are greatly neglected in this country. The Indian languages have been more studied than other Eastern tongues, and general Indian subjects have been more attended to than other Eastern matters, and in a country which rules India this could not well be otherwise. But, considering their importance, even these have been shamefully neglected, alike in our great schools of learning and by our Government, which has done so little to encourage original research in this direction.

But other Oriental languages—and particularly of the Semitic group—have been yet more overlooked. Remembering the importance of Arabic in commerce and in diplomacy: remembering also its vast and valuable literature, and, as I have elsewhere tried to show, its importance for Biblical study, it is astonishing that this language has received and now receives so little attention. The late Dr. Lee wrote as follows to the late Rev. F. Bosworth, M.A. :—“ Prior to 1819, when I had the honour of being elected Arabic Professor at Cambridge, not a lecture had been delivered on either Hebrew or Arabic learning at either of our Universities for, perhaps, the preceding 100 years. The endowments at Cambridge were too small to induce able and inquiring men to attend to studies of this sort, being only £40 a year. Besides, Scripture learning was not greatly in request in those times.”

Hebrew and Aramaic have been more cultivated and more has been done to promote their study. Yet even these have been practically shelved, compared with what has been done to further classical and even New Testament study.

Assyrian is a comparatively new study everywhere, and that because, until not many decades back, we had no

material to work upon for learning the language. But for some years now, we can read the Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform with almost as much certainty as we read Hebrew. Numerous texts have been published, with transliterations, translations, and commentaries. We have now several good Grammars, and the Lexicons are gradually being made and issued. No one competent to judge, questions the great value of the Assyrian language and literature. Yet until last year, from John O'-Groat's to Land's End, there was nowhere in these British Islands a professor of Assyrian, one employed simply as such. It is well that Professor Sayce should be the first, for he has done more than any other in England to popularize Assyrian. In Cambridge, my friend Mr. S. A. Strong—a pupil of Professor Sayce's—has lately been appointed Lecturer in Assyrian, and, from what I know of him, I believe he will increase the number of Assyriologists.

Two hundred years ago we were doing more for Eastern study than Germany. Now, and for a long time, we are doing unspeakably less. This is painfully apparent in the department of Semitic languages as used for Biblical ends. Half a century ago in what a sad condition was English Biblical exposition! The English commentaries produced then and before, make all true Englishmen blush. We condemn the Germans for their anti-supernaturalism, but I have often said, "Thank God a thousand times for those German rationalists." I may not like their rationalism, nor many other things in their writings. But at least they are not afraid to try and get behind the sacred writings, to understand the times, occasions and authors. They have enabled us to see in the Bible a series of living productions that had their rise in this world and in connection with real men and women who lived in it. And their daring has awakened the orthodox Bible students of these islands; so that we are following in their wake and producing works ourselves as original as theirs, and often more sober, and we shall in the near future do

much more. But we cannot forget the immense debt we owe to the Germans. Much of our Semitic learning is obtained from German grammars and lexicons. Even the United States of America have gone beyond England in enthusiasm for Semitic languages for Biblical purposes, and in efforts to promote their study. This may be accounted for by two considerations :

(1.) American Theological students have continued their studies in Germany much more largely than those of this country. Dr. Pusey was so alarmed by this that, in 1832, he wrote to Dr. E. Robinson:—"Indeed, I have been looking with anxiety to America ever since I learned to what extent the education of your young divines was carried on in Germany."

(2.) Professors of Semitic languages in the American States have made greater efforts to popularize the study of these languages than corresponding professors among us. The late Professor Moses Stuart of Andover was not only a diligent student of Hebrew and its cognates, but he was a most inspiring teacher, and an enthusiastic advocate by pen and otherwise of his special studies. So magnetic was his influence, that students gathered around him from all directions, and they invariably left with something of his enthusiasm for Semitic studies. He was professor of Sacred Literature at Andover during the long period of thirty-eight years, during most of which Andover was the Halle of America. Gesenius's *Lexicon* was translated into English first of all by an American, the late Prof. Gibbs of Yale. Winer's *Chaldee Grammar* has been put into English by two Americans, Mr. Riggs and Prof. Hackett, but no Englishman ever attempted a translation. Gesenius's *Grammar* was put into English by the late Dr. Conant long before the late Dr. Davies translated it for this country.

At the present day there are two men in America who have done more to make known the importance to Theological students of Hebrew and its cognates, and to excite an interest in them, than all the Semitic professors in this

country put together: Dr. Briggs of Union College, and Dr. Harper of Chicago, recently of Yale. Besides teaching classes and firing their own pupils with their own zeal, they have written books and pamphlets, given public lectures, and organized Summer Schools, which are held in important centres. So that they not only influence students, but also come in contact with ministers and laymen, and impart some of their own feeling to them. They issue their *Hebraica* and their *Old and New Testament Student*. They have their *American Institute of Sacred Literature*, which, besides organizing the Summer Schools, arranges for teaching by correspondence and for examinations. We have Semitic scholars in this country fully equal to the best on the other side of the water: we might say even more. But our scholars bury themselves in their class-rooms or their studies, and seem to be troubled with no excessive amount of fervour. It may be remembered that, in the spring of 1887, in the *Athenæum*, I pleaded strongly for the establishment of a "British Hebrew or Semitic Institute," similar to the American Hebrew Institute, since developed into the American Institute of Sacred Literature. I received very cordial letters from the leading scholars of this country. They wished me success in so desirable a movement, and several kindly offered to help when it was formed. None were inclined to help in *forming* it, though they could accomplish immeasurably more than I could. I hope even yet that something of this kind will be planted and take root in this country. If we could as students and teachers of the Semitic languages meet together once or more every year, we should help and encourage each other and organize methods of furthering the interests of our special studies as nothing else could.

We have in these islands at the present time a noble band of workers, who, if in some way brought together, could do much that otherwise is impossible. Why should we not have an annual congress, just as Scientists meet

annually as the "British Association"? I have spoken of the Semitic languages, because my interest lies chiefly in them; but students of other Eastern languages should band in a similar manner for similar ends. If we had an annual Oriental congress we could, as is now done by the triennial congress, branch off into various sections.

I shall now glance at some of the Oriental work done in Great Britain and Ireland. And first THE EDUCATIONAL WORK.

In no British or Irish *school* is Hebrew, or are its cognates taught, except in the City of London school, where my friend Dr. W. Mead Jones is teacher, and in the Merchant Taylors' school. In not one of the great public schools is any attention paid to Eastern languages. The boys are carefully drilled in the classics, so that they go up to the universities proficient classical scholars. Why should they not be able to make a similar start in the most important Eastern languages, if they intend going on with them?

I am professor in a theological college, and I have been in the same position, in the same college, for just upon eleven years.* Now I have never yet had one man enter my Hebrew classes who had mastered his alphabet before doing so. And nearly all Hebrew professors in colleges and universities have the same experience. The men come to us often well grounded in Latin and Greek, because the preparatory schools do that. But though time and ability are available to lay the foundation of Hebrew scholarship, there is no one to teach. In Germany, Hebrew is taught, I am told, in the schools. The title of Fürst's small lexicon reads thus:—"Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Schul-Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament:" A Hebrew dictionary for use in schools! How singular that sounds to English ears! And there are Hebrew grammars and other Hebrew dictionaries or lexicons "für Schulgebrauch." The Gymnasien answer largely to our public schools,

* Since writing the above I have accepted the Principalship of the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham.

though the Realschulen provide commercial and scientific education. Hebrew is regularly taught in the Gymnasien. In many of them there are two or more first-class men lecturing daily in elementary and in advanced Hebrew.

Candidates for the ministry, before they are admitted as theological students into the university, are required to study Hebrew three or four years at the Gymnasium, and then to pass a creditable examination in most of the Old Testament. With this good start they enter the university, and spend several years under the best scholars; what wonder that they become splendid Semitic scholars? In our higher schools it ought to be possible, if desired, for a boy to begin his studies in Hebrew, etc. If each school cannot of itself engage a teacher for these languages, two or more schools might join to keep one peripatetic teacher between them.

At present, in this country, Eastern tongues are begun too late in life. If we are to excel, as we might and ought, we must let our boys and girls begin at an earlier age.

Now I come to our UNIVERSITY COLLEGES.

In some of these, Eastern languages are taught; but in the great majority they are wholly ignored. University College, London, easily leads the way with professors of Arabic and Persian, Hebrew, Pali with Buddhist literature, and Sanscrit: four professors in all. In King's College, London, there are three Orientalist professors. Liverpool, Birmingham, Nottingham,* and Sheffield Colleges, have not even one teacher of Eastern languages. There is one at the Yorkshire College at Leeds, and one at Bristol.

In Wales we have three university colleges. In one there was, until lately, a Hebrew lecturer, a Nonconformist minister, who lectured there twice a week. In another there is a professor who teaches Oriental and modern languages. In the third there is no teacher of Eastern tongues at all. Now in all these colleges there ought to be at least one teacher of, say, Semitic languages. And if at first there

* At Nottingham University College a professor of Hebrew has been appointed, who entered upon his duties in October, 1891.

are no students, he might be employed to give public lectures, and to conduct extension classes in different towns. There would often be some students, and their numbers would grow. If the German Gymnasien give Oriental studies a place in their curriculum, surely our University Colleges should do so, and with more reason.

I speak next about the theological colleges of the various religious denominations in this country. In the great majority of these colleges there is not even one professor allowed to give his whole time to Hebrew, the Old Testament, and related studies. This is the state of things in Wales without a single exception, and, as a rule, those who deal with Hebrew have to teach half a dozen subjects besides. I have taught more than half a dozen subjects in addition to Hebrew. The Bala Calvinistic Methodist College has just been thrown open to all denominations, and to both sexes. The committee of this "Welsh Mansfield," as it has been called, have just invited applications for a professorship of Hebrew and its cognates. This is the first chair of the kind ever founded in Wales, though I think others will soon follow.

From Wales, which is worst off, let us look at Scotland, which seems best off in this. In the three theological colleges of the Free Church, and in the one theological college of the United Presbyterian Church, there is a professorship of Hebrew and Old Testament interpretation, and the same is probably the case in other theological colleges. Within late years all students for the three Presbyterian Churches (the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church) must pass an examination in Hebrew grammar, and in easy translation and re-translation, before they are allowed to enter on their theological curriculum. And they are compelled to devote themselves to Hebrew at least two of the three or four years of that curriculum. At the close of their course, before being licensed to preach, there is an exit test, conducted by examiners appointed by the various churches.

In addition to this, Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis are included in the requirements for the degree of B.D., which is given by each of the Scotch universities; and the best theological students aim at winning this. In Edinburgh, at least, this degree is taken by men from England, Ireland, Canada, Cape Colony, etc., etc. I have looked over the requirements of this examination in Hebrew, and at some papers submitted; and I consider them very respectable, though no knowledge of the cognate languages is asked, nor any acquaintance with extra-Biblical Hebrew writings. But to obtain the doctorate of philology, if the Semitic languages be the department taken, Aramaic in its two branches, and Arabic must be studied as well as Hebrew, and a thesis, showing original research, must be sent in, six months before the examination.

Eight years ago Professor D. L. Adams, of Edinburgh opened classes at his University for the study of Syriac and Arabic, and he has conducted them with success ever since. Previous to this, Hebrew was the only Semitic language taught at this University. The number studying Aramaic or Arabic during a session has varied from 3 to 12. The average number of Hebrew students is 70 or rather over during the winter session, and 12 or so during the summer.

There are two scholarships in the Edinburgh University for excellence in Semitic languages. One (the Jeffrey) is for one year only, and is worth about 80%. The other (the Vans Dunlop) is of the value of 100% annually for three years. Hebrew (Biblical), Aramaic, and Arabic are required for each of these examinations. I am rather surprised that in Edinburgh University extra-Biblical Hebrew (Mishnaic, Talmudic, etc.) are so utterly ignored.

I have drifted off to the Universities almost without knowing, but I am still speaking of the training received by candidates for the Christian ministry. I have no doubt that a work similar to that going on at Edinburgh is accomplished in connection with the other Scotch univer-

sities, but I cannot here refer to each one separately. I shall, in a few moments, return to the Scotch Universities.

Coming to theological colleges in England, I am not aware of one in which one man is allowed to give his undivided attention to Hebrew and Old Testament, or to the Semitic languages. Among the Baptists of Great Britain and Ireland I know there is not one such. Mansfield College, Oxford, may have one, though I am doubtful,* but besides that I know of no Congregational college in these islands with such a professor. This is also the case with other churches of this country, established and non-established; and I think it reflects very unfavourably upon the intelligence of our religious leaders. We have not yet awakened, as the Germans and as even the Americans have, to the importance of the Semitic languages as a means of understanding the Bible. There are unmistakable signs of a better state of things coming, but the change is very gradual, and it is for those who see the need to bestir themselves to expedite this change.

In Wales, and I suspect the remark applies to England, Hebrew is never prescribed, never even permitted, as a subject for the entrance examination. One reason for this, doubtless, is that there are no preparatory schools, and hardly any university colleges, where Hebrew is taught. But if a candidate who has studied Hebrew presents it for the entrance examination, he should at least be allowed to do this; and this subject should be allowed to rank as equal in importance to the other subjects. At the annual committee (held August 4th, 1891) of the Haverfordwest College, in which I had the honour of being professor, I proposed an arrangement by which Hebrew can be taken,

* Since writing the above I have been informed by Dr. Fairbairn, the Principal, that at present there are two Hebrew tutors at Mansfield College, and that next year there will be probably three. This is certainly good news; but I hardly think he means that two men are giving all their time to studying and teaching Hebrew. If I am not mistaken, they are advanced students giving lessons in Hebrew.

if the candidate desires it. I would go further and place a premium upon a knowledge of Biblical languages, if possessed. If such men enter our theological halls and colleges, they proceed at once to read the Old and New Testaments, and to critically examine them. At present new men have to start literally with the A B C of Hebrew ; and when they have just begun to use the languages for exegetical purposes, perhaps before even that, they have to quit the college to enter upon the manifold duties of the Christian ministry. No wonder they do not attempt any of the related languages so helpful to the real mastery of Hebrew, and that the great majority of them give up even the Hebrew.

I go on to consider THE UNIVERSITIES in their relation to Oriental studies ; and I begin with the general remark that in the German Universities very much more time is devoted to the study of Eastern subjects than in the British and Irish : any one who compares their calendars will see this at a glance.

I commence here, as in considering the University colleges, with my own country (Wales) ; and I regret to have to say that up to the present we have no university at all, though there is a probability of our having one at an early date. When this is the case, I trust that Eastern languages will be recognized in the degrees conferred, so that the University Colleges of Wales may have some encouragement in teaching these languages.

From Wales let us go, as before, to Scotland. In each of the four Scotch Universities there is a chair of Semitic languages, and in Edinburgh there is likewise a professorship of Sanskrit. Besides this one Sanskrit chair, the only Oriental languages taught from University chairs, and taught at all so far as I know in Scotland, are the Semitic.

The Scottish University Commissioners have recently included Semitic languages among the optional subjects for the M.A. ; but as yet there is no honours' course in this department, as there is in classics, mathematics, philosophy and

history. Such a course ought to be arranged, and as a step towards the doctorate. It would be well to bring pressure to bear upon the Commissioners, to induce them to amend their draft Ordinance.

In the Universities across the border all professors of Oriental languages must be members—not necessarily ministers—of the Church of Scotland, and must subscribe to the Westminster Confession. Until recently this was the case with all professors; but these doctrinal and ecclesiastical tests have now been removed from all chairs except from the purely theological ones and those of Oriental languages with the exception of the solitary Sanskrit chair referred to. In the interests of learning and of free and unrestrained inquiry, restrictions ought to be removed from all chairs of Oriental languages which ought to be put on the same footing as the chairs (linguistic, scientific, etc.), to which no credal conditions are attached.

Now let us cross the Channel to Ireland, where we have a most unsatisfactory state of things. We have three Irish universities, viz. the University of Dublin; the Royal University of Ireland, an unsectarian examining body, replacing the Queen's University; and the Catholic University of Ireland.

The University of Dublin has two professors wholly given up to Oriental languages, viz., Mir Aulad Ali, professor of Hindustanee and Arabic, and Dr. Robert Atkinson, professor of Sanscrit. There is no professorship of Hebrew standing by itself; for the Rev. T. K. Abbot, Dr. Lit., teaches other subjects, and is also Librarian of the University. There are assistant Hebrew teachers, but from all I can gather, very little solid work is done in Hebrew or Aramaic in connection with this University; and very little has been accomplished by it in the past to promote these studies, though the late Dr. Wall wrote some poor works on "Hebrew Vowels," etc., and the late Dr. Longfield, a Chaldee grammar. The late Rev. E. L. Hinck was a brilliant student of Assyrian, and his premature death was a serious loss to the cause of Assyriology;

but his labours belong to the period after he had retired to a country living. The only scholarships in connection with the Dublin University, for the encouragement of Hebrew and Old Testament studies, are the Wall Scholarships ; and to obtain these, candidates must show an acquaintance with Dr. Wall's own works, though these are bulky and almost worthless. I cannot forbear, at this point, referring to a former student of Trinity College, Dublin, who has done much to further the critical study of the Old Testament, and for whose valuable works on Zechariah, Koheleth, etc., we are deeply grateful. I refer to the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., etc., now of Liverpool.

The ROYAL UNIVERSITY of Ireland is an examining body only, but I note that the Rev. J. G. Murphy, D.D., is the only examiner appointed for Eastern tongues, and he has to do with but Hebrew. And moreover, the three University Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, which formed part of the now defunct Queen's University, have not a single Oriental professorship.

I have no knowledge of the Catholic University, but I hear that no Hebrew is taught ; and I have said enough to show that in the sister island, Eastern studies are in a bad way.

In England now we have five universities, including London, which is only an examining institution. The newest of these is the VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, with two Oriental chairs, that of Hebrew and Arabic at Owen's College, Manchester, occupied by the Rev. L. M. Simmons, B.A., and that of Hebrew at Leeds, occupied by Joseph Straus, Ph.D.

LONDON UNIVERSITY is, as just stated, an examining body only, but it has included several Oriental languages, among the requirements for degrees, and in branch IV. of the examination for M.A. it has made it possible for candidates to take Oriental languages only. Some languages should be added, however, and especially Assyrian, for if a student has worked hard at this difficult language he ought to be able to gain credit for it.

DURHAM, our smallest University, is largely theological. It has a professorship and also a lectureship of Hebrew.

Much more is done, as might be expected, at our two older and larger Universities; but though beyond all reckoning richer, they do less by far for Oriental learning, than corresponding German Universities. To show this let us compare Oxford, where Eastern studies are best off, with Berlin. At the former I find the following professors:—

Arabic (Laud's)	...	...	D. S. Margoliouth, M.A.
„ (Lord Almoner's)	...	...	G. F. Nicholl, M.A.
Assyrian (new chair)	...	...	A. H. Sayce, LL.D., etc.
Hebrew	...	...	S. R. Driver.
Old Testament Exegesis	...	...	Thos. Kelly Cheyne, M.A.
Rabbinical Literature...	...	...	A. Neubauer, M.A.
Sanskrit	...	...	Sir M. Monier Williams, M.A.
„ Deputy	...	...	A. H. Macdonell, M.A.,

and some teachers besides.

I have before me the list of lectures (*Verzeichniss der Vorlesungen*) of the Berlin University, for the Semester, October 16th, 1882, to March 15th, 1883. I am sorry I have nothing later, but the advantage, if any, will be found, I think, in favour of Oxford. Berlin has the following:—

Old Testament Exegesis	...	..	...	Dr. Dillman.
„ „ „	...	...	...	Dr. Kleinert.
„ „ „	...	...	...	Dr. Strack.
Hebrew Grammar	...	...	...	Dr. Strack.
Sanskrit Grammar	...	...	...	Dr. Weber.
Reading Regveda, etc.	...	...	...	Dr. Weber.
Zend and Pali	...	...	...	Dr. Weber.
Sanskrit Texts, etc.	...	...	..	Dr. Oldenburg.
Assyriology	...	...	...	Dr. Schrader.
Syriac	...	...	...	Dr. Barth.
Syriac Texts	...	...	...	Dr. Sachau.
Chaldee	...	...	..	Dr. Schrader.
Hebrew Exercises	...	...	...	Dr. Barth.
Arabic Grammar	...	..	...	Dr. Dieterici.
Arabic Syntax and Comparison of other Semitic Languages	...	...	...	Dr. Jahn.
Arabic Poetry	...	...	...	Dr. Sachau.
Exposition of Quran	...	...	..	Dr. Dieterici.
Egyptian Writing and Language	..	...	...	Dr. Erman.
Hieroglyphic Grammar	...	...	...	Dr. Brugsch.

Now this list is hardly fair, because in the case of the Germans I have divided the work done by each man in many cases. But a mere glance at the list will show how much more is done in Berlin than in Oxford to further Eastern studies. Remember, too, that Canon Cheyne at Oxford, though the only Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, is also a clergyman with a country living and a canonry. Remembering this, it must appear remarkable that he should be able to give us such magnificent works on the Old Testament.

At Berlin during the same Semester you might attend the following classes:—In the Old Testament, Introduction, history of text, Exegesis of Isaiah, under Dr. Dillman; Hebrew Grammar, Exegesis of Psalms, Aramaic, together with Aramaic portions of Old Testament, under Dr. Strack; and with Dr. Kleinert you could read the Book of Genesis. Also in most of the German Universities students can attend classes conducted by different teachers in different portions of the Old Testament. This is much aided by the German custom of appointing extraordinary professors and privat-docents. But something of the kind might well be imported into our own universities. Why should not a brilliant student, on ending his course, be appointed at a nominal salary to lecture in his own department? This opportunity, of establishing a reputation and of rising to something better, would spur him to do his best, which would profit the students. Besides, reasonable competition would helpfully stimulate the regular professors. Each teacher has his own methods of thought and expression; and it is a distinct advantage to young students to see things from different points of view under different teachers.

At Oxford most of the rewards fall to the lot of classical scholars. The only fellowship I know conferred for Oriental languages, was that bestowed on Canon Cheyne twenty-two years ago at Balliol. Nearly all the fellowship money goes to endow research in Latin and Greek. There are clear signs of coming changes in the interests of Oriental

study ; but congresses and individuals should bring all possible influences to bear upon the proper authorities, so that Oriental studies might be encouraged and aided more than is the case now.

Having briefly described what is done educationally for Oriental studies, I can but very cursorily refer to the stimulus given by the press in this country, and by the Government.

Besides the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and some other learned societies, I know of the following publications :—

1. *Babylonian and Oriental Review*, published by Mr. David Nutt. This review deals mostly with the cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrian and Babylonian languages, though valuable papers on other Oriental subjects appear from time to time.

2. *The Jewish Quarterly*, also published by Mr. David Nutt, is a valuable addition to the literature of the East ; but, as the title suggests, it is confined almost wholly to questions of Hebrew Scholarship and Jewish History. As there are more students of Hebrew and of the Old Testament than there are of the cuneiform language and literature, the *Jewish Quarterly* is of more general interest and usefulness than the *Babylonian and Oriental Review*.

3. *The Expositor* and *The Expository Times* are rendering splendid service to the cause of Old Testament learning. They are issued in the interests of Christian scholarship, and they appeal more especially to the ordinary student of Bible languages than to the specialist. They have done much to awaken a general interest among the clergy of all denominations in Hebrew and its cognates as instruments of Old Testament Exegesis ; and this interest already begins to show itself in the headquarters of theological learning, the Theological Colleges and the Universities. It is singular, and to be regretted, that no publication issued wholly in the interests of Hebrew and general Semitic Philology, from the Biblical standpoint, is

brought out in this country. If such a magazine were started, and the most learned Biblical students—Jews, Christians and others—were induced to write, much good would be done and the venture ought to succeed. The number of English scholars who could conduct and read such a magazine is growing so rapidly that something of the kind will become an immediate necessity. I much regret that the papers of the Society of Biblical Archæology are of late so given up to cuneiform and Egyptian; while Hebrew, Aramaic, Samaritan, etc., not to speak of other Biblical subjects, are almost entirely ignored. I am myself a member of this society, and perhaps I am partly responsible for its narrow programme; but any one who takes the trouble to consult the old volumes of the transactions and proceedings will notice a striking falling off in the general usefulness of the papers read now.

I should like to add some SUGGESTIONS to those thrown out in the course of this paper :—

1. Every University College in this country should be memorialized to recognize Eastern languages in its curriculum.
2. A circular should be sent to every Theological College, urging the authorities to include Hebrew in the subjects required for entrance, at least as an optional subject.
3. A letter should be sent, signed by the Secretary and President of this Congress, urging the London University to include Assyrian in the M.A. subjects, branch IV.
4. Arrangements should be made for the teaching of Semitic languages in the holidays. Ministers and students could be brought together, and an enthusiasm worked that would display itself in other ways.

T. WITTON DAVIES, B.A.

Principal, Midland Baptist College, Nottingham.

THE GREAT PATH-FINDER

IN TROJAN AND PRE-HELLENIC ANTIQUITY.

(*Personal Recollections from 1877-1890.*)

I.

IN all the biographical notices of Schliemann, nothing whatever has been said of his political views. In that respect, he certainly did not lay himself out very much. Yet there can be no doubt that, at heart, he strongly sided with the cause of popular freedom, in a degree only known to a very few who enjoyed his intimacy.

A circumstance connected with his earliest public appearance may give a clue to those who have only heard of him as an explorer in the field of archæology. "*Citizen of the United States of America*"—these were the words which Heinrich Schliemann proudly and, as many at the time thought, somewhat strangely, added to his name on the title-page of his first works. The unusual designation rather grated on the fastidious ears of those in Europe who, in years now fortunately long gone by, were loth to acknowledge that a self-made, self-taught man, fired by his enthusiasm for the immortal epic and dramatic poetry of the Greeks, had actually unearthed the charred and blackened ruins of "Sacred Ilios." But there was a real meaning in Schliemann's thus markedly pointing to the free country of his adoption.

During our fourteen years' warm friendship, it is true he but seldom touched upon matters political. Still, I can testify that, whenever he did, his remarks were in full accordance with the pride he took in his American citizenship. Once, referring to what Professor Virchow, the eminent German scientist and leader of the Progressist party, had said, Schliemann spoke very freely regarding the events of 1848-49. On another occasion, he did so by letter from Athens, after I had published some critical remarks in the *Academy*, on a book dealing rather inefficiently with the revolutionary movements of those years. I remember also an even more striking utterance of this kind by

Schliemann, a few years back, on his return from his last flying visit to America. Coming back from Cuba, where he possessed landed property, he was passing through London on his way to Berlin, where afterwards he was asked to explain to the Emperor William I., in person, the details of the prehistorical fortress and palace he had discovered at Tiryns. He then, in a few words of the strongest kind, though spoken in a mild tone, gave me a profession of political faith which left no doubt of his adherence to the principles of the freest self-government.

Some years before, in 1881, he had declared to me his sympathy with the cause of the South African Republic, then struggling against a wrongful oppression. As a member of the Executive of the London Transvaal Committee, I had proposed, and drawn up, an "International Address" to John Bright, a Cabinet minister who was thought to favour the restoration of the independence of the South African Commonwealth—even as he had been on the side of the United States, when the governing classes of England sympathized with the cause of the Slaveholders' Rebellion. It was hoped that an International Address would exercise influence on leading statesmen in London, if signatures could be obtained, more especially, from the foremost men of Europe, in science, literature, and poetry. A large number of such signatures, including those of distinguished politicians, were sent from the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. The document made a deep impression on the public mind. It also elicited a hearty answer to me from John Bright, whose voice in the Cabinet was of vital importance.

Schliemann, too, had been asked to join the demonstration. Accidentally, he was unable to do so, being on a voyage of exploration when the letter addressed to him arrived at Athens. On his return there, he had to start again, the very same day, for excavations at Orchomenos. In the short interval, however, amidst urgent preparations, he wrote to me on March 24th, 1881, to express his sym-

pathy with the cause of the Boers. Meanwhile, peace having fortunately been concluded with them, his signature, he observed, was no longer necessary. I need scarcely add that Schliemann yielded to none in the feeling of friendship for England and in deep respect for the freedom, the greatness, and the power of this country ; but for that very reason he wished to see an act of justice done by her towards a free people that had suffered grievous wrong.

II.

For the first time I heard, and personally met, Dr. Schliemann in April, 1877, at the German "Athenæum" in London. He gave a lecture there on his discoveries, before a large and eagerly-listening audience. I remember what a curious effect his pronunciation of Greek words, strange to German and English ears, had on some distinguished scholars present. Yet they might have known that he only used the written accentuation customary in speech with the Greeks themselves, and that, whenever he pronounced a vowel differently from our way, he but followed, in that too, the custom of the modern Hellenes. There were actually some who, for that reason, almost doubted his full knowledge of the Greek tongue ! Such doubts, I recollect, harassed the mind of a learned friend of ours, a Sanskrit scholar, who certainly ought to have been better informed. It only shows what extraordinary antagonisms Dr. Schliemann encountered in the beginning of his great career.

I have discussed elsewhere his mighty achievements, which I have followed from the beginning, with ever increasing interest, down to his death. Between 1877 and 1890 he sent me more than one hundred and twenty letters, many with the amplest information on his plans as well as on his doings. They are dated from Athens, Tiryns, various towns in Germany, Paris, London, and Alexandria and Thebes in Egypt. The vast majority are written in our own tongue ; some in English or Greek.

It was a peculiarity of Schliemann that, after having

been in London for a while, he easily fell into writing in English from abroad. French he never used when writing to me from Paris, where he also had house property, though he was familiar with that language, as with many others. When a trifle by way of fun, he sent a letter or a card in Greek, I occasionally returned the compliment by signing my name, at least, and adding his own in Teutonic runes; fearing, as I did, that to go beyond the mere runic signature would not contribute to the facility of understanding.

Schliemann truly had to fight an uphill battle against the exclusive book-learning of men who did not at once grasp the significance of the services he had rendered by his "science of the pick-axe." He, therefore, felt deeply attached to those who had supported him in the commencement of his struggles. One of the earliest great receptions was prepared for him in London, in 1877, by the Urban Club, in its then meeting-place, the antique St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell. About the same time, he came to an evening party in our house, where a number of learned men, authors, artists, and politicians—Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Indians, and others—had met to welcome him. Years afterwards, he still wrote with pleasure about that evening, because it was a time when the "Battle round Troy" was yet a fierce one, and many a contest had to be fought out with adversaries who would not acknowledge his astounding discoveries.

Being an honorary member of the Urban Club, I was glad to find that our friend, the then secretary, eagerly took up the idea of having the renowned explorer as a guest of the club. St. John's Gate is the remnant of the once stately Priory of the Knights Hospitallers, which in 1381, during the rising led by Wat Tyler, was burnt down in a seven days' conflagration. In the rooms of the ruins of this building, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in last century, as well as David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, and other men of fame were often seen. It was a haunt, in those days, of the London world of literature and art. The chair is still

shown which Dr. Johnson is said to have used. The groined ceilings, the capacious fire-places, the circular staircase, with the original solid oak newel, the extraordinary thickness of the walls—all remind the beholder of a long bygone age.

Under the double chairmanship of Dr. Westland Marston, and of the archæologist, Dr. John Doran, the customary club banquet was held on Shakspeare Day (April 23rd), 1877. Many authors, poets, and artists were present; also some men of political renown, such as the late Professor Fawcett, M.P., afterwards a Cabinet Minister. It was usual, on such occasions, to hand to the members and guests a printed programme of the toasts, each with an appropriate passage from Shakspeare. The welcome to Dr. Schliemann was suitably provided with the following quotations from *Troilus and Cressida* :—

“In Troy there lies the scene. . . .
And hither I am come.”

Again :—

“The glory of our Troy doth this day lie
On his fair worth and single chivalry.”

And lastly :—

“Speak frankly as the wind,
It is not Agamemnon’s sleeping hour.”

Mr. Gladstone also had been expected, and a toast set down in his honour. But before the banquet began, he sent a message from the House of Commons that he was detained there; and later in the evening a telegram came, saying :—“I much regret my inability to release myself from my parliamentary engagements this evening.”

In the meanwhile, a humorous intramezzo occurred. Sitting near Dr. Schliemann, Professor Fawcett, and the young poet, Philipp Marston (the son of Dr. Westland Marston), I was surprised by a question addressed to me, in a low voice, by a press reporter who had come near our table. “Can you,” he asked, “point out Karl Blind to me? I am told he is blind!” Now, accidentally I had the really blind young Marston on one side, and on the other Professor Fawcett, who also was blind! Evidently the reporter had misunderstood something told him in an

undertone by someone, and was rather confused. Sympathetic regard for my unfortunate neighbours restrained me, with difficulty, from a burst of laughter, and I merely whispered to Schliemann: "It would be far better to look for blind Homer!" But, forsooth, it turned out that even blind Homer was present—in a bust.

III.

The President at the Urban Club banquet, having celebrated "The Immortal Memory of Sweet Shakspeare," in a noble speech, was followed by Professor Fawcett, who, in responding, made a passing allusion to "the distinguished services to science and literature, which had been rendered by Dr. Schliemann, by throwing so much light on the literature and history of the past." Then the formal toast proposing the health of the famed discoverer came on. Here Dr. Westland Marston said:—

"We have been honoured to-night with the presence of one who has rendered splendid and, I may say, unique service to the life and poetry of antiquity. Europe is anxious to know the results; but time must necessarily elapse before we can form a full and just estimate of what is due to the enterprise, perseverance, sagacity, learning, and enthusiasm, which have induced Dr. Schliemann to undertake labours so invaluable with respect to the elucidation of the epic and dramatic poetry of Greece. Antiquity has been brought nearer to us by exposing to the light of day precious memorials of its domestic customs and its progress in art. The natural effect of time is to obscure events, and transfer what was once matter of history into mere tradition. But I may say, it has been reserved for Dr. Schliemann, by his invaluable labours at Troy and Mykenê, to reverse that process, and, by flooding the remote past with an illumination altogether unprecedented, to convert what was tradition once more into history."

There was a storm of applause as Dr. Schliemann rose. The bust of Homer stood opposite to him, and he said he

felt inspired by him to say a few words of thanks for so cordial a reception, invited as he had been to celebrate, with the Urban Club, the memory of England's great bard.

He was indebted (Dr. Schlieman continued) for that honour to the divine Homer, because, but for his enthusiastic admiration of the Greek poet, he would never have undertaken the excavation of Troy and Mykenê. No doubt, there was no authentic information about Homer's life, or even where he was born. They knew Shakspeare's house, the day of his birth, and of his death, the date of his immortal plays; but of Homer, nothing. Seven cities disputed among themselves the honour of his birth. If Smyrna carried away the palm, and was almost universally acknowledged as Homer's birthplace, this was merely on the principle that we are wont to envy the living only, and not the dead. For Smyrna, destroyed by the Lydian King Sadyates, in 627 B.C., remained in ruins and deserted for three hundred and twenty-six years, being rebuilt only in 301 B.C. Smyrna, therefore, was dead during all the time when the enthusiasm for Homer was at its highest pitch, and when the rhapsodists went from door to door, chanting the Homeric poems. It was to this circumstance only that Smyrna was indebted for the honour of being considered the birthplace of Homer. Having finally alluded to Mr. Gladstone's view, that Homer was an Achæan, as being additionally proved by the monuments which he himself had brought to light in Troy and Mykenê, Dr. Schliemann sat down somewhat suddenly, without any of the oratorical flourishes usual on such occasions.

Hearty applause was awarded to him. An orator he certainly was not; his words are better in print than they seemed when they were delivered.

IV.

Some details on Schliemann's outward appearance may here be in place. Of middle height; rather slender than strongly built, yet wiry, and showing in his manner the

tireless tenacity which has achieved such wonders; of an eager and glowing temperament, easily roused by antagonism, but practical and calculating withal, like the successful merchant he was, he at once gave the impression of an energy surpassing his mere bodily strength. The flame of an ardent will always burnt consumingly in him. His roundish, well-developed head was but scantily furnished with hair; his face clean-shaved, except for a small moustache. His brown eyes shone with a brilliant liveliness. Often he wore a slightly pained expression, the result, perhaps, of the exertions and anxieties of his many years' toil in building up that vast fortune which allowed him to fulfil the dream of his life. At the same time, there may have been, in that facial look, a vestige of the early bitter experiences he had suffered, especially in the beginning of his scientific enterprises, from unmerited derision and envy. Add to this the physical complaints—in a great measure the consequence of his restless activity and frequent exposure in the open air—which finally hastened his death.

His voice was somewhat high-pitched, his delivery often in that kind of monotone which indicates an undercurrent of sadness. In his dark, simple dress, with his eager glance ever inspired by never-flagging zeal for work, he was the image of enthusiastic earnestness. Still, in intercourse with intimate friends, he, like most men of real genius, unbent in a remarkable degree. Then he was fond of jovial, sometimes also of caustic remarks, and of a humorous treatment of subjects and persons. Such he was with us, or among friends in his own temporary abode in London, when dining together, or in an occasional prolonged walk we had through the Zoological Gardens, which he himself had proposed to visit on a Sunday.

On one of these occasions, in our house, he was asked by my wife, whose great interest in his excavations had pleased him exceedingly, "which was his favourite colour in the various bindings of his works" that lay on the drawing-room table. "Blue!" he answered playfully: "because it is

the indigo colour, and it is with indigo I have so largely had success in commerce, and been enabled to make a fortune." The English editions of his *Ilios* and his *Tiryns* were indeed bound in indigo blue.

In most pleasant remembrance have we the conversation with his gifted wife, who, from the beginning, took part in her husband's excavations. The first time we saw Mrs. Schliemann was when, with her husband, she appeared in London at a meeting of archæologists, and when, after he had spoken, she too gave a short lecture. Mr. Gladstone was present, and the difficult question was raised, how to solve the contradiction between the accentuation and the poetical prosody of Greek words. "Perhaps," said the English statesman, "the explanation is to be found in a sing-song-like raising and lowering of the pitch of the voice within a many-syllabled word; whereby justice might have been done both to the accent and to the length or shortness of a syllable."

V.

The East was the ground which Schliemann had, once and for all, mapped out for himself as the field of his explorations. Asia Minor, Greece, and Egypt were attacked by him with the spade. Could he have carried out his intention of laying bare the whole Lower City of Troy—a task upon which his mind was latterly set—he would, no doubt, have afterwards gone on to dig in Krete.

In my fourteen years' correspondence with him, from 1877 down to his death, that subject is mentioned very explicitly. Years ago, I often urged him to try his never-failing luck in the direction of Krete. For, was not that island the starting-point whence, in grey antiquity, the very founders of Troy had gone forth, taking with them into Asia Minor the Ida and Pergamos names of their aboriginal Kretan home?

Once, when an important prehistoric find had been made in Germany, I asked our friend whether he did not think of applying the pick-axe, some day or other, to places in our own country, where myth and folklore seemed to indicate the possibility of hidden things.

"No," he answered; "I cannot pass from the greater achievements I have made to a smaller enterprise."

In his autobiography, Dr. Schliemann himself refers to such folklore traditions from his childhood. For instance, he mentions a small hill near the village where he lived as a boy, in which a robber knight was said to have buried his beloved child in a golden cradle. Schliemann thought that this might be a prehistoric barrow. In the neighbourhood of the hill—so another tale ran—great treasures were concealed under the ruins of a round tower. The hill itself is called the Wartensberg (Watch Mount, or Waiting Hill); because, it is said, a cowherd, wishing to warn a Duke of Mecklenburg against the murderous design of a noble, had waited there to inform his princely master of the plot. Such artificial and, as a rule, modern explanations are mostly false. The Wartensberg may be an ancient Woden's Hill, on which our heathen forefathers worshipped the All-father of the Teutonic race. The name of the Wartburg also, where Luther dwelt, is explained by some etymologists, from the name of Woden, Wuotan, or Wod, corrupted into "Wart."

However, it was always eastwards that Schliemann's eyes were turned. There, in truth, he had achieved the most signal successes, which filled the world with his fame. And yet he might have added even fresh leaves to his laurel crown had he, in his ardour, not neglected the most ordinary precautions due to the delicate state of his health.

VI.

One of the first questions Dr. Schliemann addressed to me, soon after I had made his acquaintance, was:—"What do you think about the meaning of 'glaukopis Athenê'?"

Much controversy had arisen when he explained it as the owl-faced or owl-headed Athenê. Was it possible, men said, that the early Greeks had worshipped such a monster? On this question I have been much in contact with him, both by word of mouth and by correspondence.

Those conversant with the subject know that the owl-

headed protecting deity of the Trojans had arisen from a Phrygian Atê, whose name appears in Homer in a Hellenized form. The Trojans, of course, were not Greeks. They belonged to the vast Thrakian stock which once filled Eastern Europe and the western part of Asia Minor. They were kindred to the German, perhaps more especially to the Scandinavian, branch of the Teutonic race. Asia itself, as Herodotus states, had its name, in the tradition of the Lydian Thrakians, from one of their own rulers, Asies ; that is, (dropping the Greek ending) Asi, or As. It is the well-known name of Teutonic gods and heroes, from which Asgard, the heavenly castle of the Norse deities, has its designation, and which occurs in such personal names as Asmund, Aslaug, Asolf, as well as in some English place-names still existing, like Aysgarth. In their own tribal hero-saga, the Scandinavians declare that the Asic people, the worshippers of the Asa gods, from whom they themselves are descended, immigrated to the north from the shores of the Black Sea ; that is, from the very neighbourhood of ancient Thrakian abodes. Whatever remnants of Thrakian speech have come down to us, show remarkable affinity with Teutonic, and particularly with Norse, idioms. Thus—to give but one example—“skalmê,” in Thrakian, meant a sword. Dropping the Greek ending *ê*, we get the plain old Norse word “skâlm,” which also means a sword.

It would be no wonder if a primitive people, like the early Trojans, had worshipped an animal-headed goddess. This same religious symbolism is to be met with among such highly cultured nations as the Egyptians and the Hindu. Even in their most advanced state of culture, the Greeks had a Serpent Temple in which snakes were worshipped as tutelary deities. The cherubim of the Israelites were originally animal-headed. In Solomon's Temple a molten sea was represented which stood upon twelve oxen (1 Kings vii. 23—25).

Dr. Schliemann was much pleased on learning that, for a long time past, I had pointed out the traces of animal symbolism, or of open beast-worship, among our own

Germanic forefathers, whose heathen creed was otherwise of a grand and lofty kind. These special studies he had, until then, not followed. The Teutonic Hera, or Herke, appears with a cow or ox symbol, like the Greek Io-Juno, or Hera, and the Egyptian Isis. The owl-headed Athenê, or the ox-faced (*boöpis*) Hera, are thus matched on Germanic ground. Odin is occasionally described as the eagle-headed, or as the horsehair-bearded god : manifest remnants of his being formerly worshipped under such images.

Before the publication of Schliemann's *Mykenê* (1878), I had shortly referred once more to these traces of beast-worship in an essay in the London *Gentleman's Magazine* of January, 1877. It bore the title of "The Boar's Head Dinner at Oxford, and a Germanic Sun-God," and was written after I had been present, as a guest, at the famous Christmas celebration in Queen's College. In that essay, besides mentioning the contact between Isis, Io-Juno, and Hera or Herke, an old horn symbol in Hornchurch, in Southern England, was mentioned. It has apparent reference to the worship of Freia, whose temple walls, in the Hyndlu Song of the Edda, are "so saturated with ox-blood that they glisten like glass."

Many a contest on this question of religious animal-worship or symbolism among various races, have we carried on in support of Dr. Schliemann's undoubtedly correct theories as to the interpretation of "glaukopis Athenê" and "Herê boöpis," even so lately as in 1884, in a treatise on *Troy Found Again*. But to-day it may be said that doubts, formerly expressed even by learned men who ought to have known better, are pretty well silenced.

VII.

When Schliemann had made some important discovery, or when his health, often affected by his labours, had been restored, he was in the habit of addressing his thanks, by way of exclamation, to Pallas Athenê, or to the dwellers of Olympus in general. This half humorous, half enthusiastic

manner also occurs in his correspondence. Thus, in a letter written to me in English, on October 19th, 1882, he said:—

“ I acknowledge with warmest thanks the receipt of your favours of the 7th and 9th inst., the latter with the manuscript of the English and German text of your valuable dissertation on the Ethnography of the Trojans,* of which due care shall be taken. . . . Unfortunately, I have not been able yet to obtain permission to make the plans of Troy ; for the Grand Master of the Artillery at Constantinople thinks that I merely used the excavations as a pretext to make the plans of the Turkish fortresses on the Hellespont, and has therefore severely prohibited me to take any measurement whatever. I am hard at work through the Berlin Foreign Office to fight the matter through at Constantinople, but perhaps some months may elapse ere I reach that desirable end ; but at all events I feel sure to get the permission in some way or other. I am much touched at your and your dear family’s kind sympathy with my late illness. Thanks to the Greek gods, our beautiful Attic spring weather, the daily rides to the sea, and the sea-baths, I have now quite recovered, and feel smart again.”

When Schliemann, in 1886, was about to leave Athens for Lebadia, where he hoped to unearth and to explore the Oracle of Trophonios, and afterwards to complete his excavations at Orchomenos, he informed me of his intentions in Greek (*μέλλοντι ἐς Λεβαδείαν ἀπίεσαι, ἔνθα τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Τροφωνίου ἀνευρήσειν τε καὶ ἀνασκάψειν ἐλπίζω, ὕστερον δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ ἐξορύξεις διατελέσαι ἔγνωκα*). With a “farewell” (*ἑρῶωσο*), the friendly letter concludes.

Schliemann had acquired a great many languages in a simple, practical manner ; not troubling himself, at first, with much grammar. The latter he learnt by-and-bye, as he went on. With his frequent travels, and the many rapid changes he had to make in regard to the use of languages,

* Written at his request, after I had explained my views of the Thracian and Germanic kinship of the Trojans ; and embodied in his *Troja*.

it is no wonder that an English letter sometimes shows Germanisms, or a German one some Anglicisms.

Once I found that he was still very fond of his native *Platt*, or Nether-German dialect. That speech is mainly the basis of English. It was formerly, and is probably even now, spoken in familiar intercourse by high and low in various parts of Northern Germany.

We were at table with Schliemann, and I had referred to the Germanic tribe of the Herulians, who in the early centuries of our era had, in their roving expeditions, pushed southwards to the Danube, and as far as the Black Sea. Their peculiar vocalization, resembling that of the Swedes, is to this day observable among Bavarians and Austrians, who have much Herulian and Rûgian blood in their veins. Now, when I illustrated something I had said about the Germans on the Baltic coast by a sentence or two in *Platt*, Schliemann suddenly became excited. He gaily insisted on going on in the same Low German dialect; another guest present, an Englishman, albeit somewhat conversant with High German, could scarcely follow a conversation in *Platt*.

As I am from the south of Germany, Schliemann was much surprised to hear the dialect of Mecklenburg from my lips. I had to explain that during my studies at Heidelberg, a good many years ago, after having gone through Gothic, High and Middle German, I had learnt *Nieder-Deutsch* in the old *Reineke Vos* poem of the fifteenth century. Out of that ancient popular tongue, which has not changed so very much since, I then talked with fellow-students from Mecklenburg and other parts of Northern Germany, who preferred, in those days, their local dialect to High German, in their familiar intercourse among themselves. By means of Low German, I later on, as an exile, easily made my way to Flemish and the quite kindred Dutch, nay, even into broad Scotch and English.

On hearing all this, our friend became almost tumultuous in his expressions of delight. From that moment he made it a point, that evening, when offering another glass of

wine, or drinking our health, to do so in *Platt*. After all his travels in so many parts of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, he had preserved a very warm corner in his heart for the native dialect of his early youth.

VIII.

For many years I have often had occasion, by writing in German and in English, to support Dr. Schliemann against antagonists whose deficiency in learning, or strange, in one or two cases apparently even ill-natured, opposition to the most patent facts and truths, sorely tried his temper. It was sometimes with difficulty, on such occasions, that friends could pacify his otherwise just indignation during controversies in which it was of the utmost importance—especially in a country like England—to preserve the coolness so dear to the native character. On the other hand, Schliemann felt most warmly attached to those who shielded him against manifest injustice. His letters were so full of expressions of gratitude that I felt sometimes almost embarrassed by their exuberance.

On the question of Hissarlik being the site of ancient Troy, and of the antiquity of what he had discovered at Mykenê and Tiryns, I was fully at one with Schliemann against adversaries who once gave much trouble, but whose views are now pretty generally considered errors. The only instance in which I held a different opinion from his was when he endeavoured to show that the Tirynthian, and in general the Kyklopean, architecture was not of Thrakian, but of Phœnikian origin. His theory, it need not be said, was at variance—as he himself well knew—with the tradition of the ancients. He was, however, deeply imbued with a conviction that Tiryns had been built by Phœnikians. The question of the racial kinship of the early settlers of Tiryns is, of course, not affected thereby; and Schliemann acknowledged in a letter to me that he certainly would not deny their Thrakian descent—in other words, their affinity with the great Teutonic stock.

A people of one race may certainly employ architects of another nation. Solomon's temple, built for the Jews by Phœnikians from Tyre, is a case in point.

I was, however, glad to find that the opinion I had expressed, and which I mentioned in a number of articles, was also that of so eminent an architect as Dr. Adler, the very writer of the preface for *Tiryns*. Being eager to convince me, Dr. Schliemann induced me to have a meeting with Dr. James Fergusson, then the greatest English authority on ancient architecture, and to whom he had dedicated the English edition of *Tiryns*. But it came out, during an hour's conversation, that Dr. Fergusson also held the great stronghold in the Peloponnesos to have been built, even as classic tradition has it, by Lykian Thrakians. He much regretted that Schliemann, after so grand and matchless a discovery, should oppose the very tradition of the ancients confirmed by his wonderful excavation.

IX.

The achievement at Tiryns brought to Schliemann the gold medal from the Society of British Architects in London. He came in person to receive it. On the evening of this presentation it so happened that, shortly before we intended starting, as I was just sitting down to take another glance at an evening paper, the ceiling overhead gave way. I received a full charge of it on the skull, whilst decanters, glasses, etc., were smashed, and the room enveloped in a thick cloud of dust.

Still, wishing to be present at a ceremony so much to the honour of our friend, I hurriedly washed and dressed, in spite of the pain, and so we drove away to the meeting. Towards the end, however, I felt so oppressive a sensation in the brain, that we had to leave before the proceedings closed. In fact, for several months afterwards, a stinging ache of a very troublesome kind often recurred.

"I only wish that British architects were as solid builders as those of Tiryns had been!" This was the

thought which, on the occasion referred to, easily came up in my mind. Most inhabitants of London know, to their cost and discomfort, that this is a very natural wish ; much of the building work, even in the best houses, being "scamped."

When, a few days afterwards, I mentioned the occurrence, in a playful note, to Schliemann, he, with the warm-hearted kindness that characterizes his letters, answered from Athens :—

“ The disaster which has befallen you in your own house, has deeply grieved me and my wife. We are right glad that you have escaped with a terrific warning. In truth, it might have turned out a great misfortune. After all, in spite of every precaution, we are continually surrounded by dangers to life. So it was owing to so frightful an accident that it was not given to me once more to shake hands with you and your excellent wife on that evening ! ”

Alas ! by the dangers which continually surround life, he himself was suddenly taken away, when on the point of beginning a new scientific campaign for the excavation of the whole Lower City of Troy. It was this eager desire to overwhelm, by the clearest evidence possible, a persistent though often refuted and most eccentric antagonist, which drove him to death through utter disregard of the physical state he himself was in, after a most risky operation. Only a few weeks before, he had announced to me his intention of resuming work without delay : March 1st. was set down for the commencement of his fresh exploration. I cannot describe the shock I felt on hearing the sad news from Naples.

X.

It may be remembered that a truly distinguished scholar, Mr. Penrose, the late Director of the British School of Archæology at Athens, who formerly had entertained some doubts as to the great antiquity of Schliemann's discoveries at Tiryns and Mykenê, honourably made a formal retractation in 1888, after a closer inspection of the ruins. At a previous great battle of archæologists in the Hellenic Society in

London, Schliemann, accompanied and strongly supported by Dr. Dörpfeld, had achieved a signal triumph. His opponents, from that day, were "nowhere."

I will conclude with a few words, which I quoted at that meeting, from Dr. James Fergusson, as spoken by him to me. Referring to Tiryns, this eminent writer on ancient and modern architecture said :—"We evidently have here before us a structure dating back to at least 1500 years before our era. Through this great discovery of Dr. Schliemann, a clear and sharp division line is now discernible in the Peloponnesus between a prehistoric epoch hitherto enveloped in darkness, and the Greek epoch since the Doric invasion. Mykenê was, no doubt, built later than Tiryns, which, on account of the low marshes in its neighbourhood, had probably been found to be somewhat injurious to health. The agreement of the ground-plan between Tiryns and Troy is of the utmost importance. It practically confirms the ancient tradition of the raising of the Kyklopean walls by Lykian workmen from Asia Minor. It was a Thracian people, evidently, which built Tiryns, even as Troy was a settlement of Phrygian Thracians."

I wound up, at that meeting, with these remarks, which I transcribe here, in memory of my dear departed friend :—

"It has been the good fortune of Dr. Schliemann, gradually, in the course of his laborious work, to be supported, on the main points of his views, by a great number of scholars of eminence. They have expressed their firm belief that he has found the site of Troy. That, for instance, was the decided opinion of the patriarch of German historians, Leopold von Ranke. That is the opinion of Virchow, the distinguished physiologist and archæologist. And I believe I am only expressing the generally-prevailing opinion when I say that Dr. Schliemann's memory will live in posterity as that of the great Explorer who, by means of the 'science of the spade,' has conjured up from the bowels of the earth the long-hidden wonders of antiquity."

HAWAII.

BY MISS L. N. BADENOCH.

(Revised by HIS EXCELLENCY A. HOFFNUNG, Chargé d'Affairs in England, and the Hawaiian Foreign Office.)

IT is towards the breezy West we must look for the young and vigorous life that is modelling out states and civilizations for the future. There, in the almost unlimited territories of the great American Continent, and of Australasia, and the Southern Hemisphere generally, vast commonwealths of Anglo-Saxon origin are exhibiting that marvellous social, industrial and political development which constitutes the latest manifestation of unceasing progress. Among these growing powers the little sea-girt kingdom of Hawaii deservedly claims a place ; yet probably previous to the year 1823, when a former Hawaiian sovereign paid a visit to this country, nine out of every ten persons were absolutely ignorant of its very existence. But now Hawaii may no longer be ignored, nor its interests and demands disregarded : it has recognized its place among the nations and has taken it, and consequently commands the respect and consideration of the world.

The Sandwich Islands, which compose the Hawaiian kingdom, lie perfectly isolated in mid-Pacific Ocean, in latitude from 18° 50' to 22° 20' north of the equator, while their longitude is from 154° to 160° west from Greenwich. Thus they are almost equidistant from China and Japan on the one hand, from California and Mexico on the other ; and they are the most northerly, as they are the only important island cluster of the Polynesian Archipelago. They are thirteen in number, eight being of considerable size, and the rest but insignificant islets ; viz., Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kawai, Molokai, Lanai, Nūhau, and Kahoolawe. All are inhabited, except Kahoolawe, which was abandoned a few years ago.

To reach Hawaii now-a-days is no very difficult task,

since it lies on the direct line of route taken by the splendid steamers of the most rapid mail service which exists between Australasia and London. Having crossed the Atlantic and found our way to San Francisco, "the Queen City of the Golden West," we re-embark there in one of the steamships of the Oceanic or Union Company's, and after a run of 2,100 miles, arrive, in a week's time, at Honolulu, on Oahu, the capital of the islands. The traveller from Australia ships at Sydney or Auckland, as the case may be. From the first, Honolulu is distant 5,181 miles, a voyage of little more than a fortnight; Auckland being nearer by 1,281 miles, the time between ports is from four to five days shorter. Or should China, the third vertex of the huge scalene triangle formed by these, the chief points of access to Hawaii, be the place of departure, the journey occupies from twelve to eighteen days.

The advantages enjoyed by these islands as regards position must be plainly evident. Were they nothing but a set of barren rocks, they would still assume an importance, lying as they do in the very pathway of trade between the United States and Australasia and the great empires of China and Japan. The completion of the Canadian trans-continental railway has revealed to them a fresh vista of prosperity. Were the Isthmus of Panama opened up, or better again the Nicaragua Canal, and were the proposed American cable or a British one to the Colonies laid, which is to touch at Honolulu, there can be no doubt they would increase the opportunities and inestimable value of Hawaii to the trading nations at large. When, in addition to this, to say that for exceeding beauty and grandeur of scenery, for fertility of soil and salubrity and equity of climate, it is a very Paradise upon earth, is but to state the simple truth, it will be seen that the possibilities in the future of this little kingdom are almost illimitable. The setting of the gem is grand, but the intrinsic value of the jewel is beyond compare. Had its situation as regards commerce been *nil*, its own wondrous

gifts alone must assuredly have secured for it a sufficiency of admiration and regard. I say nothing of its situation from the strategic point of view, though this points it out as the future "Gibraltar of the Pacific."

Oahu, as seen from some distance out at sea, is barren, rugged, almost repulsive in its desolation, totally at variance with what we usually associate with the word tropical, and with the verdant loveliness of the South Sea Isles. Bare, verdureless cliffs, of volcanic origin, sun-scorched and weather-beaten, rise abruptly from the lonely ocean to the height of 4000 feet; but, as we approach closer and closer, and round the south-eastern portion of the island, we find we must considerably modify our first impressions. The mountains, which form the background to the scene now opened out, are bleak and uninviting enough; but on every hand they are broken by narrow valleys and ravines, clothed with a profusion of vegetation and fertilized by running streams and cascades. To the right stands the picturesque promontory of Diamond Head; an ancient hoary crater; to the left the Punchbowl, another extinct volcano, gleams fiery red in the setting sun. In the immediate foreground is the coral barrier-reef, which girds nearly all the Hawaiian islands, against which the white surf for ever chafes and foams with perpetual thunder. Through this we pass, by a narrow channel, into the quiet blue waters of the snug little harbour; and then, but not till then, beautiful Honolulu fully reveals itself, nestling at the foot of the Punchbowl, on the seaward margin of a large grassy plain, about ten miles long by two broad, which stretches away to the hills beyond—nestling and almost hidden among feathery cocoa palms, banana, bread-fruit, mango, hibiscus, algaroba, and other trees and shrubs of the luxuriant tropics.

Honolulu is a quaint, charming little spot. Being the capital of the kingdom, it is at once the seat of government, the head-quarters of all trade and traffic, and the principal place of residence of the sovereign. Two long streets lead

inland from the wharf, and in these are the shops or stores. Honolulu is lighted with electricity—the only public illuminating power, and numerous telephones are in general use. Tramcars run through the streets, and railways out into the country. The stores are kept by people of all nationalities, but chiefly by Americans, English, and Chinamen. In appearance, they lean to native tastes; but the natives themselves have not much aptitude for mercantile affairs, and indeed the majority exhibit a profound indifference to the splendid science of money-making generally. Riches excite in them no craving, and thus gain is no incentive to toil. Near the harbour are the Custom House and the Aliiolani Hale (Government Building), a very handsome structure, immense in size as compared with the kingdom it represents. Under its roof are gathered the offices of the various public departments, of finance, of foreign affairs, of the interior, and so on, the Supreme Court and Law Library, the Hall where the Legislative Assembly meets, etc.* In fact, small as it is, Hawaii has a government machinery that would compare favourably with those of the largest empires. Representatives, diplomatic and consular, of the United States and all the great European and Asiatic Powers are resident in the capital; and the Hawaiian kingdom is similarly represented abroad, including a *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Court of St. James.

Chief among the charitable institutions is the Queen's Hospital for curables, erected in 1860 with the sum of \$6000 collected in person by King Kamehameha IV. and his queen Emma, who were devoted to the welfare of their subjects. It is a large, airy, comfortable house, surrounded by beautiful gardens, and capable of accomodating a hundred sick folk, free of charge so far as native Hawaiians are concerned: foreigners pay a little fee. It is supported by a

* The Government Museum has been removed to the Bishop Museum at Kalilu. Honolulu can also boast of public squares and parks, a race-course, base-ball and athletic grounds, yachting and boat clubs, an opera house, and unmerous benevolent and social institutions.

tax of two dollars levied upon every visitor to the islands, and by an appropriation from the Legislature of about 7000 dollars a year.

The Iolani Palace is an unpretentious but perfectly appropriate building, standing in about eight acres of prettily laid out grounds. A flight of stone steps leads to a capacious hall, decorated with portraits, presented by themselves, of Louis Philippe and his queen, Marie Amélie, and some vases and miniature copies of Thorwaldsen's works. To the left is the throne-room, in almost every respect like any London or Paris drawing-room, and a simple ornamental chair serves as the throne. The Court also resides occasionally at the pleasant little seaside village, Waikiki, the Brighton of Honolulu, a short distance out of town, where they have a cool native house amid groves of cocoapalms. Honolulu likewise possesses a lunatic asylum, a prison, and a reformatory school for juvenile delinquents, under the control of the Board of Education, where children receive elementary instruction and a knowledge of manual labour. Education, indeed, is a great feature of the country; and by the latest report of the Board of Education, 130 Government schools, with free compulsory education, are scattered over the islands, and have a total attendance of 7,343 pupils. Besides these there are forty-eight independent private institutions with 2,663 pupils. So rare is it to find a Hawaiian who cannot at least read and write, that it is estimated that from 80 to 90 per cent. of the native population are educated. The appropriation for the Board of Education for the biennial period ending March 31st, 1892, is \$264,422'00. The teachers employed in the Government schools number 232, of whom 103 are females.

All travellers agree as to the exquisite loveliness of the homes of Honolulu. Side by side stand the villas and cottages of the foreign residents and the less pretentious but neat homes of the natives. The former are invariably detached, and literally embowered in beautiful gardens.

Some are frame houses, some built of blocks of coral conglomerate, and others of stone or of baked bricks. They are mostly two-storeyed, though a few straggle over the ground without any upper rooms at all ; and all are alike in the possession of wide, deep verandahs, in which the inmates lead an open-air life. Beautiful passion-flowers, gorgeous magenta bougainvilleas, venustas with their orange waxy flowers, clematis, and many more, trail and hang over verandahs and walls. Let the imagination surround such a house with lawns of brightest green, with masses of gardenia, allamandas, oleanders, with roses, lilies, geraniums, heliotropes, red and yellow hibiscus, and other flowering plants and shrubs ; shadow them by densest leafage of umbrella-trees, date and cocoa-palms, bananas, bamboos, bread-fruits, the glossy-leaved india-rubber, the delicate tamarind and algaroba, and one has some faint conception of the lavish beauty of a Hawaiian home. Not a single chimney exists to mar the sweet pure air. Yet all this tropical and varied luxuriance is by no means of spontaneous growth. But little more than seventy years ago, when the first missionaries landed on the site of the present city of Honolulu, it was a dreary, barren, volcanic waste. They, however, at once set about importing and planting trees and shrubs ; and, aided by incessant artificial irrigation, the result is the lovely oasis of to-day. A great impetus to acclimatization was given by Dr. Hillebrand, an enthusiastic botanist, who came to reside in Honolulu about thirty years ago ; and by Baron Ferdinand von Muller, of the Melbourne Botanical Gardens, who has supplied Australasian seeds and plants in immense numbers to the Hawaiian Government during the last twenty-five years.

Never was there a more gay, merry, laughter-loving people than the Hawaiians. Care seems unknown to them, work and worry a myth ; and the long sunny days of their summer year are spent in endless amusement and pleasure. The women, especially, present a striking contrast to the same class at home, and in the Colonies.

That weary, worn, down-trodden, passionate, or else hardened look, habitual to the faces of the poor in all our large cities, and so sad to see, is entirely absent in Hawaii. In a country where the duties of the home ties, especially as regards children, are mutually shared by father and mother,—where food is plentiful and easily obtained, and requires little preparation—where fires have not to be kept up,—and where but little covering is needed, and where the climate permits of an open air existence, need we wonder that the natives dwell as in an Arcadia. They are a handsome, stalwart race, the women well formed, with exquisitely moulded little hands and feet, long, black wavy hair, a rich brown skin, large, lustrous brown eyes, and teeth like ivory. Their dress, somewhat resembling a “Mother Hubbard,” consists of a sleeved calico gown, which falls to the feet in voluminous folds from the shoulders, where it is confined in a plain yoke. It is called the *holuku*. The men, except in very secluded districts, have discarded the ancient *malo*, or girdle round the loins, and appear in some sort of foreign dress, often white trousers and gay shirts. Both usually wear small straw hats, and are frequently decorated, round head and throat, with *leis*, i.e. garlands of flowers, many-coloured sea-shells, or feathers. With all their light-heartedness the Hawaiians are sarcastic, and dearly love to mimic and quiz the *haoles*, and nickname them upon some personal peculiarity. Both sexes are passionately fond of riding, and ride boldly and well—oddly enough, since a horse was unknown in the islands previous to 1803. The picturesque riding-dress of the ladies is a strip of coloured cotton—crimson, purple, orange or yellow—wound round the body so as to form a kind of loose wrapper, with ends floating on the breeze. Unfortunately, these skirts are going out of use, and are seldom seen, except rarely on festal occasions. They use the Mexican saddle, high-peaked at the back, with a lasso-horn in front, and bosses of polished brass or silver, immense wooden stirrups with great leathern flaps

to protect the foot when riding through brushwood, and brilliant saddle-cloths. They sit astride ; and as Kanaka ladies are now proud of being *bien chaussée*, only the very poor ride bare-footed. They dash along at full gallop,—a bright exciting kaleidoscope of colour. They are a pre-eminently hospitable people, friendly to and keenly observant of the foreigner, and ambitious to imitate his manners, habits, dress and luxuries. In curious contrast to their extreme indolence are their great strength and courage, and their spasmodic capability for violent action. Probably the general indolence, thriftlessness and shiftlessness are engendered by the climate, and old habits of life under the ancient 'Aliis or chiefs, and are not ingrained in the nature of the people.

The foreign nationalities resident on the islands seem one and all to have cast aside the petty grievances and burdensome conventionalities of life of their several countries, and adopted the free-and-easy, happy, careless existence of the Hawaiians. Men and women there find time to be social, true and simple, cultured and agreeable. There is no vain striving to keep up appearances, which deceive no one ; and no rule of fashion, stern as the laws of the Medes and Persians, to keep pace with which is to be for ever, as it were, on the rack of anxiety. Though much business is done, especially in large towns, like Honolulu, business is no synonym for hurry. Commercial hours are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. ; nearly all stores are closed by 7.30 p.m. The result is health to mind and body ; and so life appears in rosy hues.

According to the census of 1884, the Chinese predominated over all other foreigners : out of a total population of 80,578, China men and women numbered fully 17,339. Originally the greater number had been imported as plantation coolies and workers in the rice fields ; and when their term of service expired, they set up stores or grew fruit and vegetables for market,—an occupation in which they excel ; or they became tailors, bootmakers, tinsmiths, and so on.

Successive relays of this clannish people naturally preferred engaging themselves to work with their own countrymen, so that they have done little to supply the planters with much-needed labour; and, by their rapidly increasing numbers, their patience and persevering industry, they are gradually depriving both natives and Europeans of many kinds of work. Chinese immigration has had to be restricted by law to agricultural labourers, under a bond to serve for eight or five years. But former residents are allowed to return under a Government permission. Since the above date the importation of Chinese has practically ceased, and the census taken December 1890, though not yet fully tabulated for publication, shows a falling off in their numbers of between 2,500 and 3,000.

As a substitute for the Chinese, large numbers of Japanese have immigrated. That nationality, which in 1884 numbered only 116, is placed by the census of 1890, at nearly 13,000; and the arrivals over the departures since the census was taken in December last, bring their numbers up to about 17,860, putting them considerably ahead of the Chinese. Japanese immigration has been suspended for the present, and is not likely to be renewed for some time to come.

The Portuguese rank next, being about 9,000.

But the islands are virtually Americanized. Americans constitute the ruling and moneyed class. Several of the important offices of State are filled by them, and the sugar plantations are to a great extent in their hands. The current gold coinage is that of the United States, but the silver is Hawaiian. Among the forms of Christianity which appeal to the natives, the Congregationalists are numerous; but they are largely outnumbered by the Episcopalians and Catholics.

The native language is peculiarly soft and pleasing, and so sweet and musical, that it has been likened to the warbling of birds. Yet it strikes a stranger as insipid, and lacking force and grasp, so to speak. Being easily acquired, numberless words are in constant daily use among

the foreign residents, in preference to their English equivalents. Such is the word *aloha*—it salutes you, bids good-bye, returns thanks, or conveys love or good-will. Similar in its comprehensiveness is *pilikia*, meaning any trouble from the pettiest annoyance to the greatest catastrophe, from the breaking of a shoe-string to the downfall of an empire. Two other words, *makai*, signifying literally "on the sea side," and *mauka*, "on the mountain side," are oddly introduced into ordinary conversation, just as are the points of the compass in Scotland; one is invited to sit at table on the *makai* or on the *mauka* side; one calls on a friend and is told he has gone *makai*, or *mauka*, as the case may be. The natives have no surnames, nor are their names peculiar to either sex. There are only twelve letters in the language, seven consonants and five vowels. Two pairs are interchangeable, that is to say, they do double duty and are counted only as two letters; *k* being also *t*, and *l* being also *r*. Thus *taro* (the root of the *Arum esculentum*, of which *poi*, the national dish, is made) is as often as not pronounced *kalo*. Probably the two pairs are in reality only two letters unknown to the European, just as the Arabic guttural *q* has no phonetic equivalent with us.

Unhappily it has long been feared that the natives are fading away, though half-whites increasing,—only another instance of that apparently inevitable law by which the coloured race disappears on the white man's path. When Captain Cook discovered Hawaii in 1778, he estimated the population at 1,200,000 people, an exaggeration doubtless, however unintentional on his part. We may fairly reduce his estimate by one fourth. In 1832, when the first official census was taken, it was 130,313; in 1860 it had dwindled to 69,800; in 1872 to 56,897; in 1878 it was 57,985; in 1884 it was 80,578; and in 1890, about 90,000. But the upward tendency shown in the last three numbers is due, not to natural increase, but to immigration. Still there is hope that the native vitality will yet re-assert itself; for since the year 1878 the decrease of

the natives has diminished almost 2 per cent. The deplorable curse of childlessness seems to visit alike the palace and the cottage home. Kalakaua, who recently occupied the throne, was the seventh monarch crowned within the last century, giving to each an average reign of fourteen years; but, with two exceptions, not one has held the kingly office for more than nine years. Add to this, that the direct line of the ancient Kamehamehas came to an end in 1873; and the present sovereign is an Alii, or chief of high rank, an order nearly extinct. Among the reasons assigned for this decadence is the former horrible practice of infanticide, a practice that still shows its traces in the utter neglect of young children. A mother frequently gives away her new-born babe to anyone who will rid her of so troublesome a charge.* A child sometimes passes from friend to friend, till it loses sight of both father and mother. The social customs as regards marriage of both high and low were likewise repulsive. The purity of the royal family could only be preserved, it was thought, by the intermarriage of the nearest blood relations, such as sister and brother, or nephew and aunt. The disproportion of the sexes and the presence of leprosy probably introduced by the Chinese,† also tend to the decrease of the race. It seems a paradox, but is a fact, that the introduction of civilization, with all its accompanying change in dress, food, and manner of living, deteriorates, while it improves a savage people.

* It is a strange fact that the Hawaiians, while somewhat lacking the *parental* instinct and the sense of *parental* responsibility, are quite fond of children. The same mother who will give away her own baby is equally ready to adopt any motherless child within the circle of her acquaintance. Mothers have often been known to exchange children; and no native child seems to ever lack a home. Such a thing as an orphan asylum or a foundling home is unknown and unthought of, and there seems to be no need for one. Children are given away only to *intimate friends* who will adopt them, not indiscriminately, or passed from one to another.

† The Government has been unable to find proof of this, though the disease is known to the natives as "Mai Pake,"—Chinese sickness.

Strange to say, all the islands of the group possess two sets of scenery and soil, as distinctly opposed to each other as it is possible for any sceneries and soils to be. One half of the isles, generally speaking the eastern, is green with grassy plains, well watered, lovely with a very prodigality of indigenous and exotic vegetation, and fertile under the hands of the cultivator; the west is barren and arid, treeless and waterless, a parched and weary volcanic waste. It must be remembered that the islands are almost purely of volcanic origin; but all that the new, untried earth, fresh from Nature's Mint, seems to crave to become amazingly fertile, is constant irrigation. Now Hawaii lies fully exposed to the N.E. trade winds, which come from temperate regions, and blow steadily for about nine months of the year, and are laden with moisture by passing over 2,000 miles of sea. Lava rocks yield to the united abrading and disintegrating influences of sunshine and rain; and the results, mingling with the leaf mould produced by the decay of a profuse vegetation, constitute a soil so rich and productive that it is out-rivalled by none upon earth. But the rain winds seldom reach the other side of the islands; for most of them possess an efficient barrier against it, in the shape of a dividing range of mountains, which run generally from N.W. to S.E. throughout their entire length. These condense the clouds, and throw them back to windward in streams and cascades. Oahu has a curious gap in its ridge at the *Pali* (the wall-like precipice) just above Honolulu, at the head of the Nuuanu valley, through which the winds rush as through a funnel, bringing verdure in their train. But they have spent themselves ere they reach the town; and the contrast between the greenness of the upper part of the valley and the barren shore is marked and very striking.

The scenery of windward Hawaii is charming and picturesque in the extreme. Three huge volcanic mountains, Mauna Loa, Mauna Kea, and Hualalai, rear their snow-capped domes against the sky to the height of 14,000

feet, forming a triangle towards the centre of the island, their slopes clothed with dense forests of richest tropical growth, and grassy plains, which trend gradually away to the blue Pacific. They are seamed with numberless ravines or "gulches," not to call them "cañons;" and down each a river flows to the sea, varying in width from 100 to 2,000 feet. Many are nearly a mile wide. The waters of some, small and quiet, glide peacefully between meadowy banks to their final destination. Others, fierce impetuous mountain torrents, hemmed in by high precipitous rocks, dash headlong over boulder and precipice till they lose themselves in the dimpling ocean. Nearly all are liable to sudden and tremendous freshets. Cascades and waterfalls leap from the hills in all directions; and everywhere trees and rocks are covered with exquisite ferns and trailing parasites of all shades and kinds. The "gulches" widen out at their extremities, and the sea sweeps into them with drowsy booming music. Many a journey taken is but a continuous series of descents and ascents, across these "gulches." Thus on the road between Hilo and Laupahaehae, no fewer than sixty-five streams must be crossed in a distance of thirty miles. Having ridden for a few hundred yards along a lofty upland, the brink of a stupendous precipice is suddenly reached, a murmur of water ascends from the depths below, and in front is the equally perpendicular precipice on the other side of the tiny valley. A bird would skim across in a few seconds; poor wingless man has to trust to the unshod, sure-footed beast under him, to scramble up and down the narrow, scarcely winding tracks cut out on the faces of the mountains. On slippery descents the creature will gather all his legs under him and slide. On the more rugged paths, he frequently has to leap over masses of rock, some three feet high, produced by breakage; and this on a path where a false step means death. Dense vegetation often blinds one to the risk incurred; but many of the *palis* are utterly undraped.

Hawaii is chiefly famous for its volcanoes.* Kilauea, the largest active volcano in the world, lies on the side of the mountain Mauna Loa, at an elevation of 4000 feet. We usually think of a volcano as a cone, but Kilauea is rather a great sunken pit, in the midst of a vast desolate plain, which slopes up gently to the summit of the mountain. It is a pit of no less than nine miles in circumference, and the area of its lowest level is six square miles. That level varies; but it is at present 600 feet below the surrounding country, and is reached by a steep descent down the sheer face of a precipice, which extends right round the crater, and as it were walls it in. Within the crater, towards its southern end, is an inner crater, with one or more lakes of fire, called the Halemaumau, or House of Everlasting Burnings, which constitute the true chimney of the volcano. Here Kilauea exhibits its ceaseless activity. In the outer crater occasional grand eruptions occur; but signs of the slumbering forces below are ever present in the form of blowing cones and steam cracks, varying in size from narrow clefts to great fissures, from which issue puffs and clouds of steam, fumes of hot, poisonous gases, and from some liquid lava. The general bed is made up of countless lava flows, of a variety of forms and contortions difficult to describe in the words of everyday life. It has been likened to a rippling sea suddenly fossilized. There are streams, rivers, lakes, cliffs, terraces, waterfalls, and congealed raindrops of petrified lava. Some of it appears like huge coils of rope. The ever-working inner crater is of course liable to almost daily change. At times it is surrounded by a circle of crags, thrown up from the lake in a molten state, and solidified as they rose: they tower above the level of the outer basin to the height of 400 to 600 feet. From the top one gazes downwards into a sea of liquid fire. Soon the crags, undermined by the forces below, may topple over into the lake, only to be melted afresh, and once more up-

* For fuller information on this matter, we recommend Major C. E. Dutton (U.S.N.), *On the Hawaiian Volcanoes*.

heaved. When this takes place, fire is often choked, and dense volumes of smoke and steam, and flickering flames, issue from the vast pit. The terrible eruptions, which from time to time have threatened Hilo with annihilation, have almost invariably occurred, not in connection with Kilauea, —which usually confines its ebullitions within its own encircling wall—but with Mokuaweoweo, on the very summit of Mauna Loa. When this shows signs of life, danger is to be apprehended. The immense height at which it is situated lends a fearful impetus to a lava flow.

On the island of Maui is Haleakala (House of the Sun), the largest known extinct volcano in the world, its giant crater pit, resembling the yawning craters in the moon, being twenty-four miles in circumference and 2,000 feet deep. Sixteen subsidiary cones rise from its bed, some solitary, others in clusters. The base of the mountain itself has a circumference of ninety miles.

On the island of Molokai is Kalamao, a fertile valley of about 20,000 acres, walled in by precipices 3,000 feet high. Here is the home of the lepers. All who contract the disease are exiled there by order of the Government, with the view of extirpating, if possible, the dire disease from among the people. It was here that the Rev. Father Damien sacrificed his life, and that others, equally heroic, still labour at his work.

The commerce of the Hawaiian kingdom, in proportion to its population, is the most extensive in the world. The chief exports are the produce of the country, such as sugar, rice, fruits, skins and hides. The value of the total domestic exports for 1890 was \$13,142,829, which, though half a million less than in 1889, was $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions more than in 1888. The imports in 1890 were \$6,962,201, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions more than in 1889, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ more than in 1888. The exports exceeded the imports in 1890, by no less than \$6,180,628. Of the total trade of 1890, 91 per cent. was with America, $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with Great Britain, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with China and Japan, and the remaining 2 per cent.

with the rest of the world. Germany figures at '74, and France at '03 per cent.

The predominance of American interests and influence in Hawaii is due to the generous and highly beneficial treaty relations extended to Hawaii by the United States, and also to the fact that the Pacific coast of that country is the nearest as well as the natural market for Hawaiian product. Under the treaty of reciprocity negotiated with the United States in 1875, which is still in force, the trade of Hawaii (import and export) has increased from \$3,052,811 in 1876, to \$20,105,030 in 1890!

Nations, like individuals, seek the most profitable markets; and no doubt if England, Germany, or any other nation could offer to Hawaii advantages equivalent to those given by America, whose main advantage is that of proximity, the trade of Hawaii would certainly be more divided in the markets of the world.

What porridge is to Scotland, that is *poi* to Hawaii. A native without his calabash of *poi* would be an anomaly. It has been urged as a cause of his laziness, that a *kalo* patch, 40 feet square, will support a Hawaiian for a whole year. True; but the cultivation of the plant, and its conversion into food, involves an amount of diligent and most exhaustive labour. It is grown in shallow fields of puddled earth, each root forming its own little hillock. The patch has to be embanked, and kept constantly inundated to a certain height, and the men work standing to their waists in water. The roots when ripe are boiled or baked in an underground oven, and may be eaten simply sliced. But to make *poi*, they must be placed in a wooden bowl, or on a slightly hollowed board, and pounded with a stone pestle, a very tiring and disagreeable-looking process. It is then removed into calabashes and kneaded with the hand to a smooth paste by the addition of water, and thus left for two or three days to ferment. In its dry state, before the water is added, it is known as *paiai* or hard food, and may be packed in *ti* or dracæna leaves for future use and exportation.

The reign of the late King Kalakaua was one of unvarying progress for Hawaii. Internationally its standing is immeasurably higher than formerly. This was secured chiefly by the proposal in 1885, by the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, regarding the perfect independence of all Polynesian States, and their guarantee by the Powers, against annexation upon any pretence whatever. The proposal received the endorsement of the United States, and was entertained favourably by the representatives of the various European Courts at Washington, and by them approvingly reported upon to their respective Governments. The perpetual independence of Hawaii is placed under the joint guarantee of England, France, and the United States of America. This policy also furnished an honourable solution to the difficulty that had arisen between England, France and Germany, owing to the recent annexationist policies of France and Germany in the Pacific. When the late king came to the throne in 1874, there was much depression in the trade of that most important item of wealth to the country, sugar. No country in the world is better suited for sugar production than Hawaii; out of its 4,000,000 acres, on 150,000 sugar might be planted with advantage. There are now more than seventy plantations with an average yield of three to five tons per acre. In 1860 the islands exported 1,144,271 lbs.; in 1879 49,020,972 lbs.: the official returns for 1890 show an export of 259,798,462 lbs. Put into smaller figures the contrast is even greater. In 1860 the export of sugar was only 516 tons, as against 115,981 tons in 1890. The rapid increase of trade is due to the removal of the heavy import duties which strangled trade with America, by the Reciprocity Treaty, which came into operation in 1874, and which admits free all sugar, the growth and manufacture of the islands, into every port of the United States. In 1881 the king undertook a tour of the world, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations with foreign Governments, and obtaining their consent to the emigration of

their people to the islands, for the supply of labour. His reception at all the Courts, especially those of England and Japan was cordial in the extreme; and Japanese immigration was successfully inaugurated in 1885. This was a movement remarkable in its social as in its political aspects, since the Japanese are not given to wandering. The Japanese on the islands have mostly embraced Christianity and Temperance, through the example of their Resident Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General.

With the motto *Hooulu Lahui* (may the nation increase), which he adopted on his accession to the throne, the king did all that human aid could devise to arrest the decay of his people. The most recent census, however, though it gives a greater total for the entire population, still marks a decrease in the native race, yet not without some hope of arresting the decay.

On the 28th December, 1890, the population was:— Natives, 34,436; Chinese, 15,301; Japanese, 12,360 (*plus* 5,503 more who have immigrated since the census); Portuguese, 8,602; Hawaii-born foreigners 7,495; Half-castes, 6,186; Americans, 1,928; British, 1,344; Germans, 1,034; Polynesians, 588; Norwegians, 227; French, 79; other nationalities, 419.

The total is 89,990; and of this 58,714 are males, and 31,276 are females.

There are good prospects of a great future for the country; and so far as human wisdom can forecast coming events, even the conflicting interests of the many nationalities which crowd these beautiful islands seem to work harmoniously for the general welfare, both socially and politically.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. III. page 207).

XI.

A CASE OF DEIFICATION.

[The following is a succinct account of a case of deification brought to Sir Walter Elliot's notice, when in the Northern Sarkárs, a district of the Presidency, on the east coast, about 250 miles north of Madras. Masulipatam is the chief town of the Krishnâ (officially called Kistna) districts; and Nandigama is the capital of an inland Táluk, or division. In the Nandigama Táluk is a village called Lingalapádu, wherein is a small temple dedicated to the worship of Lakshamma. Every village, in Southern India has its tutelary village goddess, a malevolent spirit, refraining from evil only when propitiated by sacrifices and worship; and it is not improbable that the adoration of many of these had its origin in cases of deification, such as the present. The facts here are, however, so recent as to make the event highly interesting. The narrative is abridged from a written statement given to Sir Walter by a native official.—R. S.]

On the night of 1st *Mágha*, in the year *Sádhárana* (January, 1851), the body of Lakshamma, wife of Venkiah, brother of Chirumamilla Subiah, an inhabitant and village-Munsiff (head man) of Lingálapadu, was burned: she was said to have died of a snake-bite, but the local authorities were not told of the accident. Mr. Porter, the late Collector of Masulipatam, was then at Ibrahimpatam, Taluk of Bezoarah, when Degumarty Ramanah, brother of the deceased, sent him a petition by post, stating that she had been killed by her husband. The petition received on the 19th January, was referred on the 19th February for investigation to the head police officer of Nandigam. The official report, after careful inquiry, was that she had really died of a snake-bite, and had not been murdered. The late Collector also personally investigated the case. Before him the petitioner, Digumarty Ramanah, deposed that the petition was not his, but had been forged in his name, that its statements were false and that his sister Lakshamma

died of a snake-bite : all which was corroborated by the village Munsiff. The papers were all duly filed.

About three or four months after the death of Lakshamma, some houses accidentally took fire. The cause was unknown, though soothsayers were duly consulted. Meanwhile the deceased Lakshamma was reported to have appeared on several occasions in different places in a white costume ; whence people gave out at once, according to the Hindu belief, that she was metamorphosed into a devil.

Soon after, a person, as if inspired by the Deity, declared that Lakshamma had become a goddess, that it was she who had set fire to the houses ; and that if temples were erected and consecrated to her, and festivals celebrated in her name, she would cease to hurt and would promote the welfare of the villagers ; if not, she would set fire to the remaining houses. This being unheeded, certain straw stacks were set on fire. To escape such calamities the people determined to comply with the request. Ganáchárlu, the person inspired, declared that temples must be erected and dedicated to Lakshamma, Akkammah, and Seetama ; and three idols representing these goddesses should be consecrated in the pagodas. Lakshamma, on being asked regarding the forms of these idols, replied through Ganáchárlu, that she had in a dream instructed a sculptor at Condapilly how to make them, and that the villagers should bring the idols into the pagodas with tom-toms, and sacrifice goats and buffaloes to her. Some of the villagers going to Condapilly found to their astonishment three idols ready at the sculptor's, who, when asked, said that Lakshamma appeared to him in a dream, and promising to assist him in every way and to bless him with a son, told him to make the idols in this particular form, to be delivered into the hands of the villagers. This he did.

Since then, festivals have been celebrated every Friday, and attended by as many as 4, or 5,000 persons. They remain there the whole night, when Lakshamma, through Ganáchárlu, declares publicly the wish of each individual,

and also directs him for obtaining it to undergo certain penances, such as going round the temple for 5 or 10 weeks, etc. A few of Lakshamma's votaries had undoubtedly obtained their desires, and several persons under the influence of evil spirits had been freed ; whereupon men afflicted with various diseases flocked to the pagoda of Lakshamma ; and festivals were (and are) celebrated with unabated splendour, from Wednesday to Friday. Crowds come from all quarters—Hyderabad, Cumnum Mattu, Nallakonda, Bhadradi, and other places in the Nizam's territories, and also from Bunder, Ellore, Kykalore, Goodavada, Bezoarah, etc. Barren women, persons deprived of the use of their limbs, or afflicted with other diseases, come to Lingalapadu for these festivals, and, bathing in the well near the pagoda of Lakshamma, prostrate themselves in their wet clothes in an apartment in her temple, while one of the attendants there sprinkles saffron water over them. Thus prostrate they remain for 4 or 5 hours, directing their thoughts fixedly on Lakshamma. Each becomes entranced, and feels as if some supernatural power were telling each one whether his or her expectations are to be realized or not. In proof of the former, Lakshamma, during these trances, places in each one's lap either saffron, a fruit, or a small golden idol, the last omen being considered the most propitious. Owing to these proofs of her supernatural power, 100 or 200 individuals thus prostrate themselves in the pagoda of Lakshamma every Friday night. It is generally said that the prayers of Lakshamma's votaries are rewarded by the accomplishing of their objects ; but not a single instance of a blind man having recovered his sight, or a barren woman being blessed with children, is adduced to attest these supernatural powers.

Some females of rank and distinction in the Zemindaries, in the Nizam's dominions, who were under the influence of evil spirits, etc., having bathed in the well, and performed the required penance, found in their laps saffron, fruit, golden idols, etc. They thereupon presented Lakshamma with

rich clothes, golden ornaments, etc. Every Friday more than 100 Rs. are collected in the pagoda. Lakshamma has ordered a stone temple to be built, and a tank to be dug near it. The pagoda has accordingly been erected at a cost of 5000 Rs., and the idol representing Lakshamma is consecrated in it; and the people have already commenced to dig a tank. Lakshamma says, through Ganáchárlu, that those who bathe in the tank when completed, will not only be relieved from evil spirits, but also from all diseases, and barren women will be blessed with children; but the truth of this assertion has still to be tested. The spot where the body of Lakshamma was burned is named *Bandáru*, or sacred earth. Her votaries take a handful of it to keep as a relic, and they place a little of it on the foreheads of sick children, and of those possessed by evil spirits. From the *Bandáru* having been thus taken away, a pit was formed, ten feet deep, whence issued a spring, which filled it with water. This is held sacred and of extraordinary virtue, and is carried away in great quantities by the ryots, who sprinkle it on crops injured by rain or inundation, in the belief that it will repair the damage done.

Lakshamma declares, through Ganáchárlu, that she did not die from a snake-bite, but was killed by her husband with a dagger, that the fact was wrongfully concealed, and that she has cursed those who bore false witness in her case, devoting them to grow mad and roam over the world. There are no means to prove or disprove this matter.

Lakshamma generally appears to some of those who are on their way to Lingálupádu, like a Muttaida, or woman whose husband is alive; and after purchasing glass bracelets from them (if they have any), puts them on and goes on her way, saying, that she is proceeding to the Kristna and Godavery to perform ablutions, and will return within eight days. She requests them also to tell this to her brother-in-law, Chirumamilla Subiah. After walking a few paces she suddenly disappears, whence the travellers

conclude that she is Lakshamma, and tell everyone so. In confirmation of this, Ganáchárlu, during the period of her absence from Lingálapádu, does not play his part, nor is any answer given to the votaries of Lakshamma; but after the time specified by her, things take their former course, Ganáchárlu comes into play, the festivals proceed, etc. Last March splendid festivals were celebrated for 10 consecutive nights, and people from a radius of 200 miles attended, some offering sacrifices of buffaloes, goats, etc., while others made presents of money, women's clothes, ornaments, etc. Many talk of their desires having been fulfilled.

Chirumamilla Subiah, brother-in-law of Lakshamma, distributes alms to the poor in rice, out of the gifts made to her every Friday.

[After this follows a translation of a poem relating to Lakshamma. I abridge it from the copy in Sir Walter's note-book, by a native clerk.—R. S.]

My sister-in-law (says Lakshamma) one day fell out with me, and bursting into tears, resolved on my destruction. To effect this she, a few days afterwards, told my husband (Venkia) that I intended to give my only daughter in marriage to a man I had chosen, and to live with them separately, taking with me my portion of the common property. My husband, hearing this false and disgraceful affair, sighed deeply, and looked angrily at me, and I feared that his ill-suppressed fury would cost me my life. I was extremely grieved at his having so hastily resolved on vengeance against me. Strange to say, all the family, except my eldest brother-in-law, conceived a hatred against me. "Oh it is impossible," said my consort, to his eldest brother, "to sound the heart of a woman! She does not distinguish a good from a bad thing; but on the contrary is ready to commit any crime." I saw at once that this observation was directed against me, and I thought of committing suicide as an escape; but on further consideration I abandoned my resolve, because suicide would bring disgrace upon my family, and make me incur the displeasure

of the Almighty. Meanwhile, my husband told his eldest brother, that in future he should feel little or no love for me ; that I should be at once turned out of the house, and sent to my parents, for having determined to give my only daughter in marriage to an unworthy man, and to live separately. On this, my eldest brother-in-law guessed that some evil was about to happen. He told his brother that those were merely women's words, neither all true, nor trustworthy ; that the domestic affairs of the " Kamma " people * should not be published out of doors ; and that it was beneath his dignity to form so rash a resolve, which he begged him to give up. On this, my husband said, " What nonsense is this ? If this become public, a great stain will be put on our family." In vain my eldest brother-in-law reasoned with him: " My brother, believe me," said he, " the mind of a female is that of a Rákshasi ; † females should neither be abused nor beaten." While thus trying in various ways to pacify my husband's wrath, he was obliged to go on a journey to Nandigam.

The third night after his departure all the family assembled and conversed secretly ; and I inferred that they were conspiring against me, taking advantage of the absence of my eldest brother-in-law. While I thought thus, my husband rushed into my room, and beat me with his fists ; then he sharpened a sword, and followed me to the place where I had concealed myself, fearing that *Yama*, the god of death, was come. Finding no shelter in the house I tried to escape ; but he ran after me, and seized me, and dragging me into a room in the house, stabbed me in several parts of my body, particularly lacerating my hands and face. Strange to say, not one of the family was merciful enough to restrain my enraged husband from stabbing me ! They all witnessed the cruel scene, and, to the disgrace of humanity, feasted their eyes with it. They cried unanimously, " Come here, come here, that is not the proper way. Do not cut

* The *Kammas* are the highest caste of cultivators, and are generally Lingayets.

† Female demon.

her ; there is a sharp dagger, take it, and run it through her heart with a good aim." At this suggestion, my cruel, hard-hearted, and relentless husband took the dagger in his right hand, and killed me at one blow, at 10 o'clock p.m., on the second day of the increasing moon of the month of *Mágha*, in the year *Sádhárana*, while I was hiding myself, trembling, in a corner of the house. Soon after this, my remains were quietly carried to the *Smasánam* (or burning place), where they were burned with the usual ceremonies. My enemies, having thus quenched their thirst for my blood, consulted to invent a plausible story for my death. Meanwhile, I devoted myself to the worship of Siva, and continued to tender my humble services to *Párvatí*. But seeing that my enemies were concocting a story, built upon great falsehoods, regarding the cause of my death, I was exceedingly indignant, and began to adopt measures to take vengeance upon the murderer, his abettors, and those that had helped to hush up the murder. Soon after departing this life, I appeared to my eldest brother-in-law in a dream, and informed him of what had occurred. Startled at hearing this unexpected account, he set out immediately from *Nandigam* for his home. I appeared to him when on his way to *Lingalapádu*, and said, "Oh my eldest brother-in-law ! my consort, urged by the others of the family, took advantage of your absence, and murdered me with a dagger." At these words he was thunderstruck. Continuing his journey he reached home, and, being informed of my fate, he wept bitterly, and said to his brother : "My brother, what a shocking crime you have committed ! Why, we are undone ! The officers of justice will come in crowds. My dream is perfectly verified. Even if we showered rupees, there is very little chance of escape ; for murder will out. Shall I lament the death of my sister-in-law, or for you who will be undoubtedly hanged not long hence ?" While he was thus swimming in the ocean of sorrow, not knowing what to do, two persons named *Mudigonda Virésalingam*, and *Darbhákala Guruvanna*, came to my brother-in-law, and

encouraged him, saying, that they would prevail upon the Munsiff and Curnams to hush up what had really taken place, and give out that I died from a snake-bite. My brother-in-law, naturally wishing to save his brother's life, agreed to their proposals, but through no ill-will against me

On the seventh day of my penance, Siva appeared to me and told me to ask a favour. I begged of him to reconstitute four of the elements of my life, viz. fire, water, air, and spirit, into a deity; and to endow the fifth element, earth—my dust remaining in this world—with supernatural powers. Siva not only granted the request, but also bestowed his blessing, promising that daily, weekly and yearly festivals should be celebrated in my honour, for 100 years, throughout the world; and he generously endowed me with supernatural powers to communicate with the people at large, about the past, present, and future.

My brother-in-law, my husband, and others, having, as I have stated, decided on suppressing the fact that I had been murdered, gave out that I died from a snake-bite, and engaged some false witnesses to make this untrue statement to my relatives. I, however, conveyed to them the real cause of my death, long before these letters reached them. The headmen of Lingalapádu having assembled together, believed the false evidence regarding my death, and transmitted the record to the Tahsildar,* who, thinking the matter of no great weight, ordered a Sub-magistrate to investigate the case. He came to the village and learnt from the people generally that I was murdered by my husband; but instead of doing justice to me, he availed himself of this opportunity for extortion. Urged by corruption and avarice, he made his eyeballs red, and threatened my brother-in-law, etc., that he would injure them by exposing the whole truth, unless 400 Rupees were given to him. But the said Vitrésalingam pacified him. "Sir," said he, in a humble tone, "you are a lord and a charitable man. It is now in your power to protect the

* The chief native official of the division.

poor. Do so, therefore, and do not be hasty. Stay in our house, and there take your meals, if you please. I will in a few moments satisfy your wishes." That same evening, this mediator requested the magistrate to accept of a bribe of 40 Rupees and to draw up a false statement, confirming the one transmitted by the headmen of the village, that death had resulted from a snake-bite, and so drawn up as to leave no room for further suspicion. Irritated by this trifling offer, the sub-magistrate immediately drew up a true statement of the case as a murder, on the strength of what he had heard from the villagers generally; and he was about to set out to Nandigam, when Virésalingam, after a private conversation with my eldest brother-in-law and my husband, took a sum of 90 Rupees as a present to the fiery magistrate. Accepting this bribe, he destroyed the true statement he had prepared, and in its place he drew up a false one, coinciding with that transmitted by the village people. He submitted the depositions given by the false witnesses, together with other papers bearing upon the case, to the Tahsildar. This man had meanwhile learned the true facts of the case from some of his own servants; nor did he submit the report to the Collector,* until a bribe of 100 Rupees had been given to him also. Thus ended this investigation.

To return; my parents having received a letter from my eldest brother-in-law, falsely stating that I had died from a snake-bite, contrary to the dream which told them that I had been murdered by my husband, began to entertain suspicion regarding my death, and questioned the messenger who brought the letter. "Please tell us," said they, "what part of her body was bitten? Where was she? And what was she doing then? What were the last words of our darling daughter? And who were attending on her at the time of her death? In short, inform us of all the particulars of her death." Thunderstruck at these unexpected questions, before a crowd of people, the messenger,

* The English chief of the district.

humbly folding his hands, said, with a trembling voice :
 " What can I say ? To tell the truth, Lakshamma's husband ran a sword through her body, and so put an end to the life of your darling daughter." " Oh ! virtuous gem ! " exclaimed my parents and others, " you have been relieved from your troubles, you have left this transient world. Oh, we hope you are now in the service of Parvati ! " Thus my parents continued their bitter lamentations, when I said, through Ganáchárlu : " Oh, my father, why should you all weep for me ? The human frame is not everlasting ! It is said in the sacred books that honour should be secured even at the expense of life ; for life is short, but honour is everlasting as the sun, moon, and stars, studded in the concave heavens. You know the sacred books say nothing false. I have lost my life, to preserve my honour ; my fate will be highly praised by succeeding generations. Cease, then, to mourn for me ; put away my memory ; and live happily. Listen to me, my old father," I continued. " I fell a victim to the vengeance of my mother-in-law's party, by the sword of my husband, after experiencing innumerable and unheard of difficulties in my father-in-law's house." My parents having thus learnt the true facts of my death, fell out with my husband's party, and went to Masulipatam to prefer a complaint in the proper Criminal Court and to obtain justice. But my eldest brother-in-law followed my father to Masulipatam with a bag of a thousand pagodas (3500 Rupees) and said : " O ! my father-in-law, it is true that we have committed murder ; but please accept this money, and save the life of my brother and your son-in-law. We will give you whatever you require, if you only save him, whose life is now at your mercy." Riches generally prevail against right, and so in this case wealth overcame my father's affections for me, and induced him to join my murderers. O, God ! where is my father ? where my mother ? and where are my relatives ? How disgraceful, that they did not resist the temptation of money ! One and all forsook the just cause

of their once darling daughter for a trifle of base money. It is rare that a husband murders his wife, even though she commits adultery. Was it justifiable for my consort to kill me? Of those individuals that bore false witness in this murder case, through their avarice, some were suddenly destroyed, and their houses consumed by fire, others perished otherwise. I then desired my eldest brother-in-law to erect temples in my honour, and to establish my worship. As he declined to do so, I began to trouble my husband and my eldest brother-in-law incessantly, night and day. Then the people assembled together and thought it expedient to build pagodas and celebrate festivals to me. Meanwhile, my wonderful supernatural powers spread throughout the world, and a vast concourse came from all quarters to worship me. The sick and the wounded, the poor, and those possessed by evil spirits, flocked to my pagodas, praying to be relieved from their pains. Those that had no children, and in short, all that had any cause for complaint, had recourse to me for help. I accordingly cured the sick, and blessed barren women with children; and I satisfied generally the wants of the people, and accomplished their desires. O! People! if you say that Lakshamma was not killed by her husband, happiness of the next world will flee from you; if you say that this poem was composed through party spirit, it will be like the crime of killing a cow at Benares; and if you declare that I died from the bite of a serpent, the whole world will be filled with sins. Be assured of all these facts, and conduct yourselves as you ought. What honours did the Tahsildar and the sub-Magistrate gain by receiving bribes of 100 Rupees and 90 Rupees respectively? What advantage did the false witnesses get from their bribes? What did my parents gain, after receiving thousands of Rupees, by relinquishing the cause of their daughter? Nothing but suspicions, imprisonments, disgrace, and loss of life, etc.

I then desired my eldest brother-in-law to have a pagoda built in honour of my name, to dig a tank and to

distribute alms to poor Brahmins, as also to all others, indiscriminately. Having told me that he would comply with my desires, he consulted his brother on this point. "Do not," said my husband, with his fiery disposition, "meddle with me. I have heard enough of all your desires. But you may yourself do whatever you like."

[*The poem is incomplete.*—R. S.]

Three years after these events, while investigating abuses in the Masulipatam district, I found the belief of the people very general that the woman had been murdered, and that the case had been hushed up through the venality of the native police. The reputation of the goddess Lakshamma was firmly established. Her spirit had appeared to many females of the district, of undoubted respectability, some of whom I saw and questioned. I found them firmly persuaded of the truth of what they thought they had seen.

Great numbers of votaries still flocked to the temple of the newly-deified goddess, and rich gifts poured in from distant places. Probably the story of the murder was not without foundation. The native public servants were then notoriously corrupt, and both the Sub-magistrate and Tahsildar referred to were, in the course of my inquiries, dismissed for numerous acts of malversation. The Ganáchári, a public censor, one of the village functionaries in the old municipal institutions of the country, no doubt turned the popular belief to his own advantage.—[W. E.]

XII.

CASTE FACTIONS.

[This note was written in 1829.—R. S.]

THE majority of the castes in the southern Mahratta country, are of the Lingayet persuasion. They are the chief agriculturists, traders, and mechanics, and are possessed of great wealth and influence, yet they are constantly opposed and annoyed by a small caste called

Huttgars, a name derived from a Canarese word, signifying "animosity." Insignificant in numbers, they earn considerable profits by their trade as weavers. Whenever they are in the same village with Lingayets, a quarrel is sure to ensue, which often ends in one party moving away and building on a spot by themselves; but such is the tenacity and obstinacy of the Huttgars, that they often get the better of their adversaries.

The town of Gaduk-Bettgerry, in the Dummul Taluk, is the place where these two factions are found in the greatest force, though scarce a trading village in the district is free from the dispute. Each is in fact two towns. Venkappiah, a former Deşae of Dummul, permitted the Hattgars to establish a separate community, owing to one of these caste feuds; and they built Bettgerry, about half a mile from their former residence. They have since grown in prosperity, till now they exceed in wealth and numbers the rival corporation, which has fallen off in latter years. The dispute, however, continues, and as several Huttgars still remain in Gaduk, and as the headman of the town and several cultivators residing in Bettgerry are Lingayets, every year some explosion takes place, generally connected with religious observances, or the treatment of the priests administering them.

In A.D. 1818, the first year of the British rule, Nagappiah, Deşae of Nowlgowd, happened to be passing through the town of Gaduk on horseback, accompanied by a rich Huttgar trader, in a hackery, or carriage, drawn by bullocks. Now neither of the contending castes will allow the other to pass through their bazaars, except on foot, and then generally with taunts and abuse. The Gaduk men seized this opportunity of insulting the Huttgars. Surrounding the carriage in a tumultuous manner, they asked him how he dared defile their bazaar; and, putting a broom into his hand, ordered him to sweep away the pollution, nor would they allow him to pass till he actually tried to sweep. The Huttgars revenged themselves for this insult at the ensuing religious festival, at a village near

Badáma, an occasion when both castes assemble in great numbers. They denied the right of the Lingayets to appear in procession, with their "Chelwaddee," a servant carrying a bell and large brass spoon as their insignia; and when their priest appeared on horseback in the procession, he was severely beaten and driven away. For two years the Lingayets vainly tried to re-establish their right, but not with much success; and during the two last they have ceased to attend this festival, though it constitutes a grand mart for the articles in which the traders deal. The Huttgars, however, were at no loss, for they both established shops themselves and brought traders to supply the rest.

To return to Bettgerry. Soon after the above outrage, the Lingayets followed suit by attempting to parade through Bettgerry the chief priest of their sect at Dummul, but the Huttgars drove him back and broke his palanquin.

In 1824, some of the Lingayets declared they would leave the village; but the Government refused to give them permission to build new houses. They, however, persisted; and, carrying away their old houses from Bettgerry, they built a new hamlet near Gaduk, which they called Shapoor where they continued to pay the taxes at which they had been assessed in Bettgerry.

From this period the mutual bad feeling seemed to increase, but nothing serious occurred till 1826, when the Huttgars, having carried their sacred books in procession through the town, the Lingayets of Bettgerry declared they must have a similar ceremony. Their attempt was, however, opposed by violence; their priest was beaten, and their party dispersed. They immediately complained to the Government, and both parties were ordered to suspend all such observances till the matter was settled. The Lingayets, feeling themselves the weaker party, shut up their shops and houses, suspended all their employments and business, and, going outside, encamped with their families in the plain. There were upwards of 200 tents, and they remained there full 3 months, in spite of all the efforts of the public officers.

The Huttgars now showed the full force of their animosity. Weavers, and acquainted with no mechanical art, they did all the work of their neighbours outside. For they went to the oilpress, and themselves expressed the oil from the grain. They set stalls in front of the shut-up traders' shops, and retailed grain, and all kinds of goods, for which their weaving habits, and the prejudices of caste, particularly unfitted them. When the Amildar objected to the fields lying waste, they offered to pay the rents. At length, the officers of Government, with much difficulty, effected a composition. The Lingayets agreed to return to their homes, if a Jungum priest was allowed to pass through the bazaar in procession. It was known that the Boosnoor chief priest had been in the habit of coming to the place as chief Censor—an extremely ancient institution, investing him with the character of a public officer. This, however, did not exactly satisfy the Lingayets, who wanted a new person with less equivocal rights. At last (1827-8), it was stated that the Faqueer-swamy of Seretty had many years ago been once allowed a passage. The Huttgars caught at the suggestion with avidity, and the Lingayets were also well pleased; for the Swamy is an old established priesthood of high reputation. The Faqueer-swamy came, and none were so loud in their welcome as the Huttgars. They tossed his "Chowrees;"* they put themselves under his palanquin, and would scarce allow the Lingayets to participate in their eager greetings. But when they reached the great Lingayet temple, and lodged him in the Guru-Muth or Penetralia, making large offerings of money, etc., they showed their enmity. The Faqueer-swamy has, from time immemorial, practised all the customs of the Muhammadans, though still a Lingayet; and long usage has caused this to be recognized as his privilege. The Huttgars had kept half a dozen poor Faqueers and other Muhammadans ready for the occasion. These now came to pay their respects to their (as well as the Lingayet) spiritual chief;

* Horsehair fly-whisks.

and after making their offerings and obeisance, they asked leave to hold a sacrifice. It was at once granted. In an instant the Huttgars, who had the animals ready, brought in half a dozen sheep. Their throats were cut by the Mussulmans, exclaiming "Bismillah!" The offering was made, and the rest dressed for food, and eaten in the Lingayet sanctum! Anyone acquainted with the horror of this sect at blood, leather, animal food, etc., in which they far exceed the Brahmins, may fancy their dismay and distress; but they had no redress. The Faqueer-swamy is an old recognized prelate, and they had to be silent.

The Lingayets remained quiet till 1829, when a turbulent priest, named the "Aravattmoon Yedi Tyer," or "the priest of 63 plates," came to Guduk. This name proceeds from the custom that, on his coming to a village, his votaries must, on the day of his arrival, lay out food for 9 Jungum priests, the second for 18, the third for 36, the fourth for 63: hence his name. Should the poor people hesitate or refuse, he sits fasting till they comply. This priest, supported by the Gaduk Lingayets, who urged on their more peaceable neighbours in Bettgerry, prepared to pass in procession through the streets of the latter place. This the Huttgars assembled in great numbers to oppose strenuously. The Lingayets again deserted their houses, and betook themselves to the plain, and remained there 4 months, the priest affecting not to eat the whole time; but still continuing in good bodily case. He extorted a bond from his deluded votaries, that they would carry him in triumph through their streets, or otherwise would forfeit the privileges of their caste and become outcastes. The matter was investigated and decided by the local officers:—only those Jungums, who had a prescriptive right should pass through the streets of Bettgerry, and as this individual had no such qualification, he should no longer persist in his purpose. No attention being paid to this decision, the magistrate at Dharwar apprehended the factious priest, who was

brought in on a cot, apparently in a piteous plight, declaring that, not having eaten for 4 months, he could not walk or stand. When, however, the magistrate applied to him Sancho's remedy for the cure of lameness, an equally wonderful recovery took place; the famished Jungum arose and walked without difficulty, gave up his bond with an ill grace, amid the jeers of the multitude, and vented his bile against the Lingayets of Gaduk, by forcing them to feed a batch of his brethren in the geometrical ratio above mentioned.

A few years ago a similar dispute arose between the Huttgars and Lingayets of Moodebehal, regarding the right of procession through their respective streets. A *punchayet*, or convention of 5 arbitrators, decreed in favour of the latter, on which the Huttgars all left the town, and retired to the surrounding villages. Then, watching an opportunity when the Lingayets were off their guard, they suddenly appeared at the gate of the town about mid-day, when the people retire from work; and triumphantly parading through the bazaar, preceded by their insignia, quietly retired before the astonished Lingayets mustered to resist them. They then returned to their houses in Moodebehal. Some time after, the head man of the Huttgars died, and the funeral party was arranged to pass through the forbidden streets. The Lingayets would not consent; and after much contention the body was put down outside the gate, a great heap of stones piled over it; and there it has lain for upwards of 3 years, the Huttgars still declaring their right and determination to perform the obsequies in the usual way.

The standard bearer of the Lingayets, or Siváchárs, is the Chelwaddee, with his brazen bell and spoon; that of the Huttgars or Kooláchárs is the Singya. Both are outcastes; and the occupation of each, while bearing the ensign of his party, is to heap the most unmeasured abuse on his opponents. The Siváchárs declare that their Chelwaddee was originally a Huttgar, who, being reduced to great

distress and meeting with no sympathy from his own caste, was relieved by the Lingayets, and out of gratitude dedicated himself to their service. The Kooláchárs retort by assigning a similar origin to their Singya. Fourteen years ago there resided in Ramdroog, a Huttgar, who was detected in a serious crime. The caste complained to the late Narrayen Row Appa, the Ramdroog Chief, and demanded the punishment of the criminal. He was condemned to death. When the sentence was pronounced, he offered to compound for his life by the payment of any fine the Chief might demand—a practice common in all native states. The Huttgar was known to be so poor, that his proposal was treated with derision. So confident and earnest, however, was he in his offers, that Appa Saheb at last asked him what he would give? He replied, “Whatever you demand.”—“1000 hoons?”—“Agreed.”—“1500?”—“Willingly.”

The Chief rose in his demands, and at last the sum was fixed at 2500 hoons, equal to Rs. 10,000. A short respite being allowed, he was sent under a guard to bring the offered securities. He repaired to the chief Lingayet's house, stated his case, and added, “You have long maintained a vain dispute about the origin of the Chelwaddee. I will now give you an opportunity of setting it at rest for ever. Pay the price of my life, and I will instantly proceed to the Chelwaddee's house, eat of the same dish with him, and, holding his insignia, head your procession in his stead.”

The Lingayets caught at the offer, and immediately passed their bonds to Appa Saheb for Rs. 10,000. But the Huttgars, hearing of this, broke out in open tumult. At once, upwards of 1000 of them, augmented by the population of the neighbouring weaving hamlets, repaired to the Chief's palace, and asking whether he meant to govern with justice, demanded the cause of his subjecting them to such contumely and disgrace. Appa Saheb declared his inability to dispense with the large sum offered. They said that this should form no impediment, as they would

make good that, or even a larger sum if necessary, on his placing the renegade in their hands. Appa Saheb, seeing that he had carried the matter too far, and aware that the defection of so large a body of industrious subjects would entail serious loss to his revenue, agreed to their demand. Instantly the money was guaranteed, the wretched criminal was dragged forth by his infuriated brethren, and literally torn to pieces the moment he passed the city gate; sticks, stones, and missiles of every description being hurled upon him, so that scarce a vestige of his remains appeared.

XIII.

A DEWAN'S DEVOTION.

GOWDA, the first Str Deşae of Nowlgowd, employed Nagojee Narrayen as his Dewan, and the office continued in the family from that period (A.D. 1638) till the time of Gungappa Nagonath, who served Lingappa Deşae Hakee, and had the whole management of his estate. He lived in the latter years of the Adil Shahee dynasty, when the Kingdom of Beejapoor was tottering to its fall, and the royal authority, insecure in the distant provinces, met with constant resistance and opposition. Lingappa Deşae distinguished himself in repressing these disorders, and was in consequence given the whole administration of the Nowlgowd territories, paying a fixed revenue for all the exchequer lands. His affairs were managed by Gungappa Nagonath. In A.D. 1691, immediately after the fall of Beejapoor, a chief named Omar Khan, endeavouring to improve the disturbed state of the times to his own advantage, took post in Savanoor. The power and influence of the Deşae offered a serious obstacle to his designs, and, finding that he could not overcome him by force, he sent to propose a meeting for an amicable settlement of their differences. He secretly intended to seize or assassinate his rival. The Deşae was persuaded to come to Omar Khan's camp at Morub, and alighted outside the town, which was occupied by the Mohammedan chief. Meanwhile, however,

the Deṣae's Vakeel, suspecting some treachery, sent notice to his master, who, finding his retinue much inferior to Omar Khan's force, was alarmed, and retreated towards Nowlgowd. The Mohammedan pursued him about 21 miles and came up with him on the boundary between Morub and Firozpoór (about 6 miles from Morub). Gungappa Nagonath, with his small force, kept them at bay, to allow the Sír Deṣae to escape; but the enemy pressed hard, and continued to gain on him. At last Gungappa Nagonath, rode up to his *palkee*, and repeating the verse : "*Swami seva nutah prānū, anti tishtati mādahva*—" He who loses his life in the service of his lord, finally obtains the favour of Mádhava," proposed that, as he bore some resemblance to his master, he should take his place, and the Deṣae mounting his horse should effect his escape. The latter, after some difficulty, consented. The Vakeel then donned his master's dress, and commending his family to the Deṣae's care seated himself in the *palkee*. The Mohammedan troops soon came up; the Vakeel was killed; his head sent to Omar Khan; and the pursuit immediately relaxing, the Deṣae reached Nowlgowd in safety. When the head was brought to Omar Khan, he noted the perpendicular line or *nám* (the mark of the Vaishnuva Brahmins), and said that it looked like that of a Brahmin; and it was pronounced by those who knew the Deṣae to be the head of Gungappo Nagonath. The Deṣae bestowed on his family a free gift of twelve *mars* of land (about 360 acres) in Morub, which his great-grandson, who gave me this relation, holds to this day; but in the subsequent revolutions it has become burdened with a considerable quit-rent and the original sunnud is lost.

[W. E.]

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(Continued from Vol. III. page 25.)

(BY H. E. WASSA PASHA AND THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN.)

THE PELASGIC LANGUAGE AND AREA.

WITH respect to the language, Herodotus says (I., 56), "The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim his (Cræsus') distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellations of Pelasgians and Hellenes. The former had never changed their place of residence, the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion, the Hellenes possessed the region of Phthiotis, and under Dorus, son of Hellenus, they inhabited the country called Istiæotis, which borders upon Ossa and Olympus. They were driven out by the Cadmeans, and fixed themselves in Macednum near Mount Pindus, migrating thence to Dryopis and afterwards to the Peloponnese. They were known by the name of Dorians. What language the Pelasgians used, I cannot possibly affirm; some probable conclusion may perhaps be formed by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelasgians who inhabit Crestona (Thrace) beyond the Tyrrhenians, but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Thessaliotis, and were neighbours to those whom we at present call Dorians. Considering these with the above who founded cities on the Hellespont, but formerly lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelasgian towns who have since changed their names, we are upon the whole justified in the opinion that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgic origin, must necessarily, when they came among the Hellenes, have learned their language. It is observable, that the inhabitants of Crestona and

Placia, speak the same tongue ; but are, neither of them, understood by the people about them. This induces us to believe that their language has experienced no change. I am also of opinion that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When first they separated themselves from the Pelasgians, they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have since progressively increased, having incorporated many nations, barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelasgians have always avoided this mode of increasing their importance, which may be one reason probably why they have never emerged from their original barbarous condition."

Herodotus further calls Antandros a Pelasgian city : " Croesus moving over the plain of Thebes, and passing by Adramytium and Antandros, a Pelasgian city, left Mt. Ida to the left and entered the district of Ilium." Again, describing the auxiliaries of Xerxes * B.C. 464, consisting of 1200 vessels, the estimated number of the fleet which invaded Troy, he " states that the Cyprians by their own account were composed of people of Salamis, Athens, Arcadia, Cythnus, Phœnicia, and Æthiopia ; that the Lycians descended from the Cretans, and took their designation from Lycus an Athenian, son of Pandion ; that the Dorians of Asia were originally from the Peloponnese ; that the Ionians, when they inhabited Achaia, B.C. 485, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthos, were called Pelasgian Ægealians, but afterwards Ionians, from Ion son of Xuthos ; and in describing the march of Xerxes,† that the Athenians were called Kranoi, when the region now called Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi ; under Kekrops they took the name of the Kekropides ; and that the title of Athenians was given them when Erectheus succeeded to the throne ; their name of Ionians was derived from Ion, who had been General of the Athenian forces. For the same reason the twelve cities founded by the Athenians were called Ionian. The Crotoniatae are of Achaian origin,

* Herod. vii. 94.

† Id. viii., 44.

and the Æolians were once Pelasgi, and the Hellespontians, a mixed colony of Ionians and Dorians. Demaratus, in his reply to Xerxes, calls the Lacedemonians Dorians."

Such, then, is the account of the oldest historian ; nevertheless, those of more recent authors are not without their value, quoting, as they do, antecedent writers whose works have unfortunately been lost. Thus Strabo relates that the Pelasgians are generally admitted to have been an ancient race, existing universally throughout Ionia, but more especially among the Æolians of Thessaly. Strabo's authority is Ephoros, whose works are now lost, but who described the wars between the Greeks and Barbarians during 750 years, was a disciple of Isocrates, and a native of Cumae in Æolia, B.C. 352. Hence his opinion and account would be but little inferior to that of Herodotus. He is of opinion that the Pelasgi were originally Arcadians by descent, who, embracing a military career, attracted many to the same profession by the fame that they had acquired among the Ionians and others, whereby the whole tribe acquired one and the same denomination. Strabo * also refers to the two colonies of them in Crete, mentioned in the conversation between Ulysses and Penelope :

*"Ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δὲ ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες
Δωριεὺς τε τριχάϊκες δίοι τε Πελασγοί.*

That part of Thessaly lying between the mouth of the Peneus and Thermopylae, as far as the mountainous region of the Pindus, is called the Pelasgian Argos, because inhabited by Pelasgians. Jupiter is also there called Pelasgian.

Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖς πελασγικέ.

Marsh draws attention to Thrace being the original seat of Greek song and fable. Thamyris, who challenged the Muses, was a Thracian. So was Orpheus, and so Musaeus ; and the Cabirian mysteries were celebrated in Samothracia,

* Scylax's Periplus, Geo : Vet: Script: Min : Hudson, i. 27 ; Strabo x. 471 ; Id. ii. 594.

before the existence of the Delphic oracle. Hence he concludes that Thrace was the first country in Europe in which the Pelasgi established themselves, and whence they pushed forwards. Whether the Pelasgi extruded the Scythians, or the Scythians the Pelasgi, is immaterial.

And Hesiod says :

Δωδωνὴν φηγὸν τε Πελάσγων ἔδρανον ἦεν.

In Homer, Σέλλοι and Helloi are synonymous ; for he calls the people round Dodona by this name, and describes them as lying on the ground, with unwashed feet.

Strabo describes the Pelasgi as driven into Eubœa by the Lapithæ, and now settled in the Pelasgian plain, where are Larissa, Gertone, Pheræ, Mopsium, the lake of Bæbesthe Homolé, Pelium and Magnetii ; while the tribe living in the southern part of the Ambraccan Gulph are called Molossi. The dwellers of Pompeii, Strabo says, were originally Osci, and afterwards Etrusci, and Pelasgi.

Æschylus in his "Suppliants, or Danaides," makes Argos near Mycene their fatherland ; and Euripedes in Archelaus, says :

Δάναος πεντήκοντα θυγατέρας πατήρ
ἔλθων εἰς Ἄργος ὤκισεν Ἰνάχου πόλιν
Πελασγίωτας δὲ ὀνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν
Δανάους καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκεν.

Anticlides relates that the first Pelasgians built in the neighbouring Lemnos, and that certain of them sailed with Tyrrhenos, son of Atys, to Italy. Such is the account of the Attic writers, respecting the Pelasgians, that those who were in Athens, and those who wandered hither and thither like birds, were by the people of Attica called Pelargos or Storks—evidently a false derivation.

Pausanias, quoting Acius, writes : "The Arcadians say that the first inhabitants of Elis were Pelasgic ; but thinks that not these alone, but others also dwelt in that district, and that they excelled other men in size, strength and martial endowments." Were these others of the Greek race ?

Ἀντίθετόν δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὀφινόμοισιν ὄρεσι
Γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν ἵνα θρηγκῶν γένος εἴη.

Pelasgus, when he began to reign, first taught the rude men to wear coverings, against the cold showers and heat, and to construct dwellings. He also introduced tunics of pig's hide, which the weaker men still use in Eubœa. He also says they then lived on raw herbs, but that Pelasgus taught them to eat beech-nuts. This is obviously a mere mythical description of a savage state of society, and is somewhat similar to that alluded to by Ovid, who writes :

“Mutabant glandes utiliore cibo.”

Pelasgus is the Eponymus of the stock, according to the views of foreigners. The English term for the Cymraig, “Welsh,” is a word unknown in their language, and in the Teutonic signifies “foreign.” Thus that part of the Tyrol inhabited by Germans is termed *Das Deutsche Tyrol*, and the part where Italian is spoken *Das Welsche Tyrol*. In Gaelic the Highlanders are called *Albanaich*, and *Cöille-daoine*, Albanians and Forresters. In short, foreigners call many nations by other than the native name : *Deutsch*—German ; *Tszech*—Bohemian ; *Magyar*—Hungarian ; etc. Thus Pelasgian would appear to be the Greek denomination for the *Shkypetar*. Many derivations have been suggested ; but although these have a foundation in Greek, they have none in *Shkypetar*. In point of fact there is no reasonable derivation in Greek. The word may possibly be a corruption of *Palesta*. But if a derivation be sought at all in Greek, it most likely is *πῆλας*, neighbours ; and then the denomination only dated from the establishment of colonies of some other race (of which, however, there is no trace) in *Pelasgia*. This, ethnographically speaking, would be in comparatively modern times, probably after the siege of Troy, whenever that event may have happened. Pelasgus was impersonified into the first ruler and Eponymus of the race. The derivation should probably be sought in a Sanskrit affinity.

Pococke, in his “*India in Greece*,” remarks that whenever the origin of a race is lost in antiquity, a divine origin

is attributed to the Eponymus. Macædon, Lacedæmon, Dardanus, Scythes and Corinthus were all sons of Zeus, as Thrax was of Ares, and Bæotus of Poseidon.* Niebuhr † remarks on the hellenizing effect of the Greek languages, and says that Asia Minor began to be hellenized while as yet few Greeks had settled among them. The similarity between Sanskrit and Greek Latin and Gothic is unquestionable." Pococke then proceeds to show the descent of the Pelasgi from India by explaining, from Sanskrit, Greek names not referable to any Greek root, and refers to the Pelasgian, which he maintains to be the Pali dialect of the Sanskrit. "There is, perhaps," he remarks, "nothing more mysterious in the wide-spread circle of antiquity than the character, wanderings and original seats of the Pelasgi, a people whose history has baffled the inquiries of well-informed Greeks of antiquity, and the ingenuity of modern research ‡ . . . *Pelasa*, the ancient name of the province of Bahar, is so denominated from the *Pelasa* or *Butea frondosa*. *Pelaska* is a derivation from *Pelasa*, whence the Greek "Pelasgos" . . . Maghedan (Makedonia) another name for the same province: *Magha* in Sanskrit is called 'The Offspring of the Sun;' the *Maghadas* settled in the region then called *Kikada*; these emigrated westward in force, collecting kindred tribes in their passage." He concludes after quoting Niebuhr, § "I will here close my account of these researches, for I feel the greater extent they assign to the Pelasgians, the more scruples they will raise. . . . It is not a mere hypothesis; but with full historical conviction that I assert, there was a time when the Pelasgians, then perhaps more widely spread than any other people in Europe, extended from the Po and the Arno almost to the Bosphorus. The line of their possession was, however, broken in Thrace; so that the chain between the Tyrhenians of Asia and the Pelasgians of Argos was only kept up by the Isles in the north of the Ægean." This latter doubt may be questioned; for Thrace, we saw, was the cradle

* Introduction.

† Nieb. Hist. Rom. i. 56.

‡ P. 28, l.c.

of Greek song, the country of the Pelasgian Orpheus. It would appear that Thrace was, at one time at least, Pelasgic.

“ But in the days of Hellenicus ” (he continues) “ all that was left of this immense race, still retaining its language, was solitary, detached and widely scattered remnants, such as the Keltic tribes in Spain, like whom they were supposed to have been, not the fragments of a great people, but settlements formed by emigration in the same manner as those of the Greeks, which lay similarly dispersed.” When Niebuhr wrote, Ethnology was a new science and still in its infancy. Had he written later, he would probably have discovered that of that numerous wave of immigration, a compact body of 200,000 Pelasgi, still remain between the lake of Scodra, and the Ambracian Gulph (of Prevesa), and the Ægean, unmixed and unadulterated ; and a large population of the same race in different countries outside this boundary, who in warlike qualities would not disgrace the Rajpoots and Kshetrya, from whom they are descended. Pococke, having exposed the absurdity of deriving Pelasgic words from Greek, which he compares to tracing Gaelic local names in England to English roots, discusses the derivation of Pelasgic designations as they appear in their Greek dress from Sanskrit, the common relative, if not the parent of both Pelasgic and Greek. Little is here practicable beyond giving the results of his investigations.

The Abantes, he insists, were a Rajpoot race in Malwa. King Pelasgos,* son of Palæ-cthon, “ old land,” according to the Greeks, but in fact “ Pali-chthon,” the land of Pali, the language of Pelasa. Gavà was not the *Γαῖα μελαίνη* of Acius (who wrote B.C. 700), but Gaià, the sacred city of Pelasa. The Ozolæ, who inhabited the Eastern portion of Ætolia, said to be so called from Ozee, the ill odour of their vestments, made of the raw hides of wild beasts, were in truth so termed from “ Ookshwalæ,” people of the Oxus. That the Greek etymology of *κύκλωψ* is round-eyed ; whereas it is “ Gocla-pes,” Gocla chiefs,

* Æsch. Supp. 248.

gocla being a herd of cattle, identic with the present Shkypetar word; and Cyclades "Gocla-des," shepherd land. Pococke is perfectly right in observing, that when the Kyklopean walls were built, the Greek of Homer was not in existence; and that the Pelasgian language is thus brought into connexion with the people who were said to have built these walls.

Here are a few instances ;—

Cori-Indus, Κορίνδος—the tribe from the region at the mouth of that river.

Eu-Bh'rat-es, Εὐφράτης—the Bharat chief.

Hyd-asp-es, Ὑδάσπης—river of the Horse chiefs.

Ace-sin-es—chiefs of the waters of the Indus (Sindh) River.

Hela, Ἑλλάς; Helaines, Ἑλληνες—chiefs of the Hela; Heli, the sun;

Hel-en, sun-king,—Hela-des, Land of Hela.

Logurh, Λόκρος.

Baihootians, Behut, Baihooti—people of Behut; Βοιώτοι.

Attac-Barrier; Attac-thans—people of the Attac Land.

Tattaskes, τέττιγες—people of Tatta.

Bhili-pes, φιλίππος—Bhil-prince.

Dod is still a Shkypetar name—Doda-nim. (Gen. 10, 4.)

Kailas, a mountain; the watershed of the Indus; κοιλὸς, heaven. Kylas is the paradise of the Hindus.

Heri-cul-es, Ἡρακλῆς—Heri tribes' chiefs.

Les-poi, Λέσβοι—chiefs of Les.

Sur-wani-cus, Σαρωνικός.

Arghasan, Ἀργος.—Argh-walas, Ἀργολίς—inhabitants of Arghas.

Akkaihu, Ἀχαιοὶ. Kahun, χαόνια. Kheran, Κεραννὸς.

A-Sindan-es, Ασίντανες—non-Sindhians.

In Afghanistan :—

Pind, πίνδος—Salt range.

Daman, Ἀδαμάνια—border.

Tallar in the Daman—People of the border—τέλλαρες.

Ac-Helous, ἀχελῷος—water of Hela.

Arac-thus, Ἀράχθοος—river of the Arac Land.

Kirketcha, Κερκέτιος.

Gangyus, Γούνιος—the Hindu Mars.

Thes-salia, Θεσσαλία—land of Shal.

Pur-Sal, φάρσελος—Shali in Afghanistan.

Sverga, Σπερχεῖος—of the Ganges.

Heyanians, Guoanians, Ἰώνιοι—the Horse tribes. Hepairus, Ἑπίρος.

Chara-drus, Δρύοπες—chiefs of the Draus—dru-i-pes.

Dor-Mer, the river and the great mountain in Cashmir—τόμαρος.

Elooths, Ἑλώται—a Tatar tribe, supplanted and enslaved by the Pelasgians.

Kandhaurs—from Kandahar—*κένταυροι* ; Kand-dhara—country of streams.
Harwar, *Ἡρώως*—Kand-Hor, country of the Haro tribes.

Bhats—Bards of the Rajpoots, an hereditary office ; the Charons are the bards of the Catti.

Peer-theios—holy saint—*φῆρ θεός*.

Centaurs, so called by Pindar—Candharoi.

Kyber-poor, *Ὑπερβόρειοι, Κύφαρα, Κόφαιρα*. Caironaya, *χαιρονεία*.

Baltæia, people of Balti—*Πλυτεία*. Des-Bhratians, *θεσπρώτια*.

Dre-ban, *Δρεπάνη*. Cabul, Gopal, *κεφαλήνη*.

Carna, *Ἀκαρνάνια*. He-pa-is-des, *Ἡφαιγος*—chiefs of Hegaland.

Apart from Pococke's geographical theory that the Pelasgi were Rajpoots, who arrived in tribes from various parts of the Indian continent, the examples he gives show the connection between the Sanskrit and modern Albanian or Shkypetar, and place that language in the Aryan map. But this does not show that their arrival was antecedent to that of the Greeks. Though many of their words may be interpreted by Shkypetar, they either have not a root in Greek, or a false derivation is attributed to them by seeking it in that language, whereas a more appropriate meaning can be found for them in Sanskrit. Of this, Kyklops is the most striking instance, and shows how superadded poetical myth has distorted the real signification of the word. Shkypetar must not therefore be interpreted by Greek, but by Sanskrit. This being so becomes strong evidence that the Homeric poems were first sung in Pelasgic, and subsequently translated into Greek, by the successors of the Pelasgic bards. Although the original archaic Greek has not survived, its existence is obvious by careful observation of the changes, which it has undergone, by tracing them backwards from the last classical author to Homer and Hesiod.

RECENT HISTORY OF THE EPEIROTS AND GREEKS.

Returning to more modern times, it is seen that the Pelasgic family always held itself distinct from the Greek race, as Herodotus said it did in ancient times, neither sharing its sympathies nor its aversions.

On the return of the Epeirotes from Italy, in 274 B.C., Tyrrhen defeated Antigonos, and became ruler of Macedon and the Epeiros combined, though on his death the former revolted, and Alexander, son of Pyrrhus, now their king, declared war. From this epoch there followed an alternation of union and disunion between the two people, of greater or shorter duration ; but neither had recourse to Greece with a view of annexation or of alliance.

When the Romans, irritated by Perseus, declared war, no application was made to the Greek republics for aid. This proves, that the alliance which had existed under Philip, by his admission into the Amphictyonic Council, was purely personal and political. This had ceased with his death, and the prior state of things had resumed its sway. On the other hand, the Epeirotes and Illyrians, who were Macedonians in race and tongue, driven away by the Æolians and Ionians, rushed as one man to the aid of Perseus, and were involved in the common ruin which followed the defeat of Pydna. Macedonia was divided into four provinces, under Roman supremacy, while the Epeiros was devastated, its inhabitants reduced to slavery, and its ruler, Gentius, carried to Rome to adorn the triumph of the conqueror. Later, Greece shared the same fate. The Romans destroyed its dependence, and annexed it to their empire. It was, moreover, despoiled of its wealth, and of those excellent works of art which have, even to the present age, impressed the stamp of its genius on posterity. In the time of Aurelian, the Goths subdued the kingdom of the Bosphorus, plundered the cities of Bithynia, ravaged Greece and Illyricum, pursuing their conquests till stopped by Constantine the Great. Strengthened by their countrymen, they finally overran Thrace, and settled in it. Under Alaric, they desolated Greece in A.D. 396. In the reign of Justinian, the Huns, or Bulgarians, or Volgarians, a Turanian race, in A.D. 520, extirpated the inhabitants, and wasted the dwellings of Greece, crossing the Hellespont in two gangs, and penetrating to Corinth by Thermopylae.

Theirs were, however, not wars of conquest, but of extermination ; they slew all who were useless as slaves, of whom on one occasion they carried off 120,000. Their cruelties created a panic. They impaled and flayed alive their captives, without distinction of age or sex ; suspended them between posts, and beat them to death with clubs ; or enclosed and burnt them alive in large buildings, with such spoil and cattle as they were unable to carry off—a precedent for their descendants, the modern Bulgarians. The Greek area was not desolated once, but repeatedly, by such exterminators. From that catastrophe Greece has never been able to recover ; nor have its few periodical flashes during the supremacy of the Byzantine Empire, by which it was absorbed, been such as to justify its former reputation.

Divided into two provinces, Achaia and the Peloponnese, it was frequently ravaged by the Goths, the Bulgars, and the Byzantines themselves, and it was dragged with the latter into the most abject decadence. Upon this state of things came the Crusaders, who split it up, according to the feudal system, into small fiefs, which they ruled with the severity of the then semi-barbarous West. The cup of its bitterness was full.

FATE OF THE GREEKS.

The Byzantine Empire, already shaken to its foundation by the barbaric inroads of the Goths and Bulgars, and its own vicious internal administration, now fell a prey to the Othoman Turks. The sentiment of nationality was extinguished, and nothing remained but religious fanaticism to separate the vanquishers and the vanquished. Assimilated to the other Christians of the Empire, they applied themselves to trade and navigation, and settled down as tranquil subjects of their new rulers, with religious hatred for an insuperable barrier to their amalgamation. The desolation of the classic Greece by the marauding hordes of the north, destroyed the small remnant of the Grecicized Pelasgians in the Peloponnese, Attica and those islands

they had won from the original Pelasgi. Cultivation in the Morea was destroyed, and it became a desert. The landed proprietors, who lived in the country, were either murdered or carried off as slaves by the raiders, or fled for refuge to the fortified towns. Such of their slaves as escaped to the fortresses returned on the retirement of the invader, and succeeded to the vacant possession of their masters. These are the progenitors of the present so-called Greeks, whose servile origin history places beyond a doubt, while those Albanians who have emigrated at a later period are the descendants of the free Pelasgi.

Under the Byzantine Government the country obtained comparative rest, and another race descended from the hills to occupy the vacant possession, not as an agricultural, but as a pastoral people. These were the descendants of the pure unmixed Pelasgi, who, when previously established in their former seats, on more than one occasion, caused the Byzantine Government considerable trouble by their rebellious conduct and assumption of independence. The Imperial author, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, writing A.D. 783, says, “*πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ ἡ πελοπόννησος ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων σαγήνην ἐγένετο ὧδε δούλους αὐτ’ ἐλευθέρων γινέσθαι Ἐλωβήθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα καὶ γεγόνε βάρβαρος ὅτε ὁ λοιμικὸς θάνατος πᾶσαν ἐβόσκετο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὃ τήνικα Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τῆς κόπριας ἐπώνομον, τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.*” Thus it appears that under the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the whole of Greece and the Peloponnese was drawn into the Roman net. They became slaves instead of freemen, and the whole country barbarian, as if a pestilence had batted on the universe. These barbarians, however, were formidable enough to compel Irene to send an army to check their aspirations for independence. In A.D. 807 they made another attempt. Under Theodora, widow of Michael III., they were reduced to obedience. In the interval, however, Constantine Porphyrogenitus records that the people of Mount Taygetus, and of the Valley of the Eurotas, had exterminated the last

remnants of the Spartan, Laconian, and Helot races, and assumed complete independence, though forced to pay a nominal tribute. In 920-944 they were subdued by the Byzantine troops, their cattle carried off, their children enslaved and themselves subjected to a substantial tribute. This was afterwards reduced, and they were allowed to choose their own chiefs.

The Franks describe them as *ἀνθρώπους ἀλαζονικούς καὶ οὐ σέβοντας αὐθέντην*, which means that they had no general sovereign, but that each tribe obeyed its own chief, a system inseparable from tribal polity, and identic with that existing among the Albanians of the present time. But when attacked by a common enemy, they confederated and chose a Captain-General, without, however, in any respect resigning, even temporarily, the civil government of their own tribe or clan. So it was in Britain with Cassivelaunus, and in Caledonia with Galgacus. So with the chiefs federated, against Troy, under Agamemnon—the Achaian League—the mountain tribes of Afghanistan—and the recent Albanian League.

At the period last referred to, the ninth century, the Slavonic race had not yet penetrated into the Pelasgic area. The word *I-liri* signifies in Albanian “the Freemen;” who, when pressed, retired from the Herzegovina, Bosnia, and the country still bearing the designation of Illyria, to the mountainous country about Scodra; and when the epitomizer of Strabo speaks of the Sclavonians as forming the entire population of Macedonia, the Epeiros, continental Greece and the Peloponnese, he clearly uses that term abusively, for the descendants of the Pelasgian race, which ever since has continuously occupied, and still does occupy, those districts. They never were Sclavonian, and have ever remained Pelasgic.

Under the Latins and their successors, the Dukes of Athens and the Morea, their internecine quarrels had no effect on the mass of the population. They fought among themselves and with the Byzantine Government.

Governments and their forms change, but the effect is not radical on the nation.

THE PELASGIC AREA UNDER THE OTHOMANS.

The next phase of political existence in these countries was their subjection by the Othoman Turks, under whose government they remained from 1460 to 1827, a period of 367 years. These new conquerors left the people to govern themselves, according to their own custom, intervening as little as possible, and then only when asked. The municipalities collected their own taxes, the headmen being responsible to the Othoman Governor. The yoke was easy, and the burden light; for the Othomans too well knew the characteristics of these people, to excite needless bitterness, by interference with their manners and customs. Religious faith alone separated them, and the gulf was wide enough. Had the Moréots had no priests to foment the *odium theologicum*, the curse of all nations and countries, there would have been no discontent. It cannot thus be denied that the Pelasgic race have continued to inhabit the same area, which they have never quitted since their first settlement. They are the only Levantine people who have maintained the distinction of race and language, against the more recent distinction of creed, for they are Albanians firstly, and secondly Western or Eastern Catholics, or Muhammadans. Physiologically considered, they differ from the surrounding races in the formation of the cranium. The occipital region is flat,—colloquially they have no backs to their heads. The cheekbones are high and prominent. Their feet are small, well formed and arched; and they are cleanlimbed—the characteristics of an Aryan or Indo-European race. The Albanian is plainly distinguished, even by his physical appearance, as he is ethnologically, from the Shemitic races.

Constantinople fell in May, 1453. Shortly after, the Pelasgic race—Epeirots, Macedonians and Illyrians—combined for the recovery of independence in a desperate

resistance to the Othoman yoke. Castriotes, called Iskander Beg by the Turkish historians, after having been a hostage of the Sultan, succeeded in recovering Croya; and his entire ancestral domain, of which the Othomans had taken possession. In the name, and with the aid of his fellow-countrymen, he offered a stubborn resistance to Murad II. and his son Muhammad II., two of the greatest Sultans who had occupied the Othoman throne. With the aid of the Albanian League, this extraordinary man vanquished the Othoman troops in 22 battles.

While Lek Chief of Dukaguin, Arianites Lord of Canna and Vullona, Bosdares Chief of Arta and Yanina, Moses Chief of Debree, the Thopias, the Stresias, the Koukas, the Shpatas, the Uranas, the Angeli, and other chiefs and lords of the Albanian tribes had placed themselves under the command of Iskander Beg, the people of Greece remained unconcerned, and made no effort to succour the national movement of Albania. This proves that the Greeks, now for the third time, did not consider themselves of the same race as the Albanians, or as true descendants of the Pelasgians.

On the death of Iskander Beg, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the Othoman Turks overran the whole of Albania, and subjugated it, as they before did the Greek area. Still the Albanians preserved their old characteristics and warlike spirit. A portion emigrated to Italy. Some became Mussulmans, while others remained attached to their former Eastern and Western Christian creeds. Without sufficient land capable of agriculture and without taste for commerce, they took refuge in their barren hills, as a class of warriors; and although differing in creed they remained united as descendants of the same race, and took up arms indifferently for their new masters. For the wise policy of the Othoman Government had left them many privileges, which enabled them to retain their solidarity. They accepted the new state of things. The Albanian Pashas were still surrounded by their former tribal chiefs,

without reference to the distinction of creed, while all others not of that race held themselves aloof, and no longer belonged to the warrior caste.

In the beginning of the present century, Mustafa Pasha of Scutari, and 'Ali Tepelin Pasha of Yanina, dominated Upper and Lower Albania, and acquired so great importance as to cause concern to the Porte. But their rivalry and tyranny led to their ruin, and the people abandoned them to the chastisement inflicted on them by the Sultan. It was, however, the Klephts of the orthodox rite in Lower Albania who furnished Greece with her liberators. Botzaris, Haraiskaki, Tschavella, Miaulis, Bulgaris, and others were the first who espoused the cause of Greece, animated by a warlike spirit, a love of contention, aided by that sentiment of religion which they shared with the inhabitants of the present Greek area. It was not a patriotic, but a religious war. But their success led them to abjure their Albanian nationality, and to declare themselves, that which they were not by race, Greeks. Notwithstanding this, they still remained, as it were, a family apart, preserving, for the most part, their language. They are Albanians, who are Greek subjects, but not of Greek race, to which they belong just as little as those Albanians of Italy, who have adopted a Roman tongue, without, however, claiming to be of Roman descent.

The Byzantine Empire, though in point of fact Roman, acquired the designation of Greek in view of its faith, and as a distinction from the Latin rite, after the schism of Photius. Still the Emperors of Byzantium retained the Exarchate of Ravenna as Roman Emperors. So true is this, that the Arabs designate the Turks as "Roman," being the successors of the Roman Emperors, while the Europeans designate as Turks all who profess the religion of Islam, without distinction of race, and the Turks call all foreigners Franks. Religious creed has overridden race, and dogma usurped its place, without, however, in any respect derogating from the fact.

CORRESPONDENCE AND NOTES, &c.

DISEASES ASCRIBED TO MICROBES AMONG THE BATAKS.

WE have much pleasure in inserting the following letter and note of Dr. G. J. Grashuis, on the Batak bark-manuscripts, of which one specimen was reproduced in facsimile in our last issue. The opinion of so eminent an authority as Dr. Grashuis will justly carry great weight. In connection with this subject, we wish to point to Pundit Janardhana's article in the present issue, and to draw attention to the remarkable fact of the identity of the Batak drawing with a representation—in that article—of microbes, according to ancient Hindu medical works. The remarks of Dr. Grashuis do not, really, clash with any conclusions that may be drawn from this curious correspondence of ancient Hindu and Batak theories and drawings. It is not improbable that the degenerate Bataks had, and have merely a vague tradition of the science that their remote ancestors brought or derived from India. There would however be nothing incongruous in the circumstance of a text, apparently treating of sorcery, being embellished—or rendered more gruesome—by a microbe drawing. Medicine and sorcery have a strange affinity for each other, and are, almost invariably found united among primitive people; indeed, if we are to judge from the accounts of Charcot's "Hypnotic" experiments at the Salpêtrière, and are not deluded by high-sounding scientific words and terms, it seems very probable that even among "civilized" nations, and in modern times the "medicine-man," with his knowledge of "sorcery," juggling, and, of course, drugs, will again be clothed in robes of honour, differing only in style and pattern from his ancient garb of feathers.

DEAR SIR,—You will not wonder at what I write now, in a positive sense, if you remember what I have written (Dec. 31st, 1891,) in a negative sense, concerning Mr. *Claine's* opinion relating to the Batak manuscript, he brought home from *Sumatra*. The texts on the photogram you sent me, do not speak of "living germs as the cause of disease," for the *agenda* at the left end of the illustrated page, are nothing but a non-sensical series of magic words, and at the right end, you find the title of the book or the chapter that follows. The text is in Toba-Batak, running thus :

Poda ni hita-pasu hata pagar pan | dijam asu sapot raphon pagar na torop | dohot tunggal panaluwan dohot gana-gana g | opgop dohot tambar na torop.

Instruction on (the manner) we acquire the blessing of the words of the *pagar* for cal | ming the ominous dog, together with the general *pagar* | and the rain-making staff, and the absconding i | mage, and the general medicine.

Both the illustrated page and the manuscript you have forwarded to me,—and that I return to you this day,—treat on the *pagar*, to wit, the mighty *phylacterium* of the Batak people's belief. Properly speaking, the *pagar* is a tutelar genius, but the object or the preparation he resides in, bears also his name. Sometimes the *pagar* is *found*, sometimes he is *made*, and every *pagar* has a symbolical name. The title of the Batak manuscript runs thus :

Poda ni | parmasak ni pa | gar daro maisija Sadoli.

Instruction for | preparing the *pagar d.m.s.*

The book, that has lost the last part, contains now : (1) an Introduction, (2) the Instruction named in the title, and (3) seven Instructions for preparing different kinds of *pagars* ; and there is nothing to be found in it about disease, or the cause of disease. The illustrations in the manuscript have nothing to do with the Text ; they are specimens of Batak decorative art, and so are, too, the figures on the photogram.

As far as my knowledge reaches, there is nothing that can be alleged in favour of "the statement that the Bataks attribute some diseases to living germs."

Yours faithfully,

G. J. GRASHUIS.

Leiden, Jan. 11th 1892.

Note on the Toba-Batak Codex Sibrajanus.

By G. J. GRASHUIS, D.LL.,

Lector of the Sundanese language in the Leyden University, and teacher of the Batak language.

About the middle of the year 1890, an intrepid French explorer, Mr. Jules Claine, paid a visit to the table-land of *Sibraya*, in the northern part of *Sumatra*, inhabited by the independent *Karo-Bataks*. From *Sibraya* the residence of the *Sibrayak*, or principal chief in the table-land, Mr. Claine brought home a very curious book, containing, besides a few magic figures, two drawings of considerable length. They "seem to show," says Mr. Claine, "that the *Batak physicians*, two centuries ago, had anticipated the modern theory of germs and bacilli." * In the lapse of two months, the happy owner of the Batak manuscript, that I call *Codex Sibrajanus*, after the town where the book has been found, got the security that the *Karo-Bataks*, have since many centuries the perception of the parasitical origin of the epidemic plagues.† As for the argument, brought forth in behalf of the astonishing assertion, given here in Mr. Claine's own terms, we hear nothing else than the following words : "as is demonstrated by the illustrations contained in a manuscript, which I possess." The photogram of the

* "The Illustrated London News," Sept. 12, 1891, p. 335.

† "Le Mode Illustré," No. 1806, Nov. 7, 1891 : "Ils ont depuis plusieurs siècles la perception de l'origine parasitaire des maladies épidémiques."

two drawings, that has been sent to me, throws no light on the matter in question, because a great deal of the text is not legible. Only since the Codex itself has been put into my hands, I am able to tell in plain words what the drawings are, and what the accompanying text says.

In the *Codex Sibrajanus*, a handbook for the *datu*, that is to say, the Batak priest and physician, are given the drawings that are carved in the leaden bracelet and amulet, called *Sibaganding*, worn as a ring on the left arm. On the outer side is carved the *Naga Situldang boni*, placed in the book on the right hand beneath the star, and on the inner side the *Sibaganding*, accompanied by various small magic figures.

Mr. Claine has told us in the *Illustrated London News*, that he "was presented with an ancient book, containing an account of some plague," but, whilst I am willing to believe that he is an upright man, I must say that he has been deceived by his fancy, or by the fancy of another man. An account of some plague is not to be found in his Codex, that contains various instructions for the *datu*, belonging to what we call sorcery, a few precepts regarding diseases, prayers and incantations. The drawings are the *pièce de resistance* of the book, but there is no connection between them and the other parts of the text.

Leiden, Feb. 27th, 1892.

G. J. GRASHUIS.

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY AND THE PAMIRS.

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—Will you allow me to point out a very wrong teaching of Geography which does not seem to have been detected at the last *Pamir Evenings* of the Royal Geographical Society?

General Strachey took occasion to pass a sentence of unmitigated severity on the Bam-i-Dunia as a region of as little use to mankind as "a square mile of the moon or of Sirius." He observed that "the whole characteristics" of the Pamirs are quite similar to those of the parts of Tibet which he had himself seen, and to the "regions of Tibet farther eastwards which other travellers have gone through."

I would simply record herein my difference of opinion on this point. The Pamirs between the Trans-Alai Mountains down to the Hindu-Kush are all "*Steppes*," and it is very necessary to draw a distinction between them and the more elevated plateaux of Little Tibet, the Taghdum Bash included. I would ask General Strachey whether he considers the Kok-Yar district (Kokin-Bal Valley), the Sari-Kol Pamir, the Yashil-Kul basin, the Victoria Lake, and the lake region of the sources of the Aksu, as "in reality huge reservoirs of Epsom salts or Glauber salts"?

Mr. Littledale's paper, his own and Mrs. Littledale's experiences, did not convey the impression of barren and bleak desolation, which General Strachey laboured to give. The elevation of the Pamirs averages, say 10,000 feet; there is not a pass from one Pamir to another which is

impracticable. Those on the way from the Kizyl-Art to the Baroghil are all easy, and on every one of them the native Kirghiz pasture their flocks. The Baroghil district itself is the Northumberland of this region. I wonder whether the meeting was really impressed with the sterility of the country from the fact which was pointed out by General Strachey, that Mr. and Mrs. Littledale "had to carry their food with them"?

Did the meeting, when this was pointed out, bear in mind that Mr. and Mrs. Littledale travelled with flocks of sheep? Did the meeting, I wonder, detect the error of the statement to the effect that the party lost numbers of horses through want of food, "dwindling as they perished"?

All that General Strachey said was at perfect variance with all that has been written by Russians. The Pamirs, according to all accounts, are not altogether undesirable parts of the world. There is a permanent population of over 3,000 Kirghiz, rapidly increasing; and in no very long time, I take it, General Strachey will alter his opinion in the face of facts, and he will be forced to admit either that he was not conversant with the Russian descriptions of the Bam-i-Dunia, or that he did not admit their accuracy.

It was a great pity that Captain Younghusband, instead of recounting his experiences of last year and letting the Society know what the Pamirs were like as he saw them in 1891, entertained the Society with a visit to the more rugged parts of the Himalayan and Tibetan uplands, including a short run up to the Taghdum Bash—regions which are both beyond the scope of the part of the world, which, doubtless, many of the audience had expected to hear him dilate upon.

I would conclude these few hasty lines with the expression of a desire that the Royal Geographical Society would do all that lies in its power to teach that Geography which is so important a feature in elementary education.

If the Government will persist in remaining dark, and in pigeon-holing the most ordinary accounts of travel until they are of no public value, why, then, should not the Society still fulfil its mission by publishing the accounts diligently supplied by Russian travellers? And how is it that I, for instance, should appear to possess so much more information concerning the Pamirs than either General Strachey or Sir M. S. D. Grant-Duff has displayed?

Yours truly,

ROBERT MICHELL.

RUSSIAN CARTOGRAPHY.

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—While studying certain phases of Central Asian exploration recently, I had occasion to examine with some care the old Russian map attached to Mr. R. Michell's article on "Russian Contributions to Central Asian

Cartography and Geography," in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1891; and, in so doing, I have noticed an interesting fact, which is, I think, worth recording.

The author of "Warm Corners in Egypt" tells a story of his stay among the Arabs, when, to amuse his hosts, he showed them an illustrated work on horses; exhibiting, amongst others, a fine engraving of the celebrated "Godolphin Arab." One of the Sheiks, taking this picture, and holding it upside down, pronounced gravely: "Yes! this is a house; a very fine house!" and the others murmured courteous assent.

I am afraid Mr. Michell's Siberian Map has met with a similar mishap. For some reason or other, the transcriber has entered all the names in it *upside-down*, and the English and French endorsements, also upside-down, apparently indicate that this fact has remained unnoticed. I can hardly imagine, however, that Mr. Michell had not observed this, for North, South, East, and West are correctly noted on the map itself, in three languages, Russian, Swedish, and French, and the compass circle in the centre is also perfectly correct.

Turning the map the right way up, it becomes apparent that it is by no means deserving of the strictures which Mr. Michell passed on it. Beginning from the north-west ("Ziewer Sapad" on the map), we find correctly marked: Lapland, the White Sea, the N. Dwina, Archangelsk, the Petchora; then, south of these, Perm, the Kama and the Volga, with Astrakhan, and the Ural River; to the east, the chain of the Ural mountains is depicted with wonderful accuracy, curving away to the north-east. Then comes the Obi, with its tributaries the Tavda, the Tura, with the town of Irbit, the Tobol, and the Irtysh; to the east of these, the Yenesei, with its tributaries, the Lower, Middle, and Upper Tunguz Rivers; the latter shown, perfectly correctly, as flowing from Lake Baikal; further to the east, the Olenek and the Lena are marked; and, with the Lena, the map ends, towards the east; its boundary being somewhere about 146° East Longitude. This line intersects the Amur River, which is also correctly marked; and to the south of the Amur are the Khingan-Ola Mountains, and the Great Wall of China.

Besides these geographical details, the following races are marked: Lapps, Samoyeds, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Kalmyks, Bokharans, Cherkess, and Chinese; all, except the Kalmyks, almost where they are at the present day.

It is evident, therefore, that this map shows the forwardness and not the backwardness of Russian Cartography, in the days of Tsar Boris Godunoff.

Is it quite logical to say that the fact that two *English* travellers in Central Asia had bad maps, shows the backwardness of *Russian* Cartography?

Mr. Michell further makes Alexander Nevski and Yaroslav undertake a pilgrimage to Tartary, in the *eighteenth* century, whereas Alexander Nevski died in 1263. Of course this should be *thirteenth* century, but, apparently, Mr. Michell has not yet made the correction.

There are other points in this paper, which one might take exception to,—for example, the passage where Mr. Michell blames the meagreness in result to Russian Cartography in the North, "of the best organized expedi-

tions of the period," the period in question being before and shortly after the Norman Conquest, when the Cartography even of other nations, more advanced than Russia, was also rather meagre ;—but I will not further trespass on your space.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES JOHNSTON,
Bengal Civil Service.

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—You have obligingly shown me a letter from Mr. Johnston bearing on the introductory part of my paper on "Russian Cartography," on the strength of which I must beg you to allow me to correct the error of the centuries. It occurs at p. 257 in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1891, where eighteenth is obviously a misprint and should be *thirteenth*. The fault may be mine. Also Baikof not Baikof, and on the same page, 253, after "1567" instead of "adding," it should stand: "Mr. *de* Semenof observing," etc.; and finally, "*by*" not "*to* the Great Emperor to subdue distant nations."

From a close reading of my text it will be observed that "the best organized expedition of the period" did not refer to the marauding adventures to which I proceeded parenthetically to allude, "demonstrations" which, as I said, "did not extend beyond a two weeks' march from the Petchora to the 'Kamena,'" and which could not, therefore, have been fruitful of any scientific results. I may, however, have been too obscure, hence Mr. Johnston's misapprehension. The continuation of my Cartography will explain this.

In referring to those expeditions, not including them under "best organized," I was more particularly addressing myself to a passage in Professor Vambery's paper, January, 1891, p. 14, ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, where, preceding his Finn-Ugrian descent from the *Rus* (!), he somewhat magnifies the importance of those expeditions in order to build the argument that they "could not lead to important or political and social changes." One of those expeditions, as I pointed out, was mythical, whilst of the others even the Russian historian Karamzi made light.

The map which has aroused Mr. Johnston's curiosity is not ascribable to Boris Godunof the Tsar, but to a Boyar Godunof. To comprehend the map Mr. Johnston has done quite right in studying it upside down; but if he will turn it over again, setting the *houses* on their legs, he will discover his "mare's nest"—I hope he will pardon the joke suggested by his anecdote—and find that it is merely a *facsimile* reproduced from a Russian publication, and that it is stamped with the period of Alexis Mikhailovitch, 1667.

Yours truly,

ROBERT MICHELL

THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS OF STOCKHOLM-
CHRISTIANIA.

(Held in 1889.)

Preface du CTE. DE LANDBERG en tête du premier fascicule de la section I. : Sémitique (A.), des " Actes du huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania." (Leide : E. J. Brill, 1891.)

La lenteur avec laquelle procède la publication des Actes du Congrès ne provient ni de ma part ni de la part des imprimeurs. Les auteurs eux-mêmes en ont toute la faute. D'abord, tous ceux qui ont fait des communications ne les ont pas remises au Secrétariat, et puis on met souvent un temps infini à reviser les épreuves. Quelques auteurs corrigent tellement ou ont écrit le manuscrit avec tant de négligence, qu'il a fallu presque recomposer le mémoire. Par là, non seulement on perd un temps précieux, mais les frais d'impression sont considérablement augmentés. Pour que tout marche bien et régulièrement, j'ai prié M. le Dr. Herzsohn, orientaliste aussi savant que modeste, qui depuis quelques années surveille les publications orientales de la maison E. J. Brill, de s'occuper d'une façon toute particulière de l'impression des Actes. M. Herzsohn a eu la bonté d'acquiescer à ma demande. Mes devoirs de fonctionnaire du gouvernement dans un pays éloigné me rendant la tâche de secrétaire assez difficile, je n'aurais pu trouver un collaborateur plus intelligent, plus savant. Je tiens à remercier ici publiquement M. Herzsohn de la peine qu'il se donne pour mener à bonne fin une entreprise qui se heurte à chaque moment contre la lenteur des auteurs ou leur insouciance. Je déclare rejeter toute la responsabilité de ce retard dans la publication des Actes sur les auteurs des mémoires à imprimer. Les Secrétaires des Sections n'ayant pas remis de procès-verbaux des discussions, cette partie des Actes sera forcément défectueuse. Ma santé est depuis les journées mémorables de Stockholm et de Christiania tellement ébranlée que je ne puis la sacrifier encore davantage en établissant une correspondance fort étendue à l'effet de reconstituer ces procès-verbaux.

Quant aux attaques auxquelles j'ai été exposé de la part de quelques personnes malveillantes, qui ont eu intérêt à amener un schisme dans notre camp, je les ai complètement ignorées. Je suis heureux d'avoir eu l'occasion de montrer aux orientalistes ce que peut être que l'hospitalité scandinave lorsqu'on se trouve en présence de cœurs-amis. Quant à nos Congrès ils n'ont jamais été et ne seront jamais qu'un rendez-vous de savants désireux de se serrer la main.

CTE. DE LANDBERG,

Secrétaire-général du VIIIe. Congrès international des Orientalistes

Château de Tutzing, Haute-Bavière.

Septembre, 1891.

Members of the above-named Congress who may have expected that the alleged expenditure of 50,000*l.* in connection with that gathering of evil memory, should at least have resulted in the publication of *some* of the Congress transactions, are hardly likely to be consoled, for long and patient waiting, by this prologue of Cte. de Landberg to the *first* publication of that Congress, which has now appeared.—“Unus ex multis.”

NOTES.

THE CENSUS RETURNS OF INDIA, 1891.—The population of the whole of India ascertained by regular census is 287,207,046, or, adding 952,626 registered by houses or tribes, the grand total is 288,159,672.

Of these British India contains, censused, 221,094,277; registered, 261,910; total, 221,356,187.

Native States, censused, 66,112,769; registered, 690,716; total, 66,803,485.

The registered tracts are the Upper Burmah frontiers and British Beloochistan under British rule, and Sikkim Shan States, and the Bhil tracts of Rajputana under Native States.

In the Provinces and States enumerated both in 1881 and 1891, the net increase is 27,991,000, while the gross increase, including territory only censused last year, is 33,555,784.

The returns according to Religions are :—Hindoos, 207,654,407; Mussulmans, 57,365,204; Buddhists, 7,101,057; Christians, 2,284,191; Sikhs, 1,907,836; Jains, 1,416,109; Parsees, 89,887; Jews, 17,180. Forest tribes (animal worshippers), 9,302,083; Atheists, Agnostics, etc., 289; Religions not returned, 68,803. Among the Hindoos are included 3,401 Brahmos and 39,948 Aryas. The Brahmos are chiefly in Bengal, the Aryas in the North-West and the Punjab. The latter return themselves as Vedic or Aryans by religion, sometimes as Hindoo Aryans, while even a few Sikhs describe their sect as Aryan.

THE IMPERIAL DIAMOND.—The following is the authentic history of the Imperial Diamond, which has acquired considerable celebrity from the recent litigation in India between the Nizam of Hyderabad and Mr. Jacob, and the ownership of which has still to be decided by the Civil Courts at Calcutta. The Imperial diamond, the property of a powerful and wealthy syndicate, was intrusted for sale to the well-known firm of diamond merchants, Messrs. Pittar, Levenson, and Co., of London and Paris. Officially this stone is described as "the largest and most beautiful among celebrated and historical diamonds." This is borne out by comparison with the *Koh-i-Noor* among the English Crown jewels, and the *Regent* among those of France, certainly the two most celebrated and best-known cut diamonds in the world. The *Koh-i-Noor*, in its present state, weighs 106 carats; the *Regent*, (the French name for the Pitt diamond brought back from Madras at the beginning of last century by the grandfather of the great Earl of Chatham), 136 carats; while the Imperial diamond weighs as much as 180 carats. In its rough state, the Imperial diamond weighed 457 carats. From this block, a portion of 45 carats was detached, and cut into a brilliant of 20 carats, which was sold long ago. The remaining block of 412 carats was sent to Amsterdam about ten years ago, where, under the personal direction of three of the first lapidaries of the town, it was cut down to its present size of 180 carats. The Queen of Holland, now Queen-Regent, saw the first facet cut. The whole process of cutting occupied eighteen months. The circumstance which gave to the stone the name of Imperial was that when it was being shown by request to the Queen; the Prince of Wales, who happened to be present, on seeing it, exclaimed, "It is an Imperial diamond!" and so the owners of the stone at once called it by that title, by which, no doubt, it will always be known. The Imperial diamond was prominently exhibited at the Paris Exhibition, with special measures for its safe custody; for the table on which it was placed, was lowered into the ground at night, and protected by an iron door.

A REMARKABLE DIARY.—A Japanese journal describes a curious diary kept in the family of a well-to-do farmer in the province of Koshin, in the centre of the main island. It has been kept regularly for more than 300 years. It was begun by one of his ancestors at the time of the downfall of the Takeda family, who had been the lords of the province from the time of the great Japanese ruler, Yoritomo. The affairs of the house have been going on for the last three centuries without any notable change. While

none of the successive heads of the family showed particular mental brilliancy or great enterprise, they all possessed average abilities and were equally assiduous in noting day by day in their family record even the state of the weather and other observations. The diary has naturally become voluminous; seven or eight oblong boxes, two feet wide by five long, and two-and-a-half in height, principally used in Japan houses for storing bedding, are said to be filled with them. Recently a dispute is said to have arisen between two families in that neighbourhood, each claiming to be the original family or stock, and therefore entitled to precedence over the other, which was said to be only a branch family. These disputes, which are by no means infrequent in Japan, can only occur after a lapse of several generations, from the time when a member of a family separates himself from his household and founds a branch of his own; and in the meantime the family lineage becomes so involved by intermarriages, adoption, and other intricacies, that it is often very difficult to unravel. In this instance, as the parties concerned could come to no satisfactory understanding, they had, as a last resort, to apply to Mr. Hozaka, the present head of the family with the diary. It resulted in the discovery in one of the early volumes of the diary, of an entry made by one of Mr. Hozaka's ancestors, of a dinner he attended, given by an ancestor of one of the parties to the dispute, on the occasion of the latter's founding a branch family; and as the entry was so detailed as to include even a minute account of the different dishes served on the occasion, it left no room for further wrangling, and the parties were quite satisfied. The diary, dating as it does from the times of Nobunaga, through those of Hideyoshi, Jyeyasu, and the fourteen succeeding Tokugawa Shoguns, and also through the twenty-four years of the present era, is a wonderful work.

In answer to a question in the House of Commons, it was stated that the Uncovenanted and Covenanted Services of India were composed as follows:—

			Europeans.	Eurasians.	Natives.
Rs. 50,000 a year and over	...	...	26	0	1
„ 40,000 to 50,000	...	...	47	0	3
„ 30,000 „ 40,000	...	...	125	0	0
„ 20,000 „ 30,000	...	...	346	3	2
„ 10,000 „ 20,000	...	...	951	12	40
„ 5,000 „ 10,000	...	...	2,078	111	446
„ 2,500 „ 5,000	...	...	1,334	545	1,647
„ 1,000 „ 2,500	...	...	2,097	1,963	6,915
Totals	...	...	7,004	2,634	9,054

It is a very strange thing that on the 19th February, 1892, the latest statistics regarding the Indian Covenanted and Uncovenanted Civil Service should be dated the 31st March, 1886, that is to say, all but SIX YEARS OLD; and even a more strange thing, that this venerable piece of ancient history should have been received unquestioned, and accepted as satisfactory. The object seems to have been the obtrusion of personality rather than the obtaining of information.

Replying to a very natural question by Dr. Clark, Member for Caithness, regarding an item of 3000*l.*, put down to India in the estimates for the Diplomatic and Consular Service, Mr. Lowther gave a very strange explanation, which we commend to general attention. He said: "Hitherto the Government of India has been paying 10,000*l.* a year towards the expenses of the Mission to Persia, but lately (*better late, evidently, than never,*) they had represented to Her Majesty's Government that the Indian Government were paying the (*total*) cost of the Agencies at Bushir and Meshed, which amounted to 6,000*l.* a year, and they considered (*after how many years' consideration was not specified*) that the resources of India should not be taxed to a greater extent than 7,000*l.* instead of 10,000*l.* a year (*India being very thankful for even such small mercies as having to pay only two-thirds of what in justice should be wholly an Imperial charge*). Seeing that India paid, for Agencies, etc., in Persia, as much as 23,000*l.* a year, it was (*most generously*!) thought that it would be only fair (*sic*!) to place these 3000*l.* on the Imperial estimate."

With supremely unconscious irony, the *Times*, which reports the above, adds: "The vote was then agreed to." Of course it was!

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA has not been behind any colony or dependency of the Empire in the fulness of its sympathy with the Royal Family, on the death of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Avondale. Muhammadans and Hindus have equally shared in this grief, and the native press has been fully as loyal in its sentiments as the European; nor has a single discordant note marred the sad harmony. Among many, we note a characteristic expression of Hindu sympathy by Mr. Chunnilal Punnalal of Bombay, who accompanied his message of condolence to the Governor with a cheque for Rs. 1,000, for the famine-stricken district of Beejapur. The dark shadow of famine indeed lies over the whole land; for the failure of rain has been all but general, and the crops, where not destroyed, are much below the average. Should the next monsoon fail, a famine will ensue such as has not been since the terrible 1833. Much-needed showers have fallen in January in N. N.W., W., and Central India; in February in Bengal; and in March in S. India, the Neilgerries, and along the Malabar coast. Meanwhile, though there is scarcity there still is food, the officials are everywhere commendably alive to their responsibilities, and the improved communications enable supplies to be despatched to the hardest stricken districts. The fall of Exchange, never so low as now, helps to deepen the gloom.

Sir D. Barbour made his annual financial statement on the 18th March. The accounts for 1890-91, closed with a surplus, larger than anticipated, of Rs. 3,688,171, owing principally to the state of exchange. The accounts for 1891-92, though showing a small deficit of Rs. 80,000, will probably balance by the close of the financial year. The railway traffic and general revenue have increased, but a fall in exchange, and the land revenue, and military

expeditions on the frontier, especially Manipur, has swallowed the anticipated surplus of Rs. 115,000. For the coming year 1892-93, with exchange at 1s. 5½d. revenue is estimated at Rs. 18,368,000, expenditure at Rs. 88,221,000, leaving a surplus of Rs. 147,000 : practically an equilibrium. Improvement is anticipated in contributions from the provincial Governments, in general and railway revenue, and in interest charges, as this is the third year that India borrows nothing. The opium revenue is calculated at Rs. 5,399,800. Council bills at 17,000,000/., and a loan may be needed in England by the Secretary of State, of 1,800,000/., for certain railway debentures and advances. The statement, under the circumstances of scarcity and bad exchange, is eminently satisfactory, as almost any change must be for the better, and must result in a surplus. Sir David holds that active measures must be taken in the matter of the currency, to prevent losses by exchange.

Notwithstanding the bad season, the wheat export of India for 1891 was 1,397,466 tons; only half of which came to the United Kingdom, as Indian wheat exports to the Continent have rapidly increased.

The Legislative Council has no measure in hand of more than local importance; but two Indian Bills are passing (or rather stagnating) through Parliament. One is the twice resurrected India Councils Bill, only partially meeting an acknowledged want : a statesmanly measure, combining prudent concessions with a wide elasticity to meet future requirements, it is not. The second Bill, for enabling the Governor-General and other high officials to come home, on call or leave, does not commend itself to us, nor in fact to any who know India. It lowers those high officials in Indian eyes, can do no possible good, and may do much evil. In military circles it is openly called a job to aid the further retention of office by one whose term is up, and who, though an excellent man, should make way for others to show what is in them. An important Indian debate was raised when Mr. MacNeil moved what was

practically a vote of censure on Indian officials regarding the famine. Mr. Curzon easily routed him with a shower of figures and details, then Sir R. Temple slew him in a brilliant charge, while Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth, an ex-Under-Secretary, buried him under a plain approval of the action of Government. In reply to last year's opium resolution, the Indian Government has sent an exhaustive report :—The opium traffic is not increasing—it is well in hand—consumption on the premises is steadily being reduced—there are not 1,000 smoking-dens in all India, and only 22,000 shops for the 22,000,000 of British India, or 1 per 1,000—at which rate London should have only 500 public-houses. The total amount of opium used in India if divided by the total population, gives the weight of a sixpence among 400,000 persons. Instead of shrieking periodically against the comparatively innocent opium, we recommend Messrs. S. Smith, Pease, and Co., to begin a crusade against the distilling of spirits in Great Britain and Ireland. Another important Commission has reported on leprosy :—It finds that the number of Indian lepers is much exaggerated, and does not exceed 100,000—that leprosy is only in a very slight degree contagious or inoculable—that the risk from vaccination is inappreciable—and that it is proved not to be hereditary, or traceable to a fish or salt diet. It holds it is a specific disease, unconnected with any other, and while deprecating any drastic measures for its extermination, they recommend the forming of compulsory asylums for vagrant lepers. The Hydrabad Chloroform Commission (after long experimenting at the expense of H.H. the Nizam) has reported that its careful use is free from danger ; for as in the excessive use of this powerful drug the breathing invariably ceases before the action of the heart fails, it clearly gives timely notice to the specialists who alone should deal with it. The Deccan Land Indebtedness Commission is still collecting evidence : thus far it finds that rents are high, the ryots ignorant of their own interests, and the money-lenders generally in

fault. A Conference on the frontier tribes (the Nagas, Lushais, Shans, and Chins), has been held by the Viceroy, the Governor of Bengal, the Chief Commissioners of Assam and Burma, and the Commander-in-Chief, to readjust their division between Bengal, Assam, and Burma, with a redistribution of the troops: the decisions have not yet been published. A Lushai outbreak is reported as we go to press. Another Conference has been held at Calcutta, under the presidency of General G. C. Morton, on the important question of Volunteers: among the points raised are that *volunteering* should be *compulsory* (!!) on all Government employés, and should carry privileges in the way of exemption from certain taxes, etc. The Midland Railway Volunteers have prepared and manœuvred with an armoured train. A great camp of exercise for cavalry has been held at Aligarh, another for artillery at Muridki, and a third for all arms at Puna; all three were very successful. The Russian General Kadolitsch, after seeing the first, declared his admiration of the Native Cavalry and said that a successful invasion by Russia was an impossibility. But Britain has a better guarantee for the safety of India in her just and equitable rule than even in her splendid Indian army. An expedition against Hunza-Nagyr has ended in the capture, after a stout resistance, of the forts of Chalt, Nilt, and Miyan, the flight of Safdar Khan of Hunza, and Uzr Khan of Nagyr, and the submission of the whole district. Dr. Robertson has brought to Calcutta, on a personally conducted tour, some more or less voluntary visitors from those localities: 8 Hunzas, 7 Nagyrs, 11 Punialis, and 6 Kafirs: they naturally stared most at the great ships.

The Russian Prince Galitzin has visited India, as he says, expressly to prove that *bona fide* travellers are sure of a cordial welcome. Lieutenants Leontieff and Petrine have also come to India, from Tiflis, *via* Teheran, which they left on the 12th November, arriving on the Indian frontier at Somane on the 6th January. They took many

photographs on the way, visited the chief cities of India, and left from Bombay on the 21st February. M. Thomas, Governor-General of French India, visited Calcutta and was cordially received with due honours, on his way to Chandernagore. A similar reception was accorded at Bombay to General Francis Maria da Cunha, Governor-General of Goa, on his way to Portugal: he has resigned, as the local obstruction to his enlightened measures was upheld by the Lisbon Ministers. The salt and customs treaty with Goa having expired in January, owing to the Lisbon Government declining to renew it, the old status was resumed, and customs officers were placed along the frontiers; the result will be much friction, and a decided loss to Goa.

The "Indian National Congress" met at Nagpur on the 28th December, under the presidency of Mr. P. Ananda Churlu, of Madras. Resolutions were passed that India needed a Representative body, but details were left to be settled by the Government itself; that the responsibility for the chronic state of starvation in which 50,000,000 in India lived lay with the Government;—that the Government should conciliate public opinion by allowing (among other matters) all to bear arms and to become volunteers, by establishing Military Colleges for native gentlemen preparing for the army, and admitting more natives to the Civil Service;—that the salt tax be reduced, and the judicial and executive administration be separated.

Among general items, are the following:—The Imperial diamond case is stated to be now settled out of court. The Countess of Dufferin Fund annual meeting reported good progress: the funds were prosperous, the number of doctors and patients increasing, and there were 224 lady students. Maharaja Holkar, on the birth of a son and heir, remitted Rs. 70,000 to the Ryots, and distributed clothing to several hundred poor people, besides sending Rs. 6,250 for the famine relief fund, three-fourths for human beings and one-fourth for fodder for cattle. The Maharaja of Patiala has founded, in the Punjab University,

12 "Albert Victor Patiala" scholarships, in memory of H.R.H.'s late visit. Some rock-engraved edicts of Asoka are reported to have been discovered in Southern India, where none had yet been found. Sir Henry Ramsay, popularly known as the "King of Kumaon," has left for Europe after a 50 years' residence, 40 of which were spent in office. The Maharajah of Travancore will be weighed in April against gold, which will then be given to the poor. General Sir J. Domer, the Madras Commander-in-Chief, is preparing a scheme for the reorganization of the Madras Army, on the class system. A long-felt want has been met by the preparation of a draft Penal Code by Nawab Mehdi Hassan, Home Secretary of the Nizam of Hyderabad; it is based on the Indian Penal Code, the Code Napoleon, and the Hanafi system of Muhammadan law. It is a thorough work, and gives a law equally suited to Muhammadans and Hindus. The recent Factory Law, injudiciously, not to say unjustly, thrust upon India, has resulted in the almost total exclusion of women and children under 14 years, employers preferring adult male labour to the vexatious interference of the law: much misery is the result. A small-pox epidemic has visited Bombay, and a much worse outbreak has occurred in Ajmere, where in one month there died over 1,000 adults and 3,000 children.

Among Railways now sanctioned are: Lucknow—Jaunpore, 25 *lakhs*; Burma Extensions, 30 *lakhs*; Godra-Rutlam, 30 *lakhs*; Gauhatty-Lumding, 30 *lakhs*; Bareilly-Moradabad, 60 *lakhs*; Assam-Bihar, 124 *lakhs*. A railway of 30 miles from Tarkeshwar to Mogra is being carried out entirely by natives—the first of its kind. In Katiawar (whence several cases of dacoity are reported) a line is projected from Rajkote, to Jamnagar and Dwarka. Government have ordered the survey of a line from Kala-ka-serai, *via* Abbottabad and the Jhelum Valley to Srinagar. A survey has also been ordered in the Suleymani range for petroleum; *apropos* of which the Assam Railway Co. have struck oil at a depth of 640 feet: the jet spouted

forty feet high, and yields 1000 gallons an hour, while there are indications of oil all about. The Gilgit telegraph survey was concluded before the snows came, and the line will be opened this summer. The gunboats *Plassy* and *Assaye* have left for India. A batch of Sepoys of the 17th N.I. caused a riot at Calcutta, but, after ill-treating the police, returned to duty on hearing the bugle-call to "fall in."

Among recent appointments we note the very Reverend Theodore Dalkoff, S.J., who, after serving 25 years in India, has been consecrated Archbishop of Bombay in succession to Dr. Porter, who died two and a half years ago ;—of Sir Charles Crosssthaite, K.C.S.I., to the Governor-General's Council ; of Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I., to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab ; of General Sir James Browne, R.E., K.C.S.I., Quartermaster-General in India, to be Governor-General's Agent in Beluchistan, with which he is thoroughly conversant.

As the blame for the skeleton state of our Line Battalions in England is generally laid on the need of keeping the Battalions in India up to full strength, we invite attention to the last New Year's Day Proclamation "Parade state" of the K. O. Y. L. I.'s, at Bombay :—Field Officers, 2 ; Captains, 1 ; Subalterns, 8 ; Staff, 1 : total officers, 12 ; N. C. O. and rank and file, 324 : grand total 358 ! and this at the season of the year most favourable to European health.

Madras is getting electric tramways, the constructors being Messrs. Hutchinson, of London. The British garrison at Gnatong, on the Sikkhim-Tibet frontier continues for another year. China and India have agreed on a depôt for trade at Yatung, near Rinchingong in Tibet. The Tibetan trade has risen from 3 to 7 *lakhs*, and that of Nepal to 12 *lakhs*. A pleasant sign of friendly confidence on the part of the Nepal durbar is given in the invitation to Lord Roberts to visit the country and inspect its troops—a hitherto unprecedented favour.

In *Afghanistan* the Amir is said to be preparing to attack Umr Khan of Jandol, who on his side is also arming

and strengthening himself with alliances. All else seems quiet. The returns for the five months ending 31st December give trade from India to Afghanistan at 45 *lakhs*,—an advance on the 39 *lakhs* of the preceding year, but not yet up to the figures for 1880: the trade from Afghanistan is only 2 *lakhs*. As the Amir does not recognize foreign postage-stamps, letters for Cabul have to be sent under cover to agents at Peshawar, who affix the Amir's stamps or otherwise see to their despatch.

BURMA continues to progress steadily. In the 5 years since its occupation, its revenue has increased from 258 to 385 *lakhs*, a rise of 127 *lakhs*, while the expenditure has increased only 33 *lakhs*: the surplus last year was 198 *lakhs*. If we take Upper Burma alone, for 1889-90 we have 103 *lakhs*, and exports 192 *lakhs*; and in 1890-91, 112 *lakhs*, with exports to 184 *lakhs*. The total trade has risen from 486 *lakhs* in 1866-67 to 2,246 *lakhs* in 1890-91. The increase over 1890 is 6·72 per cent. in imports, and 21·67 per cent. in exports. Large quantities of rice go to Europe, America, and Japan—the last took 65,388 tons. The trans-frontier trade, too, has increased from 81 to 111 *lakhs*. Upper Burma still has a deficit, though less by 16 *lakhs* than last year's; but taken with Lower Burma, there is a clear surplus. The census gives a population for Upper Burma of 3,000,000, for Lower Burma of 4,750,000, for the Shans 376,000;—Total 8,126,000 inhabitants.

The police have been reorganized. The military police already reduced by 3,000, will be further reduced by 3,000 more, leaving two battalions (one of Karens). Railways are being pushed on, partly as relief works; irrigation is being extended; and the Department of Public Works has shown its activity, among other things, by completing 542 miles of new roads, and 400 miles of telegraph, of which one has been taken from Bhamo to Nampoung, only 65 miles from the Chinese station of Momein. A Judicial Commissioner has been appointed, and the judicial system organized. Crime has decreased

by 12 per cent.; dacoity cases from 1,311 to 311. The system of public instruction, largely founded on indigenous monastic schools, is being extended to Upper Burma, which has 2,940 schools with 43,960 pupils. Several bands of dacoits have been dispersed, and their chiefs caught; one of whom, calling himself the Minlaung Prince, organized a revolt in Akyab jail, which was not quelled till 7 prisoners had been shot down: he, with 5 ringleaders, has been sentenced to death, and others to penal servitude for life.

During the quarter, several columns have opened out the country in various directions. One traversed the Chin Hills from Bhamo right up to Manipur and back again, without any fighting or opposition, and opened out some rough but practicable roads. The chief post established in the Chin Hills, is at Tallam in the Tashon country. Another marched from Haka to the Klang Klang country. A third, under Major Yule, went up the Irawaddy into the Kacheyn territory and occupied a post at Sadone. One part of Major Yule's column took Saga and captured the Tswabwa, then proceeding to the junction of the Knaika and Nakha rivers, established itself at Sagone, while Major Yule himself pushed on towards the Chinese frontier. Meanwhile, the post was attacked by large bodies of Kacheyns, (alleged to be urged on and led by Chinese), who blockaded the place and cut off a convoy escorted by ten Sepoys who were slain. The North-East column, under Captain Davies, came to the rescue; and Major Yule himself, returning from his expedition, joined in dispersing the Kacheyns, not without hard fighting on several points. Sadone is to be permanently occupied by 250 men, with two posts of communication above the third defile, at Myitkyina and Womlechong.

In SIAM on the 10th March the king cut the first sod of the Bangkok-Korat Railway, which is being constructed by an English firm. Prince Damrong, after visiting Europe, has spent much time in India, making himself thoroughly acquainted with the administration of the country, and in

Burma particularly with the educational system. On his return home, he intends to introduce many reforms, which cannot but result in great good for the country.

The STRAITS SETTLEMENTS have had a little rising of their own. Orang Kya, a native chief of Pahang, rebelled against the Sultan, but was defeated and obliged to fly to the jungles, but he retook Luboktua and beat the Sultan's troops. With the Pahang Resident at Singapore *en route* to England, the Perak Resident in England, and the Silangor Residency vacant, there is no one to direct operations: a good comment on the Indian Officers' Bill now in Parliament. The Singapore Press say the rebel had real grievances, and ask for a commission of inquiry. A Bill has been passed forbidding Sunday work on shipping.

In the DUTCH INDIES the Acheens maintain a desultory warfare, and reinforcements, both naval and military, have been sent; the former being volunteers from various nations, paid by the Government. Col. Deykerhoff has succeeded Col. Pompe as Governor-General.

Sir W. MacGregor, administrator of NEW GUINEA, reports that trade is steadily but slowly increasing, that natives are gradually being converted by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, and that the climate is in general unsuited for European colonization. The Germans are said to contemplate abandoning the colony they have there.

JAPAN.—Earthquake shocks still continue to be felt, though with diminishing violence. The damages done have been compensated from Government funds, old and new. The first Japanese House of Representatives has been dissolved by the Mikado, at the prayer of the Ministry, in consequence of the organized obstruction to business by the various parties which make up the Opposition. Their principal points were reductions all round in expenditure, and the revision of all treaties, which they wish to be made on the principle of the acknowledged equality of Japan and all foreign countries. The general elections thus held in February caused much excitement and led unfortunately to

rioting at Sagu, Tossa, Tokio, etc., and to much violent language on both sides. As many as 20 killed and 140 wounded are reported from various places. The elections are said to have given the Government party, before in a minority, a majority of 30. The two parties may be briefly noted as the Bureaucratic and the Real Parliamentary; the one wishing to govern after the present German, and the other on the actual English models. The Upper House, being elected for seven years, is not affected by the dissolution. Counts Okuma and Igataki are the chiefs of the Opposition. Japan has taken possession, without resistance, of the Volcano Isles, lying near the Carolinas.

From CHINA there is little of importance, though several missionaries have written more or less of their hardships during the late rising and abused the Chinese Government, perhaps unjustly. The rising has been subdued and its leaders captured and beheaded; damages incurred have been compensated with fines raised from the sinning localities; all Hunan soldiers have been disbanded and replaced by Cantonese; the owners and printers of the offensive placards have been imprisoned, and their blocks destroyed. What more? The Emperor is learning English! The past year has been an exceptionally good one for trade all round; and England still stands first. In 1890, three-quarters of all the China trade was in English hands. It amounted to £15,000,000 with the United Kingdom, including what passed through Hong Kong. There is an increasing demand for English goods; and at Shanghai the German trade figures are falling. Of the vessels cleared, 16,897 out of 20,530 bore the English flag—Germany, which is making great efforts in the China trade, coming next with 2,140 vessels. There are 327 British firms, with 3,300 British subjects, out of 8,000 foreigners all told. Germany has 80 firms and 140 residents; America 32 firms; and France 19 firms, with 590 residents.

There have been serious riots in *Persia* caused by popular opposition to the tobacco monopoly granted by the

Shah to a European Company. The Mullahs forbade smoking; and though the legality of the prohibition was not unquestioned, they roused so much feeling that the Shah revoked the monopoly, and offered compensation to the Company. Quiet again prevails.

At Tiflis a bridge gave way beneath an Armenian procession going to bless the river waters, and many were killed. As the bridge had been built by a priest-architect, the Armenians created a disturbance round the house of their Bishop, who was saved by the Muhammedans from further molestation. The rising in Yemen still continues. The Turkish forces are not strong enough to take the offensive, but more are to be sent.

CYPRUS is suffering from influenza and a severe drought. Sir Walter Sendall, K.C.M.G., Governor of Barbados, succeeds Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., as High Commissioner. A meeting of merchant shippers and ship-owners at Newcastle has put forward a proposal for a second Suez canal, to bring down by competition the present heavy dues, and to avoid the dangers of a stoppage from the carrying of petroleum in bulk through the present Canal. The trade of Aden showed a total fall of 291 *lakhs*, 31 of which were with Red Sea ports.

EGYPT has had to mourn the death of the Khedive Tewfik Pasha, who, if not a great ruler, had at least the good sense to know what was for his own and his country's good. His firm co-operation with the British occupation had produced the best of results. Fortunately the Sultan acted energetically in at once confirming Tewfik's son Abbas Hilmi Pasha, who is fully of age according to Muhammadan law. He was completing his education in Austria, when his father's death called him to the throne: he was installed with great pomp and military display. The situation in Egypt has undergone no change, as he is acting on the same lines as his late father. The Sultan is anxious that the young Khedive should visit Constantinople, as all his predecessors have done.

except his father. The Firman of investiture has been drawn up : it is worded like its predecessors, but Egypt is called a Province, not a Principality. A fee of 6000*l.* only, instead of the former 20 or 12,000*l.*, has been claimed by the Porte for the expenses of this mission, which however has not yet started.

The financial statement by Mr. E. Palmer shows progress. The total revenue was 10,900,000*l.*, an increase of 400,000*l.* on 1890 and of 900,000*l.* on 1889, both good years. The expenditure is 9,800,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 1,100,000*l.* Taxes were remitted to the amount of 800,000*l.*, of which 100,000*l.* were from a reduction of 40 per cent. on salt. The tax on tobacco has been raised : in 1887 it yielded 340,000*l.*, in 1891 850,000*l.* The Customs for 1891 gave 1,679,000*l.* : on imports 667,000*l.*, on exports 125,000*l.*, on tobacco 850,000*l.*, and 37,000*l.* on other items. The total returned trade is put at 23,000,000*l.* There is a reserve of 2,900,000*l.* Of last year's surplus the Government will appropriate 300,000*l.* and 800,000*l.* go to the Caisse de la dette publique, which now holds nearly the 2,000,000*l.* that must accumulate before any sum can be utilized, owing to the refusal of France to allow its use even for reducing taxation. The improved condition of the fellahin is shown by the increasing imports, especially of cutlery and Manchester cottons. As an instance of progress, 11,000 bales of cotton were sent to America, against 4,000 in 1890.

M. Grébaut has left the directorship of the Department of Antiquities and is succeeded by M. de Morgan, said by one party to be a great Orientalist and by another to be simply and solely a mining engineer. This department has given much cause for just complaints, and in the interests of Egyptology we trust it will no longer be allowed to play the dog in the manger, and that its late political bias will be put down by the strong hand of the Government. The Council of Ministers has given 1,000*l.* to preserve a
 bian temple: the rock above the façade, which had

fissured, has been bound with chains and is being piecemeal removed by sappers from the army. Mr. Petrie and other explorers have made several interesting discoveries. In connection with the subject, we note that the annual meeting of the Egyptian Exploration Fund announces a prosperous financial state, the donations from America being particularly good. The work is said to be divided into surveying, exploring and publication. Last season, M. Naville explored the temple of the Egyptian Hercules (already surveyed the previous year); among the finds were six columns, 17 ft. high with palm capitals (one of which is in the British Museum) having the names of Rameses II. and his son Menephthah, a colossal statue and a bust of Rameses, a couchant lion, and numerous smaller objects: these have been distributed to different museums. The rock temples of Beni-Hassan have been surveyed, their inscriptions copied, and their best pictures reproduced by Messrs. Newberry, Fraser and Blackton. The results are to be published this year in two volumes.

A railway is projected to Luxor *viâ* Assiout, and may be extended to Wadi Halfa. A commission, of English, French, and German engineers has rejected the various schemes submitted for the drainage of Cairo, and decided for a new one by gravitation.

The Daira Sanieh accounts, which in 1886 had a deficit of 268,000*l.*, shows a surplus in 1891 of 37,000*l.*, to be used for the reduction of the Daira Loan. It is due to better supervision and cultivation.

The annual report on TUNIS states that the number of French residents has increased from 3,000 to 10,000, of whom 2,000 are children born in the country. The exports to France are given at 34,000,000 frs., and the imports 20,000,000 frs. Of wine 11,000 hectolitres were exported against 1,900 last year. Vine-growing is steadily increasing; and several new railways are in hand. In MOROCCO, what seemed a very threatening rebellion of the Kabyles aided by the mountaineers of Angera, caused by the excessive "squeezing" of the Pasha Governor, was luckily

appeased, after the rebels had appeared before Tangiers itself, by the simple expedient of replacing the extortionate Pasha by another—and let us hope a better—one. Swarms of locusts have ravaged various districts ; and small-pox has swept as an epidemic over the city of Morocco.

On the WEST AFRICAN COAST, Captain Binger on the French side, and Captain Lamb, R.E., are engaged on the delimitation of Ashanti. A small naval party had a brush with a refractory chief near Bathurst, to reduce him to reason. Operations are believed to be impending against the Jebus, a tribe lying between the coast and the industrious tribe of the Yorubas. Mr. G. T. Carter, C.M.G., held a conference (under an ultimatum), with the delegates of the Jebu chief, and it was agreed that the Jebus should keep the roads open for traffic through this territory, in consideration of 500*l.* a year. They have broken that agreement, and Government are awaiting advices from Mr. Carter, which will probably lead to a punitive expedition. In the German Cameroons there is a fall in trade, exports being 1,185,608 marks, a decrease of 383,636 marks ; imports 1,104,236 marks, a decrease of 128,975 marks. The list of imports deserves attention ; it begins with rum, gin, wine, beer, rifles, gunpowder, cartridges, etc. M. Dybowski found the remnants of M. Crampel's expedition and executed one of the murderers. The destruction of that expedition leaves in the hands of the natives 80 Gras rifles and 30,000 cartridges, besides large quantities of gunpowder, caps, and muzzle-loaders. Further in the interior we learn that M. de Brazza does not go on to Lake Chad, but stops near the junction of the Sikoko and Sangha rivers to extend French influence in those valleys. The French Soudan expedition, under Captain Humbert, consisting of about 150 Europeans and 1,000 natives, has beaten Samory and expelled him, after some very hard fighting. Sir Francis Fleming, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of Hongkong, becomes Governor of Sierra Leone.

A great fire at Cape Town (CAPE COLONY) has, among

other damages, burnt down the archives of the Department of Native Affairs, an irretrievable loss. The telegraph has been completed up to Fort Salisbury, a distance of 1,646 miles. The railway between Cape Town and Johannesburg has been successively extended to Kroonstadt and the Vaal river, and will soon reach Viljoen's Drift, 35 miles from Johannesburg. The export of gold for 1891 from Cape Colony is given at 322,000*l*. The draft for NATAL Representative Government still hangs fire. Lord Knutsford insists on a second chamber, or on Native affairs being left to Imperial management; and the question is still undecided. Meanwhile, some members of the local press boldly challenge the fitness of the colony for immediate self-government.

EAST COAST.—The Anglo-Portuguese delimitation commission will soon be at work on the Pungwe; Major J. J. Leveson, R.E., Captain C. S. N. Grant, R.E., and F. E. Lawrence with Dr. H. Rayner and 5 non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers left England on the 19th March. In Vituland, a number of the natives having declared themselves independent, were convinced of their mistake by the argument of rifles, forcibly put before them by Mr. Rodgers of the British East Africa Co. A sad reverse is reported from S. Nyassaland, where, in punishing slavers, Captain Macguire, after burning two dhows, was drowned with three others, and his steamer having run aground was attacked by the Makajiras. It was got off, with the loss of nine Swahilis and Sikhs, and Dr. Boyer and Mr. McEwan killed, and Kleiner Urquhart, and nine others wounded. The post has been reinforced. There has been a serious explosion of gunpowder in Portuguese territory, important only as showing the nefarious traffic which supplies slavers with the means of oppression. The Portuguese have also had two revolts in Moza to deal with, which are not yet subdued.

The Wadigo rising against the Germans, said to be caused by traders on the coast as a protest against a new tax, is yet unsubdued, though they have been defeated with

great loss. The Emperor has given, through the Foreign Office, a sum of 100,000 marks for the relatives of those who were slain by the Wadigos in December. While Baron von Soden's administration is lauded by some to the skies, others represent it as lacking vigour and trusting to inexperienced young men; but he has at least established a monthly post into the interior. Through German territory much gunpowder is imported and sold to the Arabs.

Zanzibar was solemnly declared a free port on the 1st February, spirits and ammunition being excepted. The first East African newspaper was produced the same day by Messrs. Forwood Brothers. Parliament has, by a large majority, sanctioned 20,000*l.* for the survey of the Mombassa Railway, already begun last quarter. Various German exploring expeditions are announced. Dr. Baumann, an Austrian, goes from Tanga to explore Kilima Njaro, and Masaland to the Victoria Nyanza; he expects to return in 18 months. A reported discovery of immense quantities of saltpetre, nitre, etc., proves to be a much exaggerated version of Herr Ehler's previous discoveries. The Germans have decided on making a cart road to Kilima, at an expense of 4,000*l.*, and to establish a dock on the lake at an expense of 20,000*l.* A conflict is reported to be impending between Captain Lugard and Emin Pasha; but reports of the latter's doings are by no means trustworthy.

Father Ohrwalder, who escaped from THE SOUDAN with 2 nuns after 7 years' imprisonment, says that war, famine, and disease have destroyed three-fifths of the population; but now provisions are plentiful and water abundant in the wells. There were in Omdurman 75 Europeans, 500 Copts, and 1500 Egyptian Muhammadans, among them being some of the Austrian Mission, Slatin and Neufeld, Georghi Bey's daughter Victoria, P. Moratori, a son of Marno, 22 Greeks (3 women), 10 Syrians (2 women), 11 Jews (3 women). The children were about twenty; among them was the daughter of Lupton Pasha, thirteen years old, living with her Arab mother, now married to

Ahmed Zehni. Both powder and fulminate were manufactured, but there was a scarcity of lead for bullets. Great dissensions exist. The Mahdi's power is decreasing, and, according to the Father, the Soudan could be easily conquered by a combined movement from north and south.

V.

In CANADA public attention has been excited to the highest pitch by the conflict between Mr. Angers, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, and Mr. Mercier, the late Premier. In December last, on the report of the Commission, which investigated the charges of corruption against members of the late Government, the Lieutenant-Governor dismissed Mr. Mercier and called upon Mr. De Boucherville to form a Cabinet; this he did, and then dissolved the Assembly. At the General Election just concluded, Mr. Mercier sustained a crushing defeat. Out of 73 members of the Legislative Assembly, 52 Conservatives, 4 Independents, and only 17 Liberals have been returned. Liberals and Conservatives have marked their hatred of corruption, by this vote.

Several members of the Dominion House of Commons were unseated on petitions. That Government have gained many of the elections thus caused shows that their successes last Spring were not due solely to the influence of the late Sir John Macdonald, and there is every indication that the great majority of Canadians maintain his policy of closer union with England. We trust that the very gratifying report will shortly be confirmed that the Government contemplate making a material reduction in the import duties on British manufactures, a policy which is in much favour in the Dominion. Professor Weldon, one of the ablest members of the House of Commons, advocates the plan as an important step towards Imperial Federation. It is stated that the Dominion Government has been making earnest efforts to settle the difficulty between Newfoundland and Canada on the Tariff and Fisheries questions, for these two colonies have

everything to lose and nothing to gain by imposing hostile duties on each other's productions. The Canadian Government seems prepared to revert to the *status quo*, and remove the duties on Newfoundland fish if the sister Colony return to the schedule of duties on Canadian products, pending the final settlement of the questions in dispute. Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada in London, is to confer with Mr. Harvey, a member of the Executive Council of Newfoundland, now in London, with a view to an agreement, if possible. A gentleman selected by the Imperial Government will assist them.

The negotiations between Canada and the United States for Commercial Reciprocity fail to show any probability of an early agreement. Some United States newspapers accused Canada of violating the Treaty of 1817, between England and the United States, regarding war ships on the lakes.

The Behring Sea negotiations now turn on the question whether the *modus vivendi* of last season shall be continued. The rather strong language used by the President of the United States, is meant more to influence the next Presidential Election than to threaten England. England and the United States have far too many interests in common to allow of their quarrelling over the Seal Fisheries, and public opinion in both countries would strongly condemn such folly. The Supreme Court has given judgment in the case of the sealer W. P. Sayward, to the effect that the application for a writ of prohibition against the Alaska Court must be refused. The decision stated that the owner of the vessel could have questioned the jurisdiction of that Court to try the case; but as he did not, the Supreme Court could not now, on the ground of the private rights of owners involved, issue a writ of prohibition to determine whether or not the Alaska Court had the jurisdiction clearly asserted on the face of the proceedings.

The Canadian Senate adopted an Address of condolence and sympathy with the Queen on the occasion of the death

of the Duke of Clarence, and a message of condolence to the Prince and Princess of Wales. The motion was made by the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, the Premier, and seconded by the Hon. R. W. Scott, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate.

The Canadian Estimates for next fiscal year are 141,500,000, or a decrease of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

AUSTRALIA.—The leading events in Australian politics during the quarter have been the absurd quarrel of one of the Colonies with the Bank of England;—a financial crisis attended by many failures;—the stopping of emigration owing to the want of employment, thousands being without work;—reconstruction and changes in the Ministries of Melbourne, Adelaide, and Sydney;—the rejection at Sydney of the “one man, one vote” Bill, by 5 votes; and the adoption of protection in New South Wales by the Ministry of Mr. Dibbs: the Bill passed with the small majority of nine votes. New South Wales was staunch to Free Trade when the rest of Australia declared for Protection; and it is strange that Protection should gain ground in Australia, just when some of the principal nations of Europe, with Germany at their head, are concluding Treaties of Commerce for moderating the rigid Protection so long prevalent. Nothing has been done this quarter towards Federation in Australia. The Census returns of New South Wales give the population at 1,132,234, including 14,156 Chinese and 8,280 aborigines. The increase, compared with 1881, is 380,766. The population of Sydney is 383,386, an increase of 158,447. The wool sales amounted to 590,000 bales, or double the output of five years ago. Recent good seasons in New South Wales and Queensland have so increased the production of sheep that the question of disposing of the surplus stock is becoming serious. In New South Wales 10,000,000 sheep must be got rid of during this year, while in Queensland there are some millions more sheep than it can safely carry. The old plan of boiling down sheep for tallow is recommended in New South Wales,

while bonuses for enlarging the export trade find favour in Queensland. There are said to be 20,000,000 cattle and 60,000,000 sheep. The imports of Australian wines into the United Kingdom for January and February last were 39,888 gallons, as against 36,058 gallons in the corresponding period of last year.

Severe floods have occurred in Queensland and New Zealand. At Townsville, in N. Queensland, the extraordinary quantity of $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches of rain were registered in 24 hours last January; the whole district was under water, and all railway traffic was suspended till the floods subsided. In New Zealand, besides floods, earthquakes occurred in parts of the North Island, probably connected with the violent eruption of the volcano Ngauruhoe. Smoke and flames rose from the crater to an immense height, and the spectacle, especially at night, was extremely grand.

Lord Onslow has resigned the Governorship of New Zealand, and has been succeeded by the Earl of Glasgow.

The important announcement is made that the Australian Governments have decided to appoint a Joint Military Adviser in London, and have instructed their Agents-General to select an officer who must be on the active List and a member of the Ordnance Committee. The salary is 800*l.* a year, with an office, and 200*l.* a year for a clerk.

The cable traffic in Australia shows a deficit of 50,000*l.*, which will have to be borne equally by the Colonies and the Company. A cable is projected between Gladstone, in Queensland, *via* Fiji, Samoa, and Honolulu, to the British American coast; and from Adelaide comes the project of a trans-continental railway northwards, shortening the journey to England by eight days.

The deadlock between the Government Railway Departmental head and the Permanent Board of Commissioners regarding economies. The Board has been suspended in accordance with the last sessions Act. The Chairman, Mr. Speight offers to carry out orders, if the Department undertake all responsibility.

WEST INDIAN news is comparatively unimportant Barbados, Trinidad, and Jamaica, will each send two deputies to meet the Chambers of Commerce in June. There has been a riot in Jamaica of no consequence. Sir W. Markby, K.C.I.E., and Sir Frederick Pollock go to Trinidad as Commissioners to examine the local system of jurisprudence, the defects of which we noted in our last summary: Mr. A. F. Wilson acts as Secretary. Sir James Hay, K.C.M.G., Governor of Sierra Leone, becomes Governor of Barbados.

Our OBITUARY list this quarter is unusually heavy:—The great oriental scholar, E. Rehatsek, of Wilson College, Bombay, and fellow of the University; Mr. Shentaram Narayan, whose energy and ability raised him to the position of Government Pleader of Bombay; Rao Bahadur Venaik Jenardhan Kirtone, many years Dewan of the Baroda State; Gajanam Krishna Bhatavedekar, Naib Dewan of Baroda; Sir Robert Grove Sandeman, K.C.S.I., Governor-General's Agent in Beluchistan, by whose firm yet sympathetic action that once wild State was brought bloodlessly into the sphere of British suzerainty; H.H. the Newab of Junagadh, an enlightened and loyal ruler; Bishop Crowther, of the Niger, of full negro blood, venerable for his age and labours in Africa; Professor de Lagarde Boetecher, of Göttingen, a great Iranian scholar; Sir James Redhouse, K.C.M.G., learned in Arabic and Turkish, and a distinguished diplomatist; Mr. Cashel Hoey, C.M.G., for 20 years permanent secretary to the Victorian Agent in London; Mr. Francis Baring Kemp, late judge of the High Court, Calcutta; H.E. Yahia Khan, Muschir-ud-Dowla, Persian Minister of Justice and Commerce; Sir Thomas Pycroft, K.C.S.I.; Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I., who did excellent service as Chief Commissioner of Oudh; Colonel James Grant, the friend and comrade of Speke; Dr. Wilhelm Junker, a distinguished scientific traveller in Africa; Sir William Gregory, K.C.M.G., late Governor of Ceylon; General Sir George Byng

Harman, K.C.B., Secretary to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny and the Egyptian campaign; Mr. William Tayler, Commissioner of Patna during the Mutiny, who, after being arbitrarily dismissed, lived and died the victim of an injustice which was openly acknowledged by historians and biographers, but was, to British disgrace, left unredressed; Sir George Campbell, M.P., K.C.S.I., some time Lieut.-Governor of Bengal; Sir John Hay, since 1883 President of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, who died at Sydney 20th January; and the Right Rev. Mesac Thomas, D.D., Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales, consecrated in 1863.

There has passed away in India a man to the record of whose glorious life we devote a few lines. Gaorishankar Udayashankar, C.S.I., born in 1805 of a high caste Brahman family, entered the service of the Bavnagar State at the age of 17, and by his ability, diligence, uprightness and strength of character, rose gradually to the high office of Dewan. His administration recalled the best style and type of Indian statesmanship, in which he had few equals. He merited the entire approval of the British Government, the thorough confidence of his own sovereign, and the respectful affection of the people. At the age of 74, after 55 years of continued service, he voluntarily retired into private life, devoting himself to study and prayer. Later, at the age of 81, he made a more perfect and complete renunciation of the world, by adopting the ascetic life of a Sunnyavi as a preparation for death. Full of years, virtues, and merits, this eminent statesman, profound scholar, and great man has passed to his rest, leaving an example for the admiration and imitation of both Orientals and Occidentals.

V.

20th March, 1892.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Egypt under the Pharaohs.* By HEINRICH BRUGSCH-BEY. (London : John Murray.)

Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers. By Miss AMELIA B. EDWARDS. (London : Osgood MacIlvaine & Co.)

Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria. By Prof. Dr. G. MASPERO, translated by ALICE MORTON. (London : Chapman & Hall.)

Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889-90. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. (London : David Nutt, 1891.)

The peculiar interest of Egyptian studies must at present be rapidly growing, to judge from the numerous publications which issue in a continuous stream. Here we have four books, of equal interest and utility ; and we can only regret that space does not allow us to notice them at greater length. Mr. M. Broderich, in the first, gives us the substance of Brugsch-Bey's History of Egypt told entirely from the monuments. The author's name is good guarantee of the genuine merit of the work, heavy though it is in parts: no student of Egypt should be without it. We could have wished that some effort had been made in it to determine which, if any, of the dynasties were contemporaneous and parallel. This would bring to more natural limits, the cycles of time, which, though considerably reduced below the cruder guesses of the past, are not yet brought quite within the range of probability.

Miss Edwards' book is more discursive, as it is a reproduction of her popular Egyptological lectures. It is well written, and well illustrated ; and the publishers have done it full justice. We note, as one of its most interesting points, a new theory regarding the *Ka*, variously explained by different Egyptologists, and suggested by Miss Edwards to mean the *life*. She certainly adduces some strong arguments ; but they do not quite settle the question. As another case of doctors disagreeing in Egyptology (as in other matters) it is amusing to compare the accounts of Queen Hatshepsut, given by Miss Edwards who finds her all that is good, and Brugsch-Bey who declares her to be just the reverse.

Professor Maspero's work is that of a thorough master, and deals separately with Egypt and Assyria. In each case he takes one episode of history, and works into it, with consummate art, all the details of national life, which his deep study and thorough acquaintance with his subjects bring readily and easily to his hands, as he requires them. Without the form of a novel, he produces in the reader the effects which only a first-class historical novel can produce: the imagination under his guidance makes for itself a thorough reconstruction of a fabric which the breath of ages has long swept away. We thus realize life in ancient Egypt and Assyria, to a degree unattainable by the reading of mere history or the hearing of dry details. The work of translation is very well done.

In quite a different way Mr. Flinders Petrie also reproduces the past. To other qualifications he joins that of a judicious digger ; and his discoveries have already added much to Egyptology, and promise even more. To us, the most interesting part of the finds here recorded are the fragments of pottery at Kahun, the plan of the city and its houses for both rich and poor, and the papyri, the latter in only too fragmentary a form. If little absolutely new has been found, greater light has been thrown upon the domestic life of Egypt, and the possibility at least shown of more important discoveries, it is to be hoped, in the not distant future. The pottery remains seem to strengthen the suggestions of Fr. de Cara of the Pelasgic-Hittite origin of ancient ceramic art ; and the papyri, of a date long anterior to the Alexandrian " editions," open out important questions for the students of the classic Greek authors.

All these works are beautifully illustrated, each in its own particular style. Hieroglyphics predominate in Brugsch ; Maspero judiciously reproduces a few ancient forms ; Miss Edwards' book carries the palm for general illustrations, ancient and modern ; while Mr. Petrie gives thirty-two elaborate plates which leave little to the imagination. V.

2. *Imperial Defence*, by SIR C. W. DILKE, BART., and SPENCER WILKINSON. (London : Macmillan & Co., 1892.) The Empire is so completely unprepared for war, that all who expose the actual intolerable state of affairs, military and naval, deserve well of their country. The ideal of all nations living peacefully together for any length of time without a war cannot, unfortunately, be realized till France and Russia change their spots. Hence this work begins by showing in the Introduction why, and when, nations must fight. The absolute dependence of the Empire on the supremacy of the navy, and the necessity and means of holding the command of the sea, are well and clearly shown in the two first chapters—at needless length, perhaps, for these are, or ought to be, axioms with all. The next chapter, on the *Peace of India*, does not give sufficient weight to the existent and continually growing loyalty of natives towards British rule on one side, and on the other to their dawning and daily increasing knowledge of Russian rule at home and abroad. These two, and time are great elements in our hope that, at no distant period, Russia will recognize the impossibility of having England alone to deal with. Chapter IV. will perhaps be the most interesting to our readers, as it gives a careful survey, topographical, political and strategic, of the Indian N.W. Frontier, with small but carefully worked-out maps. We do not agree with all the suggestions of the authors, and think the peace of India cannot be secured without the final and formal decision of Britain that any Russian advance, no matter how small, on the Herat, Badakshan or Pamir sides, will be met with an immediate declaration of war to be fought out to the bitter end of the crippling and dismembering of one or other combatant. The next two chapters deal with the British army. A few of the projects for its improvement are already well known to the public, many are simply the suggestions of rash reformers, dealing with matters they know only in part. The army, as we
it, is quite capable of meeting any other army, man for man, or at

reasonable disproportions. What is needed is—more men, more horses, more guns—in other words, more money. This book should be read by all, as it will at least show where the Empire is deficient, and that money is wanted to supply its deficiencies. Great Britain, however, cannot alone defend the Empire: the whole Empire must defend itself as a whole. Of this fact we see little in this book; but the case is clear. Australia, Canada, and all other dependencies of the Empire should, like India, maintain their own armies, navies, and reserves, ready to answer the call of the Central Government. We mean a real Imperial Federation for defence. This, however, is an impossibility, till Great Britain openly declares her intention of using the combined power of the Empire for the defence of even the smallest rights of her smallest colonies, against any and all comers. The case of Newfoundland unhappily belies this hope, and leaves the colonies no sufficient and practical reason for spending themselves in aiding the mother country in the matter of Imperial Defence. V.

3. *Britannic Confederation* (London and Liverpool: George Philip and Son, 1892), consists of an introduction by Mr. A. SILVA WHITE, the able Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, and six essays on various phases of what is more commonly called Imperial Federation. Admiral Sir J. Colomb shows how unsatisfactory the present state of affairs is, Professor E. A. Freeman states a number of difficulties in the way of the scheme, enough to damp the most ardent spirit. Mr. G. E. Chisholm gives a long paper (some points of which are denied in subsequent papers), and three diagrams on Imperial Commerce, held by many, and we think wrongly, to be the strongest thread in the bond of unity. Professor J. Shield Nicholson, of Edinburgh, deals with tariffs and international commerce, the connection of which with Imperial Federation is not very apparent. Principal M. H. Hervey, who wrote a cognate paper in our Review, treats of Alternative Measures, and puts the results of Federation and Disintegration from the different points of view, of the mother country, and the colonies. Lord Thring ends with the most practical paper in the series, on the Consolidation of the British Empire. The whole work is well worthy the attention of all British subjects; and will doubtless help in forming among the reading classes that public opinion in favour of Imperial Federation, which as yet is by no means general. But for the bulk of our people we need Federation literature of a simpler kind: cheap and plainly written tracts, sown broadcast in both the United Kingdom and the Colonies. What strikes us as singular in these essays, is the unanimous exclusion, even from discussion, of the Indian Empire: and yet India alone of all British Colonies and Dependencies, is really confederated, for attack and defence and for commerce, with the United Kingdom, and pays for what it gets. With a carefully prepared and gradually enlarged scheme of Representative government, of which there is no reason to despair in the future, and less interference on the part of the India Office and of crack-brained reformers, India would be a good type on which Federation might be founded. While colonists of Anglo-Saxon blood impotently swagger about an independence which they are powerless singly to maintain, India, at a

month's notice, can even now lend 50,000 splendid troops, to fight England's battles anywhere in the world. As the loyalty of India, based on the acknowledged benefits it has received, gradually strengthens with the progress of education, her 280 millions cannot be omitted from any rational plan of Confederation; and it is childish to discuss schemes which leave out of consideration so important a component of the British Empire. V.

4. *Earl Canning*, by SIR H. S. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E. (*Oxford: The Clarendon Press*, 1891.) This volume of the *Rulers of India Series*, well written though it is, does not quite reach the high level of its predecessors. On putting it down, Lord Canning still remains a shrouded figure; for we have only glimpses, here and there, of his life, whether public or private. The rather diffuse treatment of the Mutiny leaves little room for depicting Canning's action during and after that eventful explosion. There is also too much indiscriminate praise, and an inclination to pass lightly over mistakes made, opportunities lost, and blame needlessly incurred; but due notice is taken of Lord Canning's noble stand against the first savage thirst for revenge—one of his many great claims to the gratitude and respect of mankind, which his conscientious devotion to duty, his unflinching firmness, and his judicial calmness, all tend to strengthen.

Sir H. Cunningham, the far more outspoken Sir Owen Burne, and the graphic and exact Malleon, have all left an important point behind them, an unwritten chapter of the History of the Indian Mutiny, which should not long remain unwritten. Of the alleged causes of the Mutiny, most were but sources of discontent and grumbling: service in Burmah, the batta question, the Oudh annexation, would never have caused a mutiny like that of 1857. It was the attempt to ruin the religion of the Sepoy and make him an outcast from his fellow caste-men, that drove him to what, in his heart, he detested. The fat of cow and pig was admittedly used in the manufacture of cartridges—thus defiling both Hindus and Muhammadans. Why? and by whose orders? The veriest tyro in India must have known the result—loss of caste—of their use. The fat of sheep, goats, or buffaloes, would not have been so objectionable. Whence came the choice of those ingredients? If we cannot blink the fact that they were decided upon with the knowledge of the result upon the Sepoy's religion and caste, was it not a deliberate attempt to overturn both surreptitiously? It has never been denied that such fat was used; but no one has dared to lift the veil hiding the heads which designed, and the hands which carried out, an attempt as dastardly and wicked as it was insane. There were just then many officials of high standing in both the civil and military services, whose hot intemperate zeal for their religion was not limited to obeying its behests, but burst forth in fiery attempts to destroy all other religions. Among the documents to which the writers of this Series have easy access, there must be papers and reports on this subject. It is high time that the veil be raised, the conspiracy of silence be ended. Let us if the Sepoy was really and designedly wounded in his dearest

sentiment—his religion, and goaded into mutiny. While we deplore and condemn the excesses committed at that epoch—not all by the natives—we have all along thought that the chief responsibility for the Mutiny lay with high officials whose names are still kept shrouded from the public obloquy they deserve. V.

5. *Madhava Rao Sindhia*, by H. G. KEENE, C.I.E., M.A. (*Oxford: Clarendon Press*, 1891.) This is an excellent volume of the *Rulers of India* Series, very pleasantly written by an author who to gracefulness of style adds a thorough knowledge of the country, people, and times which he depicts for the reader with the ease of a practised and masterly hand. Mr. Keene has to deal with a troubled epoch of Indian history, portions of which, but little studied by most, have been travestied by the few who have written on the subject. One may, in these pages, learn much regarding the Rohillas, with little to their credit; much also regarding the Maharattas, whose character improves on acquaintance. Among them, Mr. Keene's hero towers both for ability and comparative probity. Steady of purpose, strong of will, mighty in deed, Madhava Rao, a typical Maharatta leader, not only helped, as Mr. Keene says, in the making of history, and in the moulding of India into its present form, but he also showed, in almost every act of his life, a character for kindness of disposition, gratitude, fidelity and sobriety, as honourable to himself as it is unfortunately rare amid the turmoil of camps and the intrigues of politics. The great state which Madhava Rao founded still retains a Maharatta on the throne; and amid the troubles of the Mutiny it well maintained its loyalty to the British, a tradition inherited, it would seem, from the deference always paid by Madhava Rao to Warren Hastings and his successors. We can sincerely recommend this book to our readers as the spirited and graphic account of an interesting epoch and of a leading character in the history of India. V.

6. *Arithmetic for Indian Schools*, by the REV. J. B. LOCK, M.A., arranged for use in India by T. C. LEWIS, M.A. (*London: Macmillan & Co.*, 1891.) An elaborate school book has here been edited for use in India, by the addition of examples in Indian weights, measures and coinage. It is a good book, but not faultless; the language is not plain, the principles are not laid down in simple terms, and several of the definitions are not only obscure but also inaccurate. Useful in the hands of a good teacher, it can be of little help to the unaided private student. V.

7. *Queen Elizabeth*, by E. SPENCER BEESLY. (*London: Macmillan & Co.*) Elizabeth's place in the series of *Twelve English Statesmen* is unquestionable; and her qualities, in many respects the reverse of feminine, make her appearance amid eleven of the sterner sex less of a bull than it otherwise might be. Mr. Beesly's sketch, historically accurate in the main, presents her to the reader as anything but an admirable woman. Her sole motive is her interest; to keep on the throne her sole quest; her intellectual grasp of the political situation, and her dexterous playing of France against Spain, her sole redeeming trait. On these last points, Mr. Beesly gives her the extreme of praise, forgetting that this

trick had already been performed under Henry VIII., and that Elizabeth's ministers were clever and cunning, though he pleases to paint them as paltry placemen over-praised by posterity. Every other trait depicted in the queen's character is drawn with the blackest of pencils. Falsehood and duplicity she made a science. Except intellect, there is scarcely a virtue she possessed. Mr. Beesly believes she was a pure woman, and credits her with the best of intentions towards Mary Stuart, whom he represents as a lascivious and ambitious termagant. Elizabeth, to a preternatural acuteness of political intellect, adds the selfishness of a demon, and the coldness of an icicle. Everyone else is a fool or a villain. The only saint of the time, he discovers in—Mary's half-brother Moray ! Mr. Beesly expressly and repeatedly tells us that all historians have, till now, unaccountably differed from the truth, which he has at last divined. *Ma'o errare cum Platone.* Mr. Beesly's book, with the exception of these defects, and of a not over-polished style, is pleasant reading. The spirit of the times, the struggles of factions, the conflict of interests, the strife of religions, appear duly before the reader, and leave a clear impression. The gradual moulding of the English nation is well given, and some wholesome truths are plainly put. But Mr. Beesly is not a safe guide in judging character ; scarcely one in the book is historically correct, though all are drawn with great skill. It is a good history of the times, but not quite so good of the actors. V.

8. *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan.* By Mrs. BISHOP (Isabella J. Bird). 2 vols. (London : John Murray.) Even as a mere record of personal adventures, this book is both entertaining and instructive, and its interest is distinctly heightened by the undeniable fact that it adds very considerably to our knowledge of the geography of the little-known districts of Persia and Turkey, through which Mrs. Bishop made her way with an uncommon amount of energy, resolution and endurance. We are pleased to see that, though not blind to their many defects, she finds much also to admire in the Persians and Turks, among whom she ventured alone and found no reason to regret her confidence. Her sketches of character are well drawn ; her topographical and geographical descriptions are clear ; and her details of the botany and geology of the regions she traversed are instructive. The object of her journey, in part at least, was of a missionary nature, and we have much told about Christianity and its professors in these regions. Conversions from Muhammadanism are, of course, practically *nil* ; and though she writes as a sympathetic and eulogistic visitor, she fails to make out either the Nestorian or the Armenian Christians to be objects of admiration. They contrast badly with their neighbours in many things. Her evident bias in favour of the Nestorians cannot be said to add to her trustworthiness in what she reports regarding them—a report not very much to their credit. Her historical sketch of the past of this poor church is ludicrously exaggerated in its favour, and is not in accordance with the teaching of history as noted in book. As an adventurous traveller, few can equal Mrs. Bishop but history is not her *forte*, especially Ecclesiastical history : she actually finds Jesuit missionaries hard at work in the fifteenth century ! With

these exceptions, the book is most entertaining and useful; and as such we can recommend it to our readers. V.

9. *History of the Punjab, from the remotest antiquity to the present time.* By SAYAD MUHAMMAD LATIF, Fellow of the Punjab University, M.B.S.A.; etc. (Calcutta: Central Press Company, Ltd., 1891.) This well got-up quarto volume of 635 pages, written and published in India, quite carries out the author's intention, and gives us a full history of the part of India of which it treats, compiled from classical sources so far as it treats of ancient times, and from both native and European writers of later date. The style is at once simple, plain and graceful; and the author, a Muhammadan gentleman in the service of the Indian Government, gives proof not only of a perfect command of the English language, but also of a thorough knowledge of historical works, both ancient and modern, likely to throw a light on his subject. He writes from an independent standpoint, and consequently does not fail to show the benefits that have resulted to India from British rule; and if all his fellow-subjects share his ideas, that rule is too firmly founded on the best of all bases—the good-will of the people—to fear any adversary. The frequent use of Oriental quotations and of details from Oriental authorities combines, with the thorough Oriental idiosyncrasy of the writer, to make this work one of great merit and deep interest. We congratulate the Sayad on having produced a book which will take a high place among India histories; and we recommend it to all who wish to supplement their knowledge of general Indian history with special information regarding one of the most important divisions of our Indian Empire. V.

10. *The Early Religion of Israel.* By Prof. JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Son.) The learned Professor of Oriental Languages in the Glasgow University, here furnishes the public with an excellent means of judging the nature of modern so-called high criticism of Holy Scripture. Dr. Robertson descends to the level of his opponents, descends to the eighth and ninth centuries before Christ, the age in which "authentic history" begins, according to the critics. He works backwards, and from the admitted sayings of Amos and Hosea—acknowledged real personages—he smites these modern Philistines hip and thigh. He conclusively shows how largely this kind of criticism is composed of groundless assumptions, glib assertions, empty declarations, false suppositions, grave distortion of texts, serious falsification of history, systematic ignoring of archæology, and flat contradiction of each other's statements. Professor Robertson shows that almost the whole edifice of this modern false criticism is composed of matter which will not stand the test of common sense, and of theories which are baseless as the fabric of a dream. We may add that these doughty critics agree so little among themselves, that one kills the other, like the dragon-and-earth-sprung-Cadmeans, after whose mutual slaughter a comparatively easy task is left to the Christian apologist of the Scriptures. We recommend this work to all who believe in Holy Writ, and wish to give a reason for the faith that is in them; but it should be read in connection with Professor Driver's recent work on the Old Testament criticism. V.

11. *Women's Influence in the East.* By JOHN J. POOL. (London: Elliot Stock, 1892.) It is to be hoped that the growing interest taken by Europe in matters connected with Indian women will procure for this work a more favourable reception than usually falls to the lot of books dealing with India. It gives sketch-lives of twenty-seven Indian ladies, who by the love they inspired in others, or by the greater and nobler means of their own talents and virtues, influenced the course of public events. So little is known by the general reader regarding India, that the tales here told will come as a revelation to the multitude who little suspect the numerous instances furnished by Indian history, of daring deeds, romantic attachments, chivalrous sentiments, talented womanhood, and brilliant virtues, which like gems shine with all the greater lustre in the dark setting of their surroundings. The author does full justice to his interest in subject, though his pages are not free from blemishes, among which mistakes in Oriental words is the chief. There are a few among his heroines whose claim to a place in this galaxy one may question, like the Princess Ayesha, who did little beyond marring the prospects of a by no means very brilliant prince-lover. Others whose claims are undoubted are omitted—like the Princess Jehanara, the misguided but valiant Rani of Jhansi, and Rani Rajindhar of Patiala. Let us hope that these will grace the pages of a second volume, as Sir Lepel Griffin suggests in the short but excellent and sympathetic introduction which he has written for this work. We fully share Sir Lepel's view, that much as the system of Oriental female seclusion is railed at by those who know it not yet seek to overturn it, it has neither suppressed the manifestations of feminine genius, nor injured the purity of feminine virtues. Those who know and love the East do not expect much good from the substitution of an unsuitable system, which in our own West shows at least as many bad fruits as good, and contrasts by no means very favourably with the system which the ignorant despise and the fanatics try to uphold. V.

12. *A Traveller's Narrative of the Episode of the Báb.* By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. 2 vols. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1891.) The first volume gives a photo-lithographic copy of the clearly-written MS. of which the second volume is a good translation with copious notes by Professor Browne. Written by a Bábi, and translated and commented by one who candidly says he began his investigations as an admirer and sympathizer, one cannot expect in these pages anything like unprejudiced history of a secret sect, which certainly did not, at any time, promise much from its rather visionary and communistic teaching, and which, according to more recent accounts, seem dying out. It is more to the student of Persian and Arabic that the work will be of interest, as a specimen of modern Persian style. Though interesting in this light to the philologist, it shows a poverty and barbarism of style and language which would promise little for the future of Persian literature, were it to be taken as a specimen of all later writings. The Bábi MS. is well edited and well translated by Professor Browne, and well got up by the University Press. The translation, however, is susceptible of improvement here and there; and we note, only not with approbation, that in the printed Oriental type in the

second volume the initial form of the sixth to ninth letters of the Persian alphabet is always given where medial and final forms should be used. This attempt at simplifying matters for the compositors at the expense of accuracy in calligraphy must be unsparingly condemned. Professor Browne may not succeed in his attempt at popularizing Bábism—and for that part of his work one is tempted to ask *cui bono?*—but he certainly has produced a very fine book, of great interest to Oriental scholars, for singularity of matter and style, and well edited. V.

13. *Himalayan Journals*, by SIR J. D. HOOKER, K.C.S.I. (London: Ward, Lock & Co.) This, the 32nd volume of the Minerva Library, is the detailed account of a three years' stay in the East,—a mine of information for the botanist, the geologist, and the anthropologist, while it is a pleasant narrative for the general reader. It is profusely and well illustrated. Reprinted from the first edition, now nearly 40 years old, it contains nothing new; yet it is still a most interesting account of expeditions into two parts of the Himalayas which have not been frequently visited, either before or since, by enthusiasts for science, like Sir Joseph Hooker. To the ordinary reader they describe quite a *terra incognita*, and describe it well. The author's services to science are too well known to require mention; yet these pages show a devotion to his pursuits, and a thorough spirit of sacrificing everything, and running every risk for the objects of his expedition, which fairly entitle Sir Joseph to rank not only as one of the leaders, but also as one of the martyrs, of science. His descriptions of the races which he visited are good; and the terms on which he lived with them, especially his favourite Lepchas, reflect credit on both parties. Messrs. Ward Lock & Co. have our thanks for a useful, interesting and pleasant book. V.

14. *The Real Jesus*, by JOHN VICKERS. (London: Williams & Norgate.) This is the superficial and rather declamatory work of a Theist, "from a Jewish point of view" (he says). It is, of course, in a violently anti-Christian strain: like a bad actor, he tears a passion to rags, and out-Herods Herod. Even Graetz, whom he occasionally quotes, refutes much of what Mr. Vickers says, and would certainly have declined to follow him in his diatribes. Jewish authors (quite able to defend themselves) have generally a far higher idea of at least the historical character, which Mr. Vickers here clumsily misrepresents. His attempt has not even the merit of novelty, ingenuity, or good writing. His calibre as a writer may be gauged from his pompous statement (p. 24): "Some of the finest cathedrals in this country are said to have been at their first erection scarcely better than thatched barns." This is a violation of history, architecture, and common sense, unless he means, what he does not say, that the predecessors of the *later grand cathedrals* were such barns. His history is of a piece with this sample of sense and style. V.

15. *A Grammar of the Khasi Language*. By REV. H. ROBERTS. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.) This volume of Trübner's collection of simplified grammars deals with a comparatively unimportant language used only in a corner of India, but deals with it well. Its principal faults seem to be excess of detail, and a rather strange desire of making it serve

the purpose of teaching English grammar to Khassi readers. We can only say that beginners of the Khassi are likely to be perplexed by the former, and the Khassis who can read and understand this grammar will not need to be taught English. The work, however, is well worthy of its place in an excellent Series. V.

16. *A Second Supplement to the Anglo-Indian Codes.* By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., etc. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press.) Like its predecessor, this Supplement gives recent decisions on the India Code, and a summary of Indian legislation to the end of May, 1891. The author's high qualifications for the task render it needless to do more than call attention to the publication of the pamphlet. V.

17. *Jerusalem: its History and Hope.* By MRS. OLIPHANT. (London: Macmillan & Co.) Some books defeat the very purpose of their authors: this is one. It is well written, well illustrated, well got up, and pleasant to read; yet it tells rather of the Rhapsodist than the Historian. It gives the scriptural history of Jerusalem, much diluted with sentimental platitudes. Pugnacious in parts, it bristles with diatribes against criticism of the Holy Scriptures. The author fails to see that criticism is only wrong when it is rash and unwarranted; and that reverence to the sacred writings is quite consistent with free discussion. But it is useless to argue with one who believes that *all* the Psalms were written by David himself—including that "By the Waters of Babylon?"—simply because they have been commonly called the Psalms of David! V.

18. *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India.* By CAPTAIN C. R. DAY. (London: Novello, Ewer & Co.) To give this splendid book its deserts would require not a notice, but an article. It is the work of a specialist, and bears on every page the impress of great reading and much personal observation, with a thorough knowledge of the science of music. It shows, what many, from ignorance, doubt: that Ancient India took the lead in music, as in many other sciences and arts, and that the Indian ear was cultivated to a pitch which we perhaps have not yet attained, of appreciating minute intervals of sound. We can, from personal experience, vouch for the author's correctness in stating that excellent music can still be heard in India, but only when diligently sought, though the art, like many others, is, alas! dying out. The book is beautifully illustrated, and carefully written. In fact it leaves little to be desired unless it be an explanation of the difference between the *Ragas* and their corresponding *Ragnis*. We congratulate Captain Day on having produced a book of great merit, and recommend it to our readers, as a work not to be glanced over, but to be studied with care. V.

19. *The Story of Africa and its Explorers.* By DR. ROBERT BROWN. (London: Cassell & Co., Pt. 1.) Under the able editorship of an experienced traveller and writer, this work promises to supply a thorough account of African exploration, and some solution of the problems of races and languages. It is splendidly illustrated, and the map presented with this part is about the best we have seen. V.

20. *Historical Essays* (Fourth Series). By PROFESSOR E. A. FREEMAN. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892.) This bulky volume gives us twenty-

two essays contributed, by the erudite and painstaking Regius Professor of History, Oxford, on various subjects, to different Reviews, some as long ago as 1868, others only last year. If not all strictly speaking historical, they are all historically treated in the Professor's well-known, remarkable and admirable form, and are sure to meet the attention they deserve. Since this short notice was written, we have to lament the death of the gifted author, whose sound judgment, wide reading, deep erudition, clear penetration, and quickness in grasping salient and distinctive points amid a mass of details, placed him in the front rank of our historians. V.

21. *Eight Days. A novel* by R. E. FORREST (London : Smith, Elder & Co.), would have been readable enough had the author not drawn the eight days to an interminable length. Like most modern novel writers he has the great fault of being too prolix. The plot of the story is laid in Khazirabad and centres chiefly round five English girls, their respective admirers and sad adventures and destinies, during the eight days' mutiny there. The author must have lived in India, for he describes Indian station life well, and with a certain sense of humour as if he was laughing in his sleeve all the time over some of the characters he no doubt has taken from real life. However, as already said, he is apt to be wearisome by going too much into details about mere trifles. The novel will doubtless be much appreciated by young people, especially by girls who will probably go into raptures over the chapter "Under the Moonlight," where Beatrice Fane, one of the heroines, is thus described : "She stands there with the now vivid moonlight falling full on her golden hair, on her *snowy-skinned* (a new-coined phrase) beautiful face, on her downward flowing snowy robes, her stately beautiful figure, verily she looks like a celestial being—like a daughter of the gods."

The mixture of sentimentality with the tragico-comic and heroic, is sometimes highly amusing. Still there are many passages of real and exquisite pathos scattered through the novel, and some of the characters are well drawn ; for instance, Captain Lennox, and the Begum in all her fiendish wickedness and beauty. We would advise the author in future not to let his pen run away with him, but to use some little repression in his style and feelings, and condense his next production. E. J. A.

22. *Missionaries in China.* By ALEXANDER MICHIE, Tientsin. (London : E. Stanford.) We had occasion to refer to this really important work in our last issue in connection with Mr. Michie's article in that number on "India and China." The author, though modestly claiming only to shed a little light on the subject, well succeeds in dispelling the mist that hangs round one of the most important questions of the day, whose full significance and bearing is thoroughly appreciated by statesmen and merchants. Indeed, the use of missionaries as an unrivalled disintegrating force, is well recognized ; and who shall blame the missionaries, these arch-converters, these true alchemists, these possessors of the philosopher's stone ? Is this *magnum opus*, on which the teaching of several hundred sects converges, a small matter ? Is it nought to take the base metal—the outward civilization, the pomp and riches, etc.—from the heathen, and to convert this dross for his benefit into blessing everlasting ? Never was

transmutation more thorough ; out of the material and transient has sprung the spiritual and enduring. Oh, Convert ! Not a stain sullies thy soul that, by this simple process has been saved ; follow the teaching of these masters of wisdom, and the clutches of mammon close—not on thee, who art liberated, but—on thy teacher, who, a willing sacrifice, has offered himself up for thee ! Refuse not the inestimable boon !

But Mr. Michie is careful not to take a one-sided view ; he is as impartial to the Chinese as to the missionaries. A great distinction must also be drawn between the different ingredients that go to make up this explosive and corrosive compound, known as the missionary body. On the one hand, there are men of great learning, large views, discrimination, and tolerance ; on the other, there are a strange jumble of half-witted enthusiasts and keen-witted hypocrites, whose arrogance towards native officials, obstinacy and intolerance towards everything outside their narrow horizon is well described by Mr. Michie, and may have formed the cause of many a so-called outrage.

The latter class are a remarkable people altogether ; they are as a rule attached to the "China Inland Mission." Every member has a different and yet the only true doctrine ; the good in the benighted heathen around them is regarded as a trick of Satan ; they claim for themselves the utmost tolerance, yet are ever engaged in vilifying and undermining the ethics, customs, and religion of their neighbours ; they persist in forming *imperia in imperio*, with themselves as nuclei, and their converts as bulwarks ; the Chinese authorities are defied, deep plans are laid for getting pork mixed secretly with the food of a Mahomedan, or meat with that of a vegetarian—vegetarianism, as Mr. Michie informs us, is rather common in China—yet these strange people shirk the consequences of their deeds and do not eagerly embrace well-deserved martyrdom, but call on all the powers in heaven and Europe to revenge their wrongs upon their foes ! Space forbids the mention of other unpleasant traits—so ably exposed by Mr. Michie—in the character of these self-constituted agents of Providence, but not even the most superficial observer would fail to notice the remarkable fact of their perfect familiarity with the purposes of the Almighty, and their child-like and touching confidence in the righteousness of their cause and their own personal infallibility. Roman Catholic missionaries, in China as elsewhere, stand out conspicuously, in their unostentatious procedure, not only from this vulgar herd, but from other missionary societies as well.

Much importance attaches to Mr. Michie's plan of a *modus vivendi* ; so much the more, as we believe that the truly enlightened and intelligent leaders of the missionaries—like the learned Dr. Edkins and others—are inclined to agree with it. The main feature would be to place the Christian religion *practically*, and not only theoretically—as it already is—on the footing of a State religion, and, guarded by suitable agreements, under the protection of the Chinese Government, which would quickly curb all unruly element on the side of Christians and non-Christians. It must not be forgotten that in this matter the generally sluggish Government of China has itself, on one occasion, taken the initiative in preparing proposals ; but this did not suit the States whose desire is

to push their own interests only : in this respect France is the chief offender, for it extends quite an undesired protection to the very people—the French missionaries—who, by its laws, are exiled from their native country.

A conviction is growing up, we are glad to say, that the command "*ite docete*" is not intended to be supported by men-of-war, and it is whispered that the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity are the missionaries themselves. H.

23. *The Chinese ; their present and future : medical, political and social.* By ROBERT COLTMAN, JR., M.D. The author, with an enthusiasm that does him credit, resolved upon seeing the land of those mysterious, incomprehensible Chinese, whom he constantly encountered in America. As the outcome of this wish, we discover him—on turning over a few pages—installed as surgeon and consulting physician of one of the innumerable missionary societies. The book is decidedly interesting, though it seems curious that the author does not try to be a little more *receptive* instead of *restore*. We do not think it so very clever to "crow" over Chinese literati, by exposing their ignorance of the precise distance of the sun from the earth, the diameter of the moon, etc., etc. ; and putting them to shame by remarking that ten-year-old American boys know "useful little facts like these." Not everyone has the good fortune to be born a free citizen of a free republic, where each individual can do what he likes, provided, of course, some other stronger individual, or one who is a better marksman, allows him. The chapters devoted to the medical experiences of the author, are probably the most valuable ; vegetarians will be pleased to learn that the cures amongst a population living mainly on vegetables, are more rapid and thorough, than amongst those feeding on the flesh of animals. It surprises us that the author should not have taken the trouble to subject the native systems of medicine to a thorough and candid examination. Speaking of the "social evil," which appears to have spread nearly as much in China as in the West, the author quotes a method invented, and actually put into execution by Judge Yuan of Chinanfoo, who effected both purification of the district and individual reform by a very singular expedient. Western judges have assumed the grey locks of age and wisdom, but they have not as yet thought of laying pretence to such originality. H.

24. *Arabes et Kabyles.* Par Le Vte. DE CAIX DE SAINT AYMOUR. (Paris : Paul Ollendorff.) The learned author sets himself the task of disabusing his countrymen of all the fanciful notions regarding Algeria, that in France appear to take the place of real knowledge on the subject. We thoroughly agree with the author that there is absolutely no meaning in the term "l'indigène," or our own "native," and that it is absurd to class a number of totally distinct races under that one very vague term. As regards the author's contention that the only hope for bettering the condition of non-Europeans, and vanquished races, is the spread of Christianity, a task which should not be left to private enterprise only, but be aided by the Government, it is much open to dispute ; nor is the example of Europe, and France, to which the author points in particular, so very convincing, for, in the first place European civilization, whether

good or bad, has absolutely no connection with Christianity, and secondly, we are not aware that France is, in any sense, such a stronghold of the Faith as is implied. Vicomte de Saint Aymour's colonization plan is certainly very interesting, especially in the chapter treating of the Berber mountaineers as colonizers; the author is nothing, if not thorough, and there is no doubt that his plan would, if put into execution, stamp out in a short time all the religious and race characteristics of the people subjected to its effects, and make them first-rate French caricatures. The book is admirably written, and well worth perusal. M.

25. *Grammatik, Vocabularium und Sprachproben der Sprache von Murray Island.* Von Dr. A. GRAF v. SCHULENBURG. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich.) The author deserves praise for having undertaken what would surely seem, at first sight, an uninteresting and thankless task. The culture of that happy island is little removed from zero; intelligence has apparently not sufficed to evolve a system of numeration beyond the number two; three is already a very vague term; numbers beyond three are produced by combinations of two, and two-and-three. The missionaries have it seems had pity on the unfortunate people, and have now supplied them with a kind of "pigeon" English for their numbers; they have also given them words for prophet and wine, etc. Two of the shorter gospels have been translated, and by the kindness of Dr. R. N. Cust—the great authority on all languages of which no one else knows anything—our author has utilized them in his book, which is elaborated with characteristic German scholarship and thoroughness. M.

26. *Die Jabim-Sprache der Finschhafener Gegend.* By Dr. O. SCHELLONG. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich.) This book, like the preceding one, forms a contribution to Messrs. W. Friedrich's valuable series on comparative linguistics. The Yabim language is a little more interesting than that of Murray Island, as it is altogether a more developed vehicle for the expression of thought. There are numerals in this language, and they go by fives. The author has also discovered that there is accentuation, but its rules seem as yet to elude him.

We must congratulate the author on his acute sense of hearing: to show instances of onomatopoeic possibilities in the language, "gëlúp," to fly (of a bird); "tálliti," to run; "ssëbëng ssëbëng," quick; and other similar examples are quoted: to us these instances seem by no means so very striking as to deserve being picked out. On the whole, the book reflects credit on author and publisher alike, and for those who must study this uninteresting language, it is surely of extreme value. M.

27. *Schliemann's Excavations; an archæological and historical study.* By Dr. C. SCHUCHHARDT. (London: Macmillan & Co.) The book before us is the English edition prepared and translated in a most commendable manner by Eugénie Sellers. Dr. Schuchhardt's work derives a special, though melancholy, interest from the circumstance that now the great Pathfinder of Trojan antiquity is no more; no fresh discoveries, no brilliant theories, no learned works will issue from that source; the enthusiast merchant, the famous Heinrich Schliemann is dead.

Dr. Schuchhardt's book is, indeed, a *magnum opus*, for from the vast

quantity of mostly ill-arranged and not readily accessible material of Schliemann's researches a handy and most carefully elaborated 8vo. volume of—in the English edition—not more than 340 odd pages (without the introduction and the very numerous and excellent illustrations, scale-drawings, maps, etc.) is placed at our disposal. A very noticeable feature is the learned introduction by Dr. W. Leaf, which in itself forms the best review of Dr. Schuchhardt's, and also generally, Schliemann's labours. M.

28. *Le Droit Coutumier des Khevsours*. Par VICTOR DINGELSTEDT. (Paris : Ernest Thorin.) A scholarly twelve-page pamphlet.

29. *Histoire des Relations de la France avec l'Abyssinie Chrétienne sous les règnes de Louis XIII., et de Louis XIV.* Par LE VTE. DE CAIX DE SAINT AYMOUR. 2nd Edition. (Paris : A. Faivre et H. Teillard.) Whatever comes from the pen of this learned writer is worthy of close study. The book before us is no exception ; it shows a deal of research, and gives information of quite a special nature, throwing much side-light on the history of those times. M.

30. *In the Land of the Lion and Sun, or Modern Persia*. By C. J. WILLS, M.D. Dr. Wills has produced a very readable book in recounting his experiences in Persia from 1866 to 1881. More stress should have been laid on the fact that the work recounts the author's personal experiences only, as the bare title is somewhat misleading. We do not think that this is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of Persia, but the book is decidedly interesting and often amusing. The illustrations are well chosen ; those from native drawings are quaint, and lend a special charm to the book. M.

31. *The Life and Times of Hafiz of Shiraz*. By M. HAMEED-ULLAH, B.A. (Cantab). (Allahabad.) The able editor of the "Allahabad Review" must be congratulated upon the scholarship and critical acumen displayed in his little brochure on the celebrated Persian poet. M.

32. *Max Müller and the Science of Language : A Criticism*. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Prof. in Yale University. (New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1892.) In connection with the recent new and revised edition of Prof. F. Max Müller's "Science of Language," Prof. Whitney successfully essays—not for the first time—to point out the errors of this eminent popularizer. We cannot quote from cover to cover, as, in the interests of Orientalism, we should like to do ; but we invite a careful perusal of this able "criticism," the more so as Prof. Whitney, whether he be impersonal or personal in his remarks, shows himself, *unlike* his opponent, a *fair fighter*. With singular appreciativeness he is alive to the undoubted merits of Prof. F. Max Müller, and even finds space for expressing his admiration of them in referring to the Oxford professor as "a born littérateur," who, though not pretending to consistency, approaches "in his genial way," a subject "from one side, and presents one lively view of it ; then he approaches it from another side, and presents another view ; how the two views stand related to one another is no concern of his."

It is to be hoped that when a further edition of Prof. Max Müller's "Science of Language" should become necessary, the author will avail himself largely of Prof. Whitney's hints, and change the title into "Facts and Fancies in regard to Language, and the related subjects."

33. *Across Thibet*, being a translation of "De Paris au Tonkin à travers le Tibet inconnu." By GABRIEL BONVALOT, translated by C. B. PITMAN. 2 vols. (Cassell & Co.) In the little space at our disposal we can but draw the attention of our readers to M. Bonvalot's latest work and its English translation. Explorations in Asia contrast with those in other countries, notably Africa, in so far as they are generally fruitful of important results, and the bringing to light of really interesting and valuable information. If self-command, dauntless pluck, knowledge of character, tenacity of purpose, and good-humour are the qualities that go to make a successful traveller, M. Bonvalot can certainly claim to be one. As regards the information collected, it chiefly depends upon powers of observation and a sympathetic nature; of the former gift our intrepid explorer has a fair share, as testified by the book before us. The self-possession of M. Bonvalot is apparent from many incidents; the most striking instance, perhaps, is the account of the Chinese official at Kurla, who, without proper authority, confiscated M. Bonvalot's pass, and then produced a warrant for the latter's arrest; to the extreme terror of the Chinaman, his intended victim took possession of the warrant, presumably for eventual submission at Peking. The result was the speedy restoration of the pass in return for the warrant. The narrative of the hardships endured is the more impressive from the unassuming way in which it is written. It would be unfair to conclude this brief notice without a reference to the, in every way worthy, companions of M. Bonvalot—Prince Henry of Orleans, to whom the excellent illustrations are due, and Father Dedeken. As regards the translation and the get-up of the book, translator and publisher both deserve praise. H.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of:—

1. *The Syrian Church in India*, by G. MILNE RAE, M.A. (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1892), which we received too late for due notice, but which a cursory examination shows to be a work of some research and great interest, with the blemish of a somewhat anti-Catholic tone.
2. *Vikramorvasi of Kalidasa*. Translated into Spanish by F. G. AVUSO; and
3. *Sakuntala*, by the same. (Madrid.)
4. *Missaõ do Visconde de San Januario, nas Republicas da America do Sul*. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.)
5. *The Rauzat-us-safa, or Garden of Purity*. By E. REHATSEK. (Part I., vol 2), completing that lamented scholar's translation of the first part of *Mirkhond's General History*.
6. *Great Britain's Work in Egypt* (T. and A. Constable, Edinburgh), showing well the benefits reaped in Egypt from British occupation, and that all that is needed, and must be taken, is time to complete reforms.
7. *La Civiltà Catholica* (Rome: Alessandro Belfani), the most notable paper in which is Fr. de Cara's on the identity of the Pelasgians and Hittites.
8. *Le Polybiblion*.
9. *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*.
10. *La Revue des Revues*.
11. *La Minerva*.
12. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Journal*.
13. *La Revue Générale*.
14. *The Contemporary Review*.
15. *The American Journal of Philology*.
16. *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*.
17. *Graetz' Hist. of the Jews*, vols. 3, 4, & 5. (David Nutt.)

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1892.

JAPAN AND HER CONSTITUTION.

BY F. T. PIGGOTT.

(Late Legal Adviser to the Japanese Cabinet.)

I WALKED recently through the spacious halls of the king of auctioneers in London, and I saw upon the walls, waiting the fall of the hammer, a canvas on which was depicted the counterfeit presentment of a Japanese lady. A more gruesome counterfeit I never yet beheld. Her garments, and the colour of them: her features and the lines of them: her figure and the pose and draping of it, all were caricatured. Yet the picture was the work of somebody they call a "Master," and had helped to pass current in bygone days the fiction that Mr. Whistler knew something about Japanese art.

I read recently through the spacious columns of the king of newspapers in London, and I saw in a speech delivered at Huddersfield, to influence the fall of the beans in election vases, the counterfeit presentment of the Japanese Constitution. The words were not a less gruesome counterfeit of the spirit and the letter of that Constitution than the "Princesse du Pays de Porcelaine" was of the ladies of Japan, of the art of Japan, and be it added also, of the art of Europe. The letter of that Charter and the meaning of it: the spirit of that Charter and the influence of it: the law laid down by both, and the Emperor's expressed intention to observe them, and his actual obedience to them, all

were caricatured, in supercilious fashion. Yet the speech at Huddersfield was the speech of somebody we call a "Statesman," and will help to pass current, in the belief that he knew what he was talking about, the absurd parody of the Constitution which he uttered.

Mr. Morley was criticising the provisions of the Irish Local Government Bill; he was scoffing at the "safeguards" which the Bill contained, contending that they made the proposals a sham and no reality. To emphasize his meaning, to give an example of legislation which appeared real and yet was unreal, he had recourse to the new Constitution of Japan. He said—though it is fair to add that he did not speak as of his own knowledge, but quoted a dictum of Mr. Bryce—that this Bill reminded him of the provisions of that Constitution, wherein "as Mr. Bryce tells us" among many very excellent provisions for the exercise of the franchise, is a "little article" which enables the Mikado, in cases of urgency, he himself being the judge of the urgency, to enact his own laws, and vote his own supplies. Was anything more needed to show how unreal, what a sham, this Constitution was? Bah! let him pass quickly from this atmosphere of sham to the atmosphere of reality contained in his Huddersfield audience.

This present article, or rather, with the Editor's permission I should say, this series of articles, is not specially devoted to the refutation of Mr. Morley's and Mr. Bryce's pleasantries about Japan; but rather to a critical examination of the constitutional work which, after many years' preparation, was begun on the eleventh of February, 1889, with the promulgation of the Constitution, and which, with many developments, some natural and to be expected, some very unexpected, is going on at a very rapid rate in that far-distant Empire. Mr. Morley's utterance—I will not do him the injustice to call it a critical utterance—may however serve as a convenient peg whereon to hang certain remarks of a general nature which apply not only to the article in question, but to the whole Constitution.

I gather that the sinister, or from the sarcastic point of

view, the dexterous, "little article" which destroys the value of the Imperial gift to the people of Japan, which takes back with one hand what has been given with the other, is the eighth. It is not hidden away in the remote recesses of seventy-eight articles, but stands out quite clearly and as near the beginning of the first chapter as it could be placed. It runs thus in the English translation: "The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety, or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial ordinances in the place of law." Paraphrased the principle is that the Emperor, while he has given to the people a full constitutional voice in the legislation of their country, reserves to himself the power of issuing ordinances to deal with cases of great urgency which may arise when the Diet is not sitting. It is not stated in so many words, but I am quite willing to admit, that the Emperor himself may determine whether the urgency exists, and what amounts to urgency. The principle which is laid down, in the eighth article, with regard to general legislation, is, in the seventieth article, applied specially to financial affairs. This article runs thus: "When the Imperial Diet cannot be convoked, owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the Government may take all necessary financial measures, by means of an Imperial ordinance." I am willing to admit, as before, that the question of "urgency" must be determined by the Emperor and his Government; and also, in this case, the question whether "the external or internal condition of the country" [one of those awkwardly literal translations of the original which unfortunately abound in the English version of the Constitution] is such that "the Imperial Diet cannot be convoked." Both to the eighth and the seventieth Articles, however, an identical and important proviso is attached. In the case of general laws—"Such Imperial ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next Session, and when the Diet does not approve the said

ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future": and in the case of the special financial legislation—"the matter shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet at its next Session, and its approbation shall be obtained thereto." The seventy-first article is also important in this connection, though it has a wider application: it runs thus: "When the Imperial Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the Budget of the preceding year." Here then is the actual verbal check to the Imperial abuse of the power which is retained in the Crown; the balance-weight in the hands of the people to prevent any kicking of the beam by too great a license in the exercise of the Imperial will and pleasure.

I pass over the fact that hasty and hap-hazard criticism has ignored the existence of these verbal checks. I will in fact refer its author, and its recapitulator, to the extraordinary powers which the Government possesses in the matter of proroguing either House of Parliament: "The Government may at any time order the prorogation of either House for a period of not more than fifteen days. When either House again meets after the termination of the prorogation, the debates of the last meeting shall be continued" [Article xxxiii. of the "Law of the Houses"]. I will go further and admit that the Government by successive uses of this power, might keep the meeting of the Diet in continued suspense, so that it should never have a chance of expressing an opinion adverse to the Emperor's "urgency ordinances": that the power contained in this Article might, on the face of it, be said to destroy the value of the verbal checks which the Constitution contains. But I say that in dealing with a great national charter, this is not the true critical spirit which a philosopher on Constitutions like Mr. Morley, or an analyser of Constitutions like Mr. Bryce, ought to adopt. Words are as bad almost as figures: they may be made to prove anything. But a Constitution, though a fundamental law, is in one sense not a law. As against the Imperial grantor it is to be construed

rigorously, to the dotting of the "i's," and the crossing of the "t's"—the rights of the People being in question: but in favour of the Imperial grantor, the words in which these rights have been granted must be allowed to expand under the influence of custom; custom itself being the creature of convenience, expediency, policy and wisdom; and the words cannot be nor ever are, except in extreme cases, pushed to their extreme significance. The *vox populi* is in one sense, and in one sense only, divine. It holds, in its clamour, the ultimate sanction of the law of interpretation of all great charters—rebellion—and in such sense becomes the voice of the very devil.

These glib commentators of other People's rights, of other Sovereigns' charters, do they realize what the writing of a Constitution means, the struggle between language and intention which is always going on? Turn for a moment to the well-worn topic of our own Constitution, the veto of the Crown: The hardest democratic expositor would not go further than saying that its disuse for so many years warrants the statement that it is "practically extinct." But in settling a Constitution on the English model, would any statesman omit that cardinal doctrine from his draft? Would he not write down in so many words that the power of veto in all matters of legislation is, and remains in, the Sovereign; trusting—and he would cease to be statesman if he could not trust—to the wisdom of Sovereign and of people, and chiefest of all, of the advisers of both who stand between, to build up an interpretation of the words; to create, out of mutual forbearances, a custom which shall wield a stronger power than any mere words can do.

Is not this precisely what we ourselves have done in granting what is practically legislative autonomy to the greater Colonies of our own Empire, and yet in making it subject to the veto of the Crown? Or, to take another instance of more modern application, the legislative functions of the Upper House. The Party of Progress is busy building, it can hardly be called a custom, but an interpre-

tation of the power which the Constitution of England assigns to the House of Lords. It is not at present too clear how this interpretation is to be worded, but judging from the noise which any throwing out of Bills by the Lords creates, it will go to great lengths: but not the noisiest of the shouters, nor the hardiest of the "neopoliticians," were he set down to write an exposition of the British Constitution, but would on this subject resort only to an interpretative "gloss"; he would explain how the legislative power exists, "but is," or "ought to be," "rarely exercised" adversely to the Commons: and he would support his statement by references to well-known examples of mutual forbearances of Lords and Commons which the solemn functions of "conferences" had fostered.

It was inevitable therefore that, in drafting a Constitution for Japan, this great difficulty of language should present itself: the difficulty of expressing accurately, and above all, concisely, in words, what words and custom combined had in other countries already effected.

Let me say this now distinctly: Whatever blemishes the Japanese Constitution may possess in its details, however imperfect it may be, admitting that there are both blemishes and imperfections, there was a wish to incorporate, so far as could be done, the fundamental principles which prevail in our own fair land of freedom. But those who had to frame the words were compelled to trust, and those who advised them, *quorum pars parvula fui*, bade them so to trust, to a certain aftergrowth of custom, the lichen on the trunk which is incorporate with the tree we look upon, to goodwill on both sides which in cases of friction would promote mutual forbearances, which should make the Constitution what it was intended it should be.

And so first to repel the particular charge before establishing the general principle. The statement that the words bear the meaning so contemptuously assigned to them is not warranted: for, as I have shown, they have certain important provisos. And the suggestion that the Emperor, or the Government on his behalf, deliberately inserted a

“little article” which—apparently harmless until some acute English observer discovered its true import and exposed it—was intended to nullify the effect of the grant of representative government, is absurd. It is a deliberate insult to the Emperor, not so much as a ruler of men, but as a sane human being, endowed with a certain instinct of government, and surrounded by men of wisdom, of learning, and of experience in the craft of State.

If it had been the Constitution of any other country but Japan, this feebly facile criticism would never have been uttered. But for Japan, the pretty plaything of the globe-trotter from which no serious thing can come, for Japan the oriental which can never change the crookedness of her mind, it was quite good enough. In most commonplace language “it is too bad.” Burrs stick. Years hence, if anybody is kind enough to bestow a passing thought on Japan and the Constitution, this particular burr of Mr. Bryce will be remembered and repeated, and will pass as sober and thoughtful criticism. Curiously enough, however, the principle of the “little article” was based on English precedents, (see note).

My general proposition then is this: That a written Constitution must be construed in the same way as an unwritten Constitution, that is to say, by the light of customary interpretation which grows up around it: and that there is no reason to suppose that this necessary growth of customary interpretation will be in any way checked in Japan by undue interference of the Imperial will. The constitutional spirit of all parties was shown in a remarkable manner in the very first debate in the Lower House. One of the members had been arrested on a charge of fraud: a question of privilege thereupon arose, and one of some nicety: Should the question be raised before the House proceeded to elect its President? The debates were of a distinctly high order and compared very favourably with debates on similar subjects at Westminster. There were displayed both constitutional knowledge and legal acumen which were remarkable, without there being any necessity to add “for

the first parliamentary debate in the East." And so, in the recent dissolution of the Diet, which the hostile critics of the Government have called a high-handed proceeding. The Opposition had shown a hostility to the Government of a somewhat violent obstructionist type, not to one measure but to several. The Cabinet had the power, the hostile critics' case depends on this, to dissolve the Diet at the first sign of such opposition: but it was not until it had been borne with patiently for a long time that the moment arrived for striking its foes. One of the measures which had been thrown out was the Government proposal to establish a large relief fund for the sufferers from the terrible Gifu Earthquake last year. After the dissolution the Government treated this matter as one of urgency and immediately voted the sums necessary for relief on a large scale. The bearing of this example on my general proposition is this: There was no high-handed dealing with the Diet, but in a constitutional spirit a dissolution was determined on to avoid a deadlock, and to enable the Ministers to appeal to the country.

It is time now to give a brief summary of the Constitution.

The first chapter deals with the prerogatives of the Emperor. As to these one thing only calls for special remark: first the use of the term "Ordinance" as distinguished from "Law." The Ordinances are those enactments which proceed directly from the Sovereign. The Laws proceed from the Sovereign and the Diet. The Ordinances in case of urgency I have already dealt with. Article ix. reproduces the English principle that the Sovereign may, by proclamation, reinforce the law, may give vitality to a law by calling special attention to it. But in the case of all the Imperial Ordinances they may not in any way alter any of the existing laws. The doctrine that the Sovereign has no inherent power of legislation could not be expressed in any stronger way.

The second is the important chapter: it deals with the rights and duties of subjects. The following are among its chief provisions:

All Japanese subjects are equally eligible for all public offices, whether civil or military.

They are to have complete liberty in the choice of their abode. They are to be arrested, detained, tried, and punished only according to law. They are to be tried only by the Judges appointed by law. The house of the Japanese is henceforth to be his castle. The secrecy of letters is not to be violated. The right of property shall be respected. Freedom of religious belief shall be enjoyed, and also liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meeting and association. The right of presenting petitions is conferred. All these things are taken out of the sphere of interference of an autocratic Sovereign, and are put within the sphere of the law : that is, these things, these liberties and rights can only be interfered with by the joint act of the people, through their representatives in the Diet, and the Sovereign. The Imperial Diet is constituted by Chapter III.: in the Upper House the principle of election is partially introduced. By the law of the House of Peers, Counts, Viscounts, and Barons are elected by their respective orders : and a certain number of Commoners, one for each City and one for each Prefecture, are to be elected by and from among the highest tax-payers. The Emperor also possesses the power of nominating members of the Upper House for meritorious services, or for erudition.

The share which the Diet has in legislation is again stated : Every law requires its consent. The Diet is to be convoked every year, a session lasting three months : but this may be prolonged in case of necessity by Imperial order : and extraordinary sessions may be convoked by the same means. In the House of Representatives no debate can be opened, or vote taken, unless one third of the members are present. The deliberations of both Houses are to be public, but the Government may demand, or the House may resolve to hold, secret sittings. Petitions may be presented to both Houses by subjects. Freedom of debate is ensured to members : but this does not cover the printing and the publishing of speeches delivered in the House, which

are left subject to the general law. Freedom from arrest is also ensured, except in certain heinous crimes, unless either House assents to the arrest of one of its members.

The Ministry is distinct from the Diet, but members of the Government, or Delegates from the Government may sit and speak in either House.

Chapter V. deals with the Courts of Law and the Judges. Law is to be administered in the name of the Emperor, by judges appointed by law. The judges are not removable except by sentence of a Court of Discipline. Trials are to be conducted in public, except where such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality. Infringements of rights by the illegal actions of the executive are to be dealt with solely by a "Court of Administrative Litigation."

Chapter IV. deals with the Privy Council and the responsibility of ministers : and Chapter VI. with Finances ; but these may be conveniently left to the next article.

(To be continued.)

NOTE.

The eighth and seventieth articles which have been scoffed at were in reality based on certain statements made by writers of some authority as to what could in fact occur in England. The following two quotations are taken from Todd's "Parliamentary Government of England":

"Legislation of this kind [Acts of Indemnity] is a parliamentary acknowledgment of the principle that, in times of danger or emergency, the Crown, acting under the advice of responsible ministers, may properly anticipate the future action of Parliament, by a temporary suspension of certain classes of statutes. Abstractedly the Crown has no right to issue any such orders or proclamations: but in the words of Sir Robert Peel, 'Governments have assumed, and will assume, in extreme cases, unconstitutional power, and will trust to the good sense of the people, convinced by the necessity to obey the proclamation, and to Parliament to indemnify the issuers.' And again,

"In the words of Mr. Macaulay (Secretary to the Board of Audit), Cases must constantly arise in so complicated a system of government as ours, where it becomes the duty of the executive authorities, in the exercise of their discretionary powers, boldly to set aside the requirements of the Legislature, trusting to the good sense of Parliament, when all the facts of the case shall have been explained, to acquit them of all blame; and it would be, not a public advantage, but a public calamity, if the Government were to be deprived of the means of so exercising their discretionary authority."

We have probably "seen the last" of the exercise of these discretionary powers; we have seen the last of so many things lately: England is "going so fast." But there was at least warrant for Japan desiring to establish the constitutional existence of a power which had not been entirely unknown in England.

IS THE FALL IN SILVER IN ANY WAY A BENEFIT TO INDIA ?

AFTER a recent discussion on Bimetallism I was talking to a very eminent and well-known Anglo-Indian official, and I asked why he, whose name figured among the list of vice-presidents of the Bimetallic League, had never, as far as I knew, publicly advocated Bimetallism—at any rate, in England. He replied that he believed in Bimetallism *as a theory*, and had joined the Bimetallic League under the belief that the triumph of its principles would be immensely for the benefit of India ; but that when he went to Manchester in 1888 to attend the Bimetallic Conference there, and heard all the Manchester men had to say, the conclusion was forced on him that the interests of England (*i.e.*, Manchester) and of India on the Silver question were diametrically opposed, and that as long as he had any official connection with India he ought not to take any active part in supporting the Bimetallic League, lest he might be thought to be acting in opposition to the interests of India. Now, that there is *some* divergence of interest on the Silver question between Manchester and India no sane man would deny, but the official of whom I speak had allowed himself to be drawn into a deduction of much wider range than this, and had, in accepting the view that the interests of England and of India were irreconcilable on the Silver question, adopted, in fact, what I hold to be the pestilent heresy, that the fall in the Gold-value of Silver is a benefit and not a curse to India. That such a theory had found supporters among the ill-informed, and among those whose interest it was to inflate Gold at any price, I was aware ; but it was a startling shock to find an Anglo-Indian statesman of the first rank, not only admitting the heresy in theory, but allowing it to influence his conduct in a very practical manner, to the extent of abstention from all support of the theory of Bimetallism, although he believed it to be true.

It seemed to me that this showed the necessity for immediately combating the heresy, and doing one's best to show those who are interested in India that the fall in Silver has been almost absolutely a disaster for India ; and that the small benefits which some branches of her trade may have received from it (though even this is doubted and disputed by many experts) are overwhelmingly outbalanced by the heavy burdens it has laid on her finances, by the restriction and almost entire stoppage of the investment of European capital in India, and by the serious and increasing losses it has imposed on her banking and mercantile classes.

By the kindness of the Editor of this Review I have been afforded this opportunity of stating what I believe to be the true view of the question, and of defending my views as far as this can be done in a short article.

There are, I think, three ways in which we ought to examine this question ; and, as I think a reader always likes to have a map of the country which he is going to traverse, I will state them here in the order in which I think they ought to be considered. They are :

- I. *The Argument from Authority*.—To ascertain what the best authorities say on this question, and to see whether they are divergent or virtually unanimous.
- II. *The Argument from History*.—To inquire whether the fall *has* been a benefit in the past (*i.e.*, from 1873 to 1892) ; and if not, whether we have any reason to suppose that the eventualities of the future will differ in any way from the experience of the past.
- III. *The Argument from Science*.—To ascertain whether we have any good ground for believing that a fall in the value of its standard currency is *ever* a benefit to any nation ; and even if so, whether there is any reason to think that it is a benefit to India under *present* circumstances.

Of course, to discuss the question fully and in detail under these three aspects would take much more space than I have at my disposal ; but I hope to be able to set forth the

main facts and views, which render it, in my opinion, necessary to answer the two latter of these questions with an absolute negative.

I. THE ARGUMENT FROM AUTHORITY.

On a question like this, affecting the welfare of India as an Empire, there cannot be a more authoritative opinion, or one which could be more justly considered final, than that of the Government of India, as expressed in one of their formal and important despatches to the Secretary of State. The readers of this Review do not need to be told that the Government of India consists of five or six of the most experienced and able of Indian administrators ; men trained to watch and discern the most delicate signs of good and evil in the results of the measures which they have passed their lives in administering ; men who, starting with an intellectual and practical training without its equal in the world, have succeeded in passing through all the nets and snares which impede official progress in India, and have at last reached the supreme administrative grade of governing the whole Empire, each in the department allotted to him. These are not men who write hastily or with a light heart ; they are each experts of the highest class in their own line, and are assisted by the ablest Secretaries which the trained Civil Service of the country can provide. They *know* that their verdict will probably be final, and that every word they write will be received with respect and attention in England, and will affect for weal or woe the destinies of millions in India. These administrators have at their head always one of the ablest and most experienced statesmen whom England can send forth to govern her greatest dependency, and they are assisted in legal matters by some able and successful barrister, who gives up for a time the triumphs and profits of the bar to gain experience in government and legislation. These are the men whose verdict I am now going to quote to you. Remember that it was written on a most important and solemn occasion, with a knowledge that it would, and

an intention that it should, influence the discussions of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, which sat in 1888, and which would, if it had been unanimous, have settled the Silver question as far as England is concerned.

This is what they say in their despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 227, of 4th September, 1886: "The fall in the rate of exchange has coincided in point of time with a large development of Indian trade and a steady increase of Indian revenue; but many authorities hold that this growth of trade and revenue is due to a succession of several good harvests, to the increased energy shown of late years in the construction of railways in India, to the cheapening of the cost of sea-transport, and to the opening of the Suez Canal rather than to the fall in exchange. It is beyond question that the instability in the relative value of gold and silver discourages the investment of capital in India; and the higher rate of interest, which we should have to pay for silver loans, forces us to borrow in gold, and to accept the risk of a still further appreciation of that metal. The fall in silver, by throwing unexpectedly a heavy burden on our finances, has more than once compelled us to defer the construction of public works intended for the protection of the country against famine, and has led to regrettable and wasteful fluctuations in our public works policy. These are evils of great magnitude, and if we take into consideration also the direct accumulating increase to the public expenditure due to the fall in exchange, it is, to say the least, difficult to contend that India as a whole may have gained as much as she has lost. It has no doubt been argued that the fall in exchange by encouraging Indian exports has given a stimulus to industries in which India competes with countries which have a gold standard; but . . . we have been unable to discover that the silver prices of Indian exports, or Indian commodities generally, have risen since the fall in exchange, and there are good grounds for believing that the effect of the change, that of late years has taken place in the relative value of silver and gold, has been to lower

gold prices and not to raise silver prices." These are weighty words, and the official utterance gives no uncertain sound. If due allowance be made for official reticence and the desire to avoid the slightest semblance of strong language or exaggeration, it will be seen at once that the verdict conveys the strongest opinion of the injury done to India by the fall in Silver.

Further on, in the same despatch, they say again: "Even if, for the sake of argument, it be admitted that India as a whole has gained as much as she has lost by the fall in exchange, we are still of opinion that a change [*i.e.*, in favour of silver] is imperatively required in the interests of the British Government in India. If the gain has just balanced the loss, we may reasonably conclude that, in case of a rise in exchange, the loss would not on the whole exceed the gain; while the financial relief and the consequent political advantage to our Government would be incalculable."

The men who signed this despatch were Lord Dufferin, Sir Fred. Roberts, Mr. Courtenay Ilbert, Sir Stuart Bayley, Sir Theodore Hope, Sir Auckland Colvin, and Sir George Chesney—names not exactly to be despised, when expressing an opinion on an Indian financial question.

Next let us see what Sir David Barbour, the present Finance Minister of India, and the author of the "Theory of Bimetallism," says. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver; and, so far from being a fanatical adherent of the doctrine that the fall in exchange is bad for India, he, at the time he wrote the above work in 1885, was somewhat inclined to support the opposite theory; but even then he wrote: "Every fall in the Gold price of Silver will be followed by a corresponding decline in the Gold prices of commodities, by increased disinclination of capitalists in London to invest money in India, by a reduction of profits and a general increase of the burden of obligation already contracted in England:" and he has since become a still more decided advocate of the doctrine of loss to India. In his note appended to the 3rd Report

of the Gold and Silver Commission (p. 134) he states : "The fall in the relative value of Silver has most injuriously affected the financial position of the Government of India. The increase in the number of rupees required to meet a fixed obligation is nearly 45 per cent. This change not only imposes a burden on the Indian finances at the present time ; but the uncertainty as regards the future exercises a paralysing influence. India must depend more and more upon her own resources of all kinds and those of other silver-using countries ; and even this policy may, in the case of the occurrence of events which are not beyond the range of probability, fail to avert political and economic dangers of a very serious character."

Thirdly, let us see what the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver said ; I mean not only the Bimetallists who signed Part III. of the Report ; but the *whole* Commission, who signed Part I. unanimously. They say as follows (p. 38, Part I.) : "The most important is the fact that the Government of India has every year to convert a large portion of its receipts from silver into gold. As these gold payments are for the most part fixed in amount, any fall in the value of Silver necessarily compels the Government to sell a larger quantity of bills or in other words to pay a larger quantity of silver. The difficulties of the Government of India consist not only in the additional number of rupees, which it is compelled to find from year to year in order to discharge its gold liabilities ; but in the uncertainty caused by the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, which makes it impossible to forecast with any accuracy its future expenditure. There is also the difficulty of attracting capital to silver-using countries, owing to the reluctance of capitalists to invest in securities, the return on which they are unable to calculate with certainty. This consideration applies with special force to the Government of India, with whom it necessarily lies to take the initiative in any scheme of public works for the better development of the country. In former times the Government were able to raise loans . . . at

about the same rates in Calcutta and in London. The price of 4 per cent. rupee paper was then $101\frac{3}{4}$ to $105\frac{1}{2}$ in Calcutta, while the price of the 4 per cent. sterling stock in London was 101 to 106. But in 1887 4 per cent. rupee paper was $95\frac{1}{4}$ to $99\frac{7}{8}$, while the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. sterling stock was $100\frac{1}{4}$ to 104, or but little below the 4 per cent. stock of 14 years before."* This report was signed by Lord Herschell, Sir Louis Mallet, Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, Right Hon. H. Chaplin, Hon. C. W. Freemantle, Sir John Lubbock, Sir T. Farrer, Sir William Houldsworth, Sir D. Barbour, and Messrs. J. W. Birch, Leonard Courtney, M.P., and Samuel Montagu, M.P.—names not to be held in light esteem.

I will take one more official witness, because he was the first to draw public attention to the Silver question as it affects India, and because his minute on this subject was admitted by English and Continental economists to be one of the ablest as well as earliest contributions to the subject. I mean Mr. R. Barclay Chapman, C.S.I., who was Financial Secretary to the Government of India from 1869 to 1881; and whose minute on the Silver question was laid before the Paris Monetary Conference of 1881 by M. Cernuschi: and I quote him specially, because he holds the opinion that any rise in the value (*i.e.*, power of purchasing commodities) of the rupee would be injurious to India; yet he holds strongly (p. 56) that the Indian producer gains nothing by the fall in the gold-value of Silver; his answer to the question (No. 10,290) whether the Indian producer has an advantage in competition with other corn-growing countries, owing to the low gold-value of the rupee, was: "It has always seemed to me that that really begs the whole question. If the ratio of 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$ were substituted for the present ratio, the rupee would necessarily rise in value and the Indian producer would get fewer rupees for his produce. He is getting now nearly the same number of rupees as before, because rupees have not materially altered in value [purchasing power], but

* The latter part of this extract is slightly condensed.

he gets no more gold for his produce than he would do, if the standard of India were gold. I have never been able to see in what respect he gains."

This opinion I venture to say goes to the root of the whole matter. It is admitted on all hands that India loses enormously on her gold obligations, and on the purchases she has to make from gold-using countries; but it is contended that the Indian producer gains by the lessened gold value of the rupee, because the gold value of his produce obtains for him more rupees. Mr. Chapman shows clearly the fallacy which underlies this belief.

I have now given pretty fully the opinion of the most experienced Indian *officials* on the point we are discussing; and it is all one way, that the fall in the gold-value of Silver has been almost, if not entirely *disadvantageous* to India. I had intended to give some *non-official* opinions; but the limited space at my disposal renders it impossible for me to do this; and it must be remembered that, after all, the opinions of the highest officials in India, of men who are trained to consider such subjects from all points of view, and in the interests of all classes of the community, are necessarily more impartial than those of persons connected with any particular pursuit, which naturally tinges their views with the subtle hues derived from self-interest.

I now proceed to the second portion of my subject.

II. THE ARGUMENT FROM HISTORY.

Here we have to consider firstly, whether the fall in the gold value of Silver can be considered from known facts and events to have been advantageous to India during the twenty years since it began to be of serious dimensions; and secondly whether, if it has hitherto been admittedly disastrous, there is any reason to believe that in the future the effect will be different, and will be in any way more favourable to India than it has been as yet.

As regards the past the task is an easy one. There can hardly be any doubt about the effect of a change, which has

increased the debt of India by 66 millions sterling in the last 20 years ; which is now increasing it at the rate of 7 millions sterling per annum ; which has half-ruined all the official and professional classes in India ; which has almost absolutely stopped the investment of English and European capital in Indian undertakings ; which has led to the increase of taxation in some directions and has prevented the removal of it in others ; and which has embarrassed the Government, destroyed the loyalty and content of the official classes, and most seriously damaged the credit and diminished the capital of all the mercantile and trading classes. That these injuries to the credit and prosperity of India are undoubtedly and demonstrably due to the fall in the gold-value of Silver, I propose to prove in detail as I proceed ; and what have we to put per contra, what are the alleged advantages which it is stated that India has gained to counterbalance these enormous and obvious disadvantages ? It is alleged that certain Indian trades, which are almost wholly in the hands of Europeans, have been benefited by the fall in exchange, such as the tea, jute, cotton and grain trades ; because the Indian producer, being paid in gold, is able, when he sells his produce in Europe, to convert this gold into more rupees than he could before, while each rupee will have nearly, if not quite, the same value or purchasing power in India. The fallacy which underlies this argument has been well pointed out by Mr. Chapman, as shown above. The Indian producer, if he sells in India, obtains about the same number of rupees as he did before, because the rupee has not materially altered in value ; but the gold prices of everything having decreased since gold increased in value, he does not get any more gold than he did before, indeed he gets less gold, but that smaller quantity of gold produces for him the same number of rupees. As Mr. Chapman pithily says, " I have never been able to see in what respect he gains." It will be remembered that the Government of India said in their despatch above quoted : " We have been unable to discover that the silver prices of Indian exports or Indian commodities

generally have risen since the fall in exchange ; and there are good grounds for believing that the effect of the change which of late years has taken place in the relative value of silver and gold has been *to lower gold prices and not to raise silver prices.*" The italics are mine : these words should be written up in letters of gold over the desks of those who delude themselves into the belief that a low exchange places a premium on exports, and is advantageous to commercial interests in India. The benefit is hypothetical and doubtful as we have seen : the injury and loss are clear and undoubted. It is very *uncertain* whether the producer gets any really increased price for his produce : it is *quite* certain that all the business transactions of the merchant are impeded by the unsettled state of exchange ; that he has lost from one-third to one-fourth of the real value of his capital through no fault of his own ; and that his Government has been prevented from making for him roads and canals, railroads and harbours, drainage and water improvements, which would have facilitated commerce, would have given employment to thousands, and would have afforded to the capitalist opportunities of employing his funds or of undertaking contracts, which are now lost. As the Government of India said in 1888, " many authorities hold that the growth of trade and revenue is due to a succession of several good harvests, to the increased energy shown of late years in the construction of railways, to the cheapening of the cost of sea-transport, and to the opening of the Suez Canal, *rather than to the fall in exchange.*" That this is the true view has been amply confirmed by the events which have occurred *since* 1888. The rupee was in 1888 at an average of 1s. 5d., it is now at an average of 1s. 3½d. ; and the Indian bankers and mercantile classes, who have for the last four years seen their capital steadily dwindling, their trade decreasing, and their profits vanishing, have become quite convinced that, if anybody is ever benefited by a low rate of exchange, it is certainly not they ; and there is hardly a merchant or banker now, who would not welcome a rise in exchange, although there were plenty even up to 1890 who would not have done so.

Having dealt with the question in its general aspects, I have now to prove in more detail the statements which I have made. (1) And first as regards the immense loss on the remittances which the Government of India is obliged to make to England. I believe that very few Englishmen unconnected with India realize the enormous scale of this loss: it is now over 7 millions per annum, or more than the whole opium revenue; and the attempts to show that the whole of this is *not* loss, and to discriminate between old contracts and new contracts, and between fixed and modifiable obligations, should be swept away as sophistries. India has *got* to remit a certain number of pounds sterling to England each year; and, as the whole of her revenue is collected in rupees, it is obvious that the price of the rupee is the *only* determining factor which decides the price which she will have to pay in her own currency for that number of pounds sterling. Whether the contracts are old or new, whether they are fixed or modifiable, has surely nothing to do with the question. Such as they *are*, under whatever conditions they may *be*, the existing contracts have got to be met each year; and the price at which the Government of India can meet them in her own Currency depends on the value of the rupee in gold, and *not* on any other factor whatever. I give here a table showing the amount of remittances by Government from India to England for the 20 years from 1872 to 1891, and the loss incurred on them, in order that the magnitude of that loss may be appreciated; the figures are taken from the parliamentary return, the Statistical Abstract for British India for 1891.

This table shows that the total amount of remittances during the 20 years was 343 krors, for which 343 millions sterling would have been obtained, if the rupee had been at 2 shillings; but only 276 millions *were* obtained, thus showing a loss of 67 millions sterling on the 20 years, or an average of $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions a year, with an average value of the rupee of 1s. $7\frac{3}{4}$ d.; but this loss in the three last years averaged 7 millions, and will be even more in 1892, for the rupee is now at 1s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. instead of 1s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., as it was in 1891.

22 *Is the Fall in Silver in any way a Benefit to India ?*

REMITTANCES FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND (SECRETARY OF STATE'S BILLS).

Year.	Amount in Rupees (Kroors).	Sums obtained in Gold (Millions).	Loss by Exchange (Millions).	Average Rate for Rupee.
1872	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	39	1-11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1873	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	76	1-10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1874	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1-10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1875	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1-10
1876	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1877	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1878	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1879	17	14	3	1-7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1880	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	1-8
1881	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	1-8
1882	22 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-8
1883	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1884	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	1-7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1885	17	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1886	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1887	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1888	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-5
1889	21	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1890	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	1-6
1891	23	16	7	1-4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total - -	343	276	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Average -	17	14	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-7 $\frac{3}{4}$

This enormous loss is an undoubted fact ; and no attempt at minimising it or disputing it is possible. If it had *not* occurred, this amount would have been available either in reduction of taxation, or for the execution of public works—roads, railways and canals, or for reforms and additional expenditure in the Judicial, Educational, Jail, Sanitary and other Departments which urgently require more money, and would undoubtedly obtain it, if it were available.

(2) I come next to the effect on the official and professional classes in India ; and here, too, the bad results cannot possibly be disputed. All officials, whether English or native, are paid in rupees, and all professional men receive their fees and salaries in rupees ; these rupees have diminished in value by more than one-third at the present time, and *all* these classes have therefore lost practically one-third, or at least one-fourth of their income. For, in the first place, there are *no* compensations ; they do not get anything

cheaper on account of this fall in the gold-value of the rupee, and they cannot and do not have their salaries or fees increased in any way on account of it; and secondly, it is a loss which affects much the largest part of their income. It is commonly said by opponents of this view that, as they spend their income *in* India, the rupee is worth as much, or nearly as much, as it ever was, to them; and that the loss only affects that part of their income which they remit to Europe. But this is a fallacy; for a European official or professional man spends, if he is fairly well off, four-fifths of his income on things which have to be paid for, directly or indirectly, in gold. His actual food, bought in the country and not imported, is almost the only thing not affected by the rise in gold; everything else that he pays for, his stores, his wine, his clothes, his children's schooling, his books, his horses and carriages, his amusements and subscriptions, in fact everything that he buys, is either paid for directly in gold, if purchased in Europe, or has to be purchased at an enhanced price from the importer, if imported by tradesmen or others. Even his house-rent and his servants' wages have increased of late years; and though this may not be a *direct* effect of the fall in silver, yet, coming on the top of his other losses, it is a serious matter, and it is probably due *indirectly* to the lessened value of silver.

I will not dwell more on this topic, partly because the loss to important classes of the Indian community is so obvious and indisputable; and partly because I have recently dealt with it at length elsewhere; and I would refer any English readers who feel any doubt about it to what I have said on that occasion.*

(3) I now come to the third evil which I mentioned, viz.:

The almost absolute stoppage of the investment of European capital in Indian undertakings on account of the uncertainty in the value of silver, and the doubts which

* Lecture on the Effects on the Finances and Commerce of India of the fall in the Gold-value of Silver. Journal of the East India Association for April, 1892.

European investors therefore feel as to the prospects of any undertaking, of which the returns must necessarily be in a silver currency.

Perhaps the best known instance of this is the most recent one, where a well-known and carefully-planned scheme for a railway to connect Bengal with Assam, which would appear to have as good chances of becoming remunerative, as many of the Indian railway schemes in which the English investor freely placed his money before the fall in silver frightened him, and which possessed the advantage of a partial guarantee from the Secretary of State, entirely failed to win the confidence of capitalists in London, and did not, I believe, succeed in obtaining more than a small portion of the sum required. But this is only one instance among many ; there are innumerable projects for railroads, canals, bridges, harbour works, and trading and commercial undertakings of all kinds, ready to be launched in India, and possessing guarantees for stability and remunerativeness, which are at least wanting in many of the foreign projects which find favour in the eyes of English speculators, and which would undoubtedly be supported and fully subscribed for, considering the present low rate of money and difficulty in finding reliable investments with fair returns, if it were not for this uncertainty about silver, which the English investor does not understand, or understands only so far as to be thoroughly suspicious and puzzled about the whole matter, and to declare that none of his money shall go into schemes worked with a currency which jumps about like quicksilver, one day up and another day down, and seems to be at the mercy of any American speculator, who chooses to make a corner in silver or to "*bear*" it, and of any Government which chooses for its own purposes to spread a report that it is about to demonetize silver or to increase its gold coinage. The English investor will put his money into South American, Mexican, Portuguese, Turkish and even Persian speculations, of the merits of which he knows hardly anything, and where he is utterly at the mercy of Foreign

Governments, which, if sometimes reliable, are very often much the reverse; he will confide his savings to these schemes in the full and certain hope of an immediate and large return, although there may be absolutely *no* ground for such expectation; and yet he will not invest a penny in the best-planned, most influentially-supported, and most promising Indian undertakings, where he knows that the promoters are his own countrymen and well known persons, whom he can always hold responsible in case of disaster; where he will be under English law, administered in the higher Courts by English judges, and where he will always be sure of the support and aid of his own Government, instead of being at the mercy of a foreign one.

Is it not amply evident that the insecurity which thus influences some of the shrewdest and ablest men in the world must be of a most serious and dangerous character, or it would not cause them to prefer risky, unvouched for, and foreign schemes to safe, well-supported and English enterprises? The insecurity *is* serious and dangerous, and the English investor is *right*: silver has been falling for twenty years; it has fallen lower than anybody would have believed 20 years ago that it *could* fall; and it is absolutely impossible to say *how* low it may fall in the next 20 years, if bimetallism is not restored. Who can wonder then that a wise investor refuses to touch Indian enterprises, based on a silver currency; and who can estimate the amount of harm done to India and also to England by this impossibility of bringing together English capital, longing for investment, and Indian enterprises, languishing for want of capital? If during these twenty years these two healthy and powerful parents had been united in a fertile union instead of being divorced by an unnatural and stupid legislation, they would have produced by this time a brood of strong and vigorous children, which would have been the support and comfort both of the mother country and of her great dependency: but such offspring is impossible, where one of the parents remains cold and impassive, and refuses to remove, by

means which are obvious and ready to hand, the chains which bind the other parent in a bondage, which is bringing it perilously near to financial death.

I have dwelt so much on the first three of the evils which I mentioned on p. 19 that I have left myself no space to consider the fourth and fifth of them, viz. : (4) the increase or non-removal of taxation, and (5) the loss of credit and diminution of capital values, which the fall in Silver has brought on India ; nor can I treat of the third argument of which I spoke on p. 12, viz., the argument from economic science, or whether a fall in the value of its standard currency is *ever* beneficial to a nation : but to conclude the second part as briefly as possible, I may say that it is of course obvious that, if the $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions (rising latterly to 7 millions) a year extra had not been required from the Indian Government, they could have spent this sum in the remission of taxation which is open to obvious objections, such as the Income tax, and the Salt tax ; or Revenue to which many object, such as the Opium revenue, might have been abolished, whereas, under present circumstances, it is perfectly useless to discuss or advocate its abolition, simply because the Government of the country could not be carried on without it, and even the Anti-Opium Society does not, I believe, place the abolition of Opium above the preservation of our empire in India. The fifth head, the loss of credit and of capital values, is one which affects chiefly the mercantile and trading classes, who have hitherto been somewhat disinclined to join in the almost universal condemnation of the fall in silver as disastrous to India ; but the events of the last two years, the sudden rise in silver in 1890, and the still more sudden and deeper fall which followed, have opened the eyes of all commercial men to the dangers of the present uncertainty ; and both the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay have become converted to Bimetallism, and have addressed urgent requests to the Government to move in the matter, and to initiate measures, which may effect the restoration of silver to its former value. The loss of capital, amounting

often to one-third of the whole, has become a most serious matter to the Banks and mercantile houses ; their capital has always been estimated on a gold basis, and they now find that except for internal purposes in India itself, it has lost one-third of its value and is shrinking day by day still farther. Many a firm has practically lost 10 per cent. of its capital since the beginning of this year ; for all European firms must estimate their capital at what it would bring when re-transferred to Europe. It has generally been sent out from Europe, either directly or indirectly, and it has in almost all cases to be returned to Europe eventually in some shape or other. In all these cases the loss caused by the drop in silver is complete and is final unless silver can be restored. I have hitherto spoken of the larger banking and mercantile houses ; but the retail trader is in the same predicament : he has to pay in gold in Europe for all the goods he imports, and as the rupee falls he has to put up his rupee prices, if he is to make the same profit as before : but he finds himself then on the horns of a most unpleasant dilemma. If he puts up his prices, his customers, who are all paid in rupees, cannot afford to buy as much as before, and his sales fall off proportionally : if on the other hand he does *not* put up his prices, his sales remain the same, but his profits dwindle, as silver falls, till he at last finds himself conducting a risky and troublesome business "for the pleasure of enjoying the beautiful climate," as one successful retail dealer described it to me.

And now I must conclude. I hope that I have shown by both the arguments from Authority and from History that the fall in the gold-value of silver has been an unmitigated evil for India ; that the few and slight instances to the contrary given by our opponents are mostly, if not entirely, founded on misconceptions and delusions ; that this evil is a growing and increasing one, equally harmful to India and to England ; and that it is one which all who wish well to either country should set themselves to combat with vigour and firmness, undiscouraged by the stolidity and ignorance of the English banking and financial classes, and inspired

by the hope that the approaching conference which America is instituting, and which the Continental nations are joining with hearty approval and good will, will be the means of uniting all civilized nations in a more scientific and reasonable policy towards silver, and thereby in removing from India the wholly unnecessary and crushing burden, which has impeded her progress and fettered her steps for the last twenty years.

ALFRED COTTERELL-TUPP
(Late Accountant-General, Bombay).

P.S.—Since this article was written two events have occurred, which I think corroborate all I have said as to the importance of the restoration of Silver. The first is that in the United States the Republican Resolutions Committee have submitted the following resolution to their Convention on June 9 :

“The American people, through interest and tradition, are in favour of bimetallism, and demand that both metals shall be used as standard money under such regulations and provisions as may be enforced by the Legislative Department, the Government to establish and maintain the parity of the metals, and to make each dollar, whether Gold, Silver, or Paper, equal to any other dollar. We commend the wise and patriotic policy which has been inaugurated of calling an international conference to establish the concurrent use of Gold and Silver throughout the commercial world.”

The second is that the New Oriental Bank Corporation, one of the largest Indian Banks, has failed, and that in the letter announcing the suspension, the directors attribute it in great part to the depreciation in Silver, “and the consequent increasing distrust throughout Great Britain of investments in Silver countries,” which amply confirms all I have said on pp. 24 and 25. Their letter is as follows :

NEW ORIENTAL BANK CORPORATION (LIMITED).

“I regret to inform you that the directors of the Corporation, at a meeting of the Board held this afternoon, have found it necessary to suspend payments by the bank owing to the depreciation in Silver, the consequent increasing distrust throughout Great Britain of investments in Silver countries, and the withdrawal of capital from the East, coupled with the wholly unprecedented condition of trade in China, Japan, the Straits, and Australia, and the recent disastrous hurricane in Mauritius. Steps have been taken to protect the assets.—By order of the Board.” The liabilities to the public are understood to be approximately $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions, of which about $4\frac{1}{4}$ millions are fixed deposits. The assets are approximately stated at over $8\frac{1}{4}$ millions.

AN EPISODE IN BURMESE HISTORY.

(Being a Contribution to the History of Indigenous Oriental Education.)

THE cold-weather tourist who, having traversed the Indian presidencies, alights on the shores of Burma after a three days' run from Calcutta, finds himself not merely in a new province of the empire, but in a new world. The contrast between India and Burma is hardly less marked than that between Europe and China. It is, indeed, the Flowery Land itself into which the traveller has plunged at a step. The unmapped wastes which lie between Bengal and Burma separate not only province from province, but the Arian from the Turanian world. Beyond that wilderness of flood and field lies a new quarter of the globe, peopled by another family of the human race, with other historical associations, influenced by other religious creeds, and distinguished by other languages, other customs, other physical types. For it is China, and not India, of which the Indo-Chinese peninsula forms in all essentials an integral part.

A flowery land it is well called, and the first impression of the contrast is conveyed by the changed aspect of the landscape. After the arid plains of India, level and parched as the desert, the eye is refreshed by a wealth of vegetation covering a mountainous and lavishly watered country, where every hill is clothed thick with verdure from base to summit, and soft foliage is spread like a carpet to the very margin of the sea. Moreover, the scale of the landscape is such as to satisfy the mind not less than the eye. Stately rivers, whose very sources are still matter of controversy, broaden into a labyrinth of unnumbered streams, and the scenes they traverse in their course present well-nigh every variety of natural beauty. Bare rocky defiles, low wooded hills receding now and again till they rise in the distance to the dignity of mountain ranges, forests of unvalued timber, cool valleys where perennial

cascades give life to unknown riches of ferns and grasses, deep shade of bamboo arcades, orange groves laden with fruit like the garden of the Hesperides, and stretches of level rice-fields of dazzling green. Such are some of the features which make up the panorama of the changing landscape. And through this sparsely peopled wilderness wild animal life has from all time roamed free and safe in endless variety and abundance. Herds of elephant and bison and deer share the impenetrable jungles with the tiger and leopard, with apes and hamadryads, with birds of every brilliant feather, reptiles and insects of unimagined beauty and strangeness.

Passing from a review of the outward world to contemplate the aspect and the life of its human inhabitants, the visitor from India is met by a contrast even more striking in its abruptness. Type and feature, dress and language, creed and custom, all are new. Woman is once more set free and becomes the active helpmeet of man, while the bonds of hereditary caste are exchanged for a social freedom hardly inferior to that of the Western world. But the most marked change which has come over the scene is found in the predominant characteristics of the indigenous races. Whether it is due to the influence of caste, to the crushing weight of centuries of oppression, or to idiosyncrasies of race, it must strike every stranger that the native of India—widely as the peoples differ to whom that designation applies—is for the most part a creature of anxious and fearful mind, taking even the pleasures of life terribly *au sérieux*. As he dare not trust his wives and daughters to the eye of the profane, or to a share of active life, so his whole existence seems too often to be spent as if under a haunting fear of being outwitted by his neighbour, or overtaken by some impending calamity. Fun and frolic seem altogether alien to his nature, and to him the subtleties of humour are an unknown mystery. He sings indeed, but it is in mournful cadence, and the laughter of pure merriment is less often heard in India than in any country in the world.

To pass from such a land to Burma is to pass, as it were, from the house of mourning to the house of joy. The careworn look of anxious poverty or uneasy wealth is turned to good-humoured smiles and song and laughter. In the faces around us there may be less of intellectual capacity, certainly less of keen self-interest; but how far more attractive is the genial enjoyment of life, the undisguised and unquenchable love of pleasure which makes the life of the Burman—spendthrift and gambler as he is—one long holiday, sweetened by a lively sense of humour, and by genuine appreciation of every form of fun and merry-making. Nor is this the carelessness of indifference to things sacred and serious. Religion is a power in the land, not a whit less in Burma than in India, but it is religion cast in a freer and happier mould. Mahomedan ceremonial and Hindu rites give place here to purer and more natural forms of devotion. For the prescriptions of a priestly caste we have a monastic order marked by a strictness of rule and even a purity of life rarely impugned, but it is an order which binds no man by irrevocable vows, and whose bonds, sacred as they are, may be put off at will with the monkish garb.

So profound is the impression made on the traveller from Europe by way of India by the contrast I have attempted to indicate, that he is often enough grievously misled in his estimate of the new country. The sudden sense of freedom is as refreshing, the laughter of a light-hearted people as welcome, as is the passage from parched and burning plains to a land of water and verdure. So that he is apt for the moment to forget the leagues that separate him from the land of his birth, till a brief experience reminds him that here too, under the glamour of the Eastern sun, the standards of thought and speech and conduct are alien to those of the Western world as are the aspect of nature or the features and customs of man.

Such in barest outline are the characteristics of the province which furnishes the text of my essay. Incorporated as it is with the Indian Empire, it has hardly more

to do with India or Indian ways of thought and life than if it were situated in Europe or Africa. In dealing with such a country experience of India is of even less value than experience of Europe. If a man has acquired his knowledge of the East in India he will have formed notions and prejudices hard to shake off, yet wholly out of place among a Turanian people. How essential for the task of administration in such a province is an experience gathered on the spot may be inferred from the story I have now to tell.

It was a happy fortune which placed the destinies of Burma at the most critical juncture of its history in the hands of a man whose Eastern training was among the people over whom he was called to rule, who had mastered their language, studied their history and literature, understood their character, and sympathized with their wants, and who eventually proved himself possessed of still rarer qualifications for his great responsibility.

The name of Phayre, the first governor under whom the province was consolidated thirty years ago, is to this day a household word in the country, not only among the foreign officials whose task he so greatly facilitated but in the homes of the poorest of the people, in the villages and monasteries of the most remote districts. No Indian administrator ever more completely identified himself with his charge or was ever rewarded by more of cordial loyalty or personal affection than Sir Arthur Phayre in Burma. From the King of Ava, smarting under the loss of his richest province, to the villagers whose daily life came under his influence, all alike were attracted by that union of manliness and modesty, of administrative ability and self-forgetfulness, which marked the character of the first Chief Commissioner. His is a name which deserves a more conspicuous place than has usually been assigned to it in the roll of Indian worthies, but it was in accord with his own character that the great but unobtrusive work of his life should be celebrated rather in the hearts of the people whom he loved and served than by flourish of trumpets in the pages of history.

If there was one direction in which the statesmanship of Phayre and the success of his rule were especially noteworthy it was in the field of popular education—that favourite playground of the theorist and the amateur. Keenly alive to the importance of school-education, but with the personal training of a soldier rather than of a scholar, it was not without grave anxiety that he looked about him for guidance in a matter so vital to the interests of the country. And what he saw was this.

In marked contrast to the neighbouring provinces of India the elements of school-education were already widely diffused among the Burmese, of whom the majority were able at least to read and write.

The origin of this phenomenon was immediately obvious. In a country where religion is woven with exceptional closeness into the social life of the people there has existed for centuries, in intimate dependence on the national religious belief, a primitive system of popular education extending over the whole country, rendered venerable both by antiquity and by sacred associations, in accord with public sentiment and of undoubted practical efficiency. No village is too remote or too insignificant to be provided with its Buddhist monastery of more or less stately proportions and equipment, and, as in Europe in past ages, it is the monastery which has at all times been the recognised home and depository of the learning of the day.

The retreat of venerated ascetics, it is the public treasury of sacred books, the peaceful resort of congregations of the devout, who come to hear the preaching of the law, and the national village school where, in return for the daily support of the mendicant monks, every boy of the population is free to attend, without invitation and without fee, and where systematic instruction and regular discipline are combined under teachers, of varying capacity indeed, but of uniform repute for piety and devotion.

To a governor less intimate with the people, their character and ways of thought, it would hardly have

occurred to think it possible that the representatives of a foreign government would be suffered to touch in any way a system forming so integral a part of native private life, associated so closely with an Oriental religion, and controlled by an ancient hierarchy bound by a routine of punctilious formality. Even if the leaders of the Order could be won over to acquiescence in any such interference, it would have seemed that the absolute neutrality in all matters of religion, which is one of the axioms of Anglo-Indian administration, would render impossible any alliance between the Buddhist monastic order and the English officials. Undisturbed by such considerations, the practical mind of the governor saw only that upon the extent to which it might be possible to win the co-operation of the teachers already in full possession of the field depended the whole issue of grasping or abandoning the control of popular education in the country. With this conviction he determined to make the attempt.

In forming this resolution Phayre seems to have stood absolutely alone in his belief that the object at which he aimed was not impossible of attainment. The objections to the attempt to organize a government department through the agency of a native religious institution were so many and obvious, that among the whole staff of officers serving under him,—many of them men of long experience in the province,—there was hardly one who did not regard the scheme as chimerical. Nevertheless the event has justified in so striking a manner the accuracy of the foresight with which Phayre was gifted, that a sketch of the nature and history of the scheme cannot be without interest.

Setting out with the exercise of his own personal influence, it was as the private and honoured friend of some of the chief dignitaries of the Monastic Order that the governor prevailed upon a few of the principal monasteries of Rangoon and Moulmein to introduce for the first time, alternately with the sacred palm-leaf texts exclusively in use hitherto, the reading and study of books in the Burmese

language printed and published in Western fashion, and containing the first elements of Western learning. The books first chosen were elementary works on arithmetic, geography, and physiology, and it was with anything but a confident anticipation of success that the tentative experiment was made of placing these before the teachers and pupils of Buddhist monasteries.

To the astonishment even of the officers entrusted with the practical working of the scheme, the overtures of the government were welcomed from the outset, not only without suspicion but with a wholly unexpected amount of intelligent appreciation. The Burmese mind, naturally open and unprejudiced to a remarkable extent, has always been alive to the attractions of science. Astrology had long been a favourite subject of study among the learned of the Monastic Order ; Geometry was not unknown ; and the natural apprehension that the new sciences would be received with suspicion, as antagonistic to cherished beliefs of antiquity, proved after a short trial to be without foundation. So far from any general display of jealous exclusiveness towards foreign interlopers, armed with insidious devices for undermining the popular faith, the open-minded inquisitiveness of the Burman was first attracted by the novelty, and after a time undoubtedly captivated by the intrinsic interest and practical utility of the new learning. The introduction to Western arithmetic, especially, was promptly recognized and welcomed as a revelation of the utmost practical value. Even the sealed books of History, Geography, and Physiology were accepted with unlooked-for readiness, and placed in the hands of students.

And if the reception of the books was matter of surprise, still more so was the general attitude of the monks towards a scheme which, while carefully disclaiming any attempt at interference, was nevertheless clearly enough designed to revolutionize the whole educational system of the monastic schools. With rare exceptions the heads of monasteries expressed their willingness to admit examiners deputed by

government to test the acquirements of their pupils, to aid them in their studies, to furnish them with books, and to advise the teachers themselves in matters of school-management.

From the cautious beginning thus made, and attended with such unlooked-for success, the gradual attraction to the scheme of the heads of monasteries throughout the province, and the complete incorporation of the time-honoured village school system indigenous to the country with the machinery of the civil administration, was only a work of time. District after district was included in the plan as the necessary funds and the services of qualified officers were available.

Nevertheless the extension of the work, if it was carried out with unexpected smoothness and rapidity, was, as experience soon showed, a task of a very delicate nature, dependent altogether upon the care and judgment exercised in the selection of the subordinate agents employed. A single unfortunate selection of an examining officer, a single failure in the tact and discretion essential to success, led at the very commencement, in an important frontier district, to a unanimous resolution on the part of the monks of the whole region to have no hand in the work, and to decline all offers of aid or advice from the employers of an unwelcome agent. To this day the district in question remains conspicuous for the attitude of passive obstruction maintained by the monks generally, in face of the most patient and persevering efforts of the Education Department.

A glance at the figures furnished by the local authorities illustrates at once the thoroughly practical nature of the scheme which was thus happily initiated and the genuineness of the welcome accorded to it, alike by the people and their religious guides.

It may be said roughly that there are 5,000 Buddhist monasteries scattered through the lower province; and the mere record, that of these close upon 3,700 were in 1887-88 under government inspection as elementary schools, fur-

nishes a sufficiently eloquent comment on the instinct and judgment of the governor who conceived the fruitful design which was destined to popularize not only a new system of education, but the whole regime of the English Government.

The most cursory survey of the official records is enough to show further that the term "under Government inspection" is no mere verbal phrase, implying no more than a toleration of complimentary visits from foreigners in authority, but that it tells of a business-like co-operation with the government, and a cordial acceptance of the guidance of Western teachers. So genuine, at all events, has been the approval of the scheme by the monks, and so far substantial has been the incorporation of the monasteries with the government system, that the pupils of monastery schools take their place habitually beside those of government and mission schools in all the public examinations of the Education Department, while from some of the monasteries picked students are sent by the managers for a course of training in the government normal schools, to return when trained to supervise and carry on with newly-acquired skill the educational work of the monastery.

Meantime a complete series of useful school books has been gradually published under the auspices of a committee appointed by government, and is in common use in the indigenous schools. The pupil-teacher system has also been introduced, under conditions specially adapted to the local circumstances, and every facility is given by government—which until lately maintained a special agency for the purpose—for the cheap provision and circulation of books, maps, slates, and all the paraphernalia of a well-ordered school.

The practical outcome of all this is shown in the tabulated records embodied in the official reports. According to the annual report issued by the Education Department for the year 1887-88 nearly 2,000 children from the indigenous schools passed in that year the standard prescribed for lower primary schools, a standard which involves fluent

reading, correct writing from dictation, and a good knowledge of the simple rules of arithmetic. Of these 589 were pupils of monastic schools. From the same schools 777 pupils, including 221 from monasteries, passed fully the standard for upper primary schools, in which are comprised a fair knowledge of the geography of the world, and a thorough knowledge of the "simple and compound" rules of arithmetic, as well as an acquaintance with practice and vulgar fractions. Even in the list of schools of a higher grade monastery schools figure, side by side with government institutions, as presenting pupils successful in passing the full standard required.

It must be noted here that while the very existence of the ancient system of native education was due to the machinery of the Buddhist monasteries, a very important adjunct to the system was found in the parallel institution of small mixed schools conducted by lay-teachers in the towns and larger villages. The special feature of these schools is that they are open to girls as well as boys, whereas to the monastic schools boys only are admitted.

From the outset it was seen that these institutions presented even greater promise of development than the monasteries, so much so, that it was at one time proposed to confine attention to these exclusively. It was undoubtedly well that no such separation was made; nevertheless it is in fact in the lay schools that by far the most abundant fruits of Phayre's scheme have been gathered, while the monasteries, with some brilliant exceptions, seem to incline more and more to rest content with their ancient status as seminaries of religious learning and the dignified retreat of the religious recluse. Hence the latest reports on the subject show that it has been found necessary, after long and patient trial, to weed out from the inspection lists a very large number of purely nominal schools in the monasteries. At the same time it is no less clear that if the monasteries are as a rule far outstripped by the lay schools in efficiency, there has been no withdrawal on the

part of the Monastic Order from the attitude of intelligent sympathy with the government Education Department which it was the successful aim of Phayre to attain, while in a large number of districts monastic schools continue to figure from year to year among the picked institutions commended by inspecting officers for exceptional efficiency.

The revolution effected in these ancient foundations where the government scheme has been fully accepted is very remarkable. It is, indeed, nothing short of a startling surprise to the visitor from Europe, or even from India, who is introduced to one or other of the excellent monastery schools which now flourish, as they never flourished before, in such towns as Rangoon, Moulmein or Bassein.

Braving the yelping of the curs whose sanctuary is in the monastery precincts, ascending the shabby dragon-guarded steps, and entering the quiet dimly-lighted *kyoung*, we are met by a scene which, in its essential features, is the same as may have been seen in the same place at any time for centuries past. There are the same regular ranks of gaily-dressed boys crouching on the bare boarded floor, the same shaven yellow-clad ascetics seated leisurely on the raised platform above them, and surrounded by the same quaint medley of furniture—huge palm-leaf fans and gilded umbrellas, bowls of lacquer and china, grotesque carvings of imaginary monsters, piles of palm-leaf MSS. with gilded edges, and at the present day clocks and candlesticks, chairs, pillows, and druggets of European manufacture.

But after the first glance it is soon perceived that, in its character of a school, a great and vital change has come over the institution. The order and routine are almost as regular as in an English board-school. Every child has his English slate and pencil, and his bundle of printed books. That Burmese youth in ordinary lay attire, who moves among the ranks of pupils, is the teacher trained in the government training-school, and imparting under the control of his monkish superiors the knowledge and method acquired under foreign teachers. And on the pillars which

support the lofty roof hang maps of the world and of Burma, time-tables of the school work, and records of the pupils' successes at the yearly inspection. For once a year a formal test examination is held on the spot, by an inspecting officer appointed by Government, when the pupils are examined under the departmental standards.

The "surprise visit" is also a recognised institution, and on such an occasion as the present the monks are proud to show off to the visitors the efficiency of the school and the talents of the pupils. As class after class comes forward for a brief examination, it is seen that the system has borne good fruit. The reading is fluent and intelligent, questions on general geography are promptly answered, and those who knew the country but a few years ago would be astonished at the readiness with which difficult problems in arithmetic are solved by Burmese urchins, who would take a creditable place beside their equals in age in any school of similar grade in Europe!

When it is considered that a similar revolution has been effected, with the voluntary and cordial assent of the monks, in hundreds of ancient monasteries throughout the country, and when it is remembered that rigid conservatism and impenetrable exclusiveness are the well-known characteristics of Eastern institutions, most of all of such as are in any way connected with religion, it must be felt that such a work, carried out by an English soldier serving in a civil capacity, is one worthy to be reckoned among the achievements of the most illustrious of our countrymen.

As the notorious success of England in dealing with strange races is largely due to her plodding method of studying the language and character, the history and customs of the people, and making these the basis of the new system of government, so, probably, no other nation could have produced for the rich and important province of Burma a governor so conspicuously qualified to deal with the untried and delicate problems presented by its administration. Phayre's scheme was entirely successful in the attainment of its great object—namely, the enlistment on the

side of the foreign government in its educational measures of the sympathy and co-operation of the existing agencies of popular native education. It was a success achieved in face of apparently hopeless obstacles, and its completeness is in no way diminished by the circumstance that its largest results, from an educational point of view, have been obtained less in the monastery schools than in the kindred institutions under lay management, or by the fact that while every monastery is equally in theory a place of learning, it is only in a small minority that really capable and successful teachers are to be found. It is also true that much patience was required in some instances to overcome the scruples of the monks, and that there exists a large number of monasteries where the rigid orthodoxy of the managers is even now averse to any alliance whatever with the foreigners.

All these exceptions combined, however, are not enough to detract from the friendly assent, indicated by the figures which I have quoted, which has been extended to the scheme by the monastic order as a whole, and by so many of its ablest and most representative dignitaries.

Based on such a foundation, the work of the educational official in Burma has been and continues to be full of living interest. There are other provinces where the very most has been made of existing native institutions in the scheme of public instruction, but there is probably none where the opportunities offered at the outset were so large, or where it has been possible to utilize them to the same extent. How the work has progressed step by step, on the lines indicated by Phayre, is not the least interesting chapter in the history of British India.

Finally, it has to be noted that the effect of Phayre's scheme of education has been even more far-reaching than he himself anticipated. It is not its only merit that it has based on a natural and firm foundation the edifice of popular education, of which the gradual extension and development continues without check from year to year. It has served also to bring the ruling power into exceptionally close touch with the mass of the people, giving to the foreign ad-

ministration the prestige of an intimate alliance with all that is involved in the religious sentiment of a devout people.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the extent or importance of the political influence thus exercised in one of the principal frontier provinces of the empire. The machinery of the Monastic Order in Burma, spread as it is like a network over the country, intimately connected with the social life of the people, and backed by the sanctions of religion, constitutes an agency which, for good or evil, can influence as no outside agency could do, the national sentiment and the national life. One of the first steps taken by Lord Dufferin on the annexation of Upper Burma was to invite the so-called "Buddhist archbishop"—the official head of the Monastic Order—to confer with him on public affairs, a politic measure which was followed by the best results, in the effect produced on the popular mind by the publicly proclaimed co-operation of the head of their religion with the English authorities. To have turned so powerful an agency to further one of the most difficult and important duties of the civil administration, and at the same time to the union of rulers and ruled as fellow-workers in the cause of national progress, was a feat of statesmanship which deserves to be better known than it is. If only for this achievement, the name of Sir Arthur Phayre would deserve to be illustrious in Indian annals. Yet it was an episode no more thought of by its author than any other incident in the daily routine of a career devoted to the service of his country and to the promotion of the lasting benefit of the people entrusted to his care.

P. HORDERN,

Late Director of Public Instruction in Burma.

P.S.—Since this paper was written, the work of inspecting and aiding indigenous schools has been extended to the newly-acquired districts of Upper Burma, with a promise of no less remarkable success than that which has been achieved in the Lower Province.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA.

By C. E. BIDDULPH.

I.

THE mountainous character of the greater portion of the Persian Empire does not seem to have attracted generally quite as much attention as it deserves. It cannot, however, be too carefully noted, inasmuch as the degree of cultivation of which the various portions of the country is susceptible is mainly due to the altitude and extent of the mountain ranges intersecting their surface.

The district to the north of the Elburz Mountains, and bordering the Caspian Sea, is of a perfectly distinct character from the rest of Persia, and so must be considered separately; but the entire region extending thence, and from the present boundary between Persia and Trans-Caspia, as far as the Persian Gulf, may be described as a vast tableland, of a height above the sea-level varying from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, from which arise an infinite number of mountain ranges; so that the main portion of its surface at all adapted for agriculture may be said to consist of the more or less extensive plains or valleys which lie between these ranges.

Where these are numerous, and attain a considerable height, as in the western portion of the empire, the rainfall is more frequent and reliable, and the natural sources of water-supply, such as springs, streams and rivers, are more abundant. Thus these parts of the country are of a far more productive character than others, and furnish ample pasturage for cattle, as well as superior facilities for the cultivation of every species of crops. Where the mountain ranges are rarer and diminish in height, as towards the south, the rainfall and water-supply also decrease; and where they disappear to any extent, as in the case of the Great Desert, all supply of water completely fails.

Towards the eastern and southern portions of the empire the supply of water in the streams and artificial channels may be said to depend almost entirely upon the winter fall of snow upon the higher portions of the mountain ranges. This is, as a rule, very heavy, attaining upon their summits a height of many feet. In the course of its melting a considerable portion is absorbed by the surface of the ground upon which it lies. These ranges thus become huge natural reservoirs, containing generally a sufficient amount of water to keep the streams filled throughout the summer months. When the fall of snow is deficient, a corresponding failure of the water-supply is the natural consequence, and if this deficiency is very considerable a serious famine may be the result.

These numerous mountain ranges have, again, a most important bearing upon the means of communication between the various portions of the empire by reason of the peculiarity of their configuration. At a distance a range of mountains in Persia does not markedly differ in appearance from what one is accustomed to find in other ranges that one may have seen. That is to say, they show sharp and rugged outlines rising apparently more or less abruptly from the level of the surrounding country. A nearer view, however, shows that these peaks and rocks compose but a very small proportion of the general elevation, formed mainly by an extensive and unbroken rising of the ground, which constitutes as it were a gigantic mound, from the crown of which rise the actual mountains themselves, and even then not abruptly, but gradually, the ridges being separated by great broad level plains, rising in comparatively easy gradients to the bases of the highest peaks. The appearance produced in many cases is as though there had been a gradual upheaval of the ground to a considerable height, when the upper portions of the rising ground, being no longer able to bear the pressure from below, had given way, and the strata of rock had burst through into their present position on the summits of these gigantic mounds,

from which they rise abruptly in lofty ridges and peaks of perfectly naked rock. Many of these attain a height of 10,000 to 12,000 feet.

Thus, while the mountainous character of the country is the main cause why any portion of the great Persian plateau is rendered habitable, their presence and peculiar configuration present such obstacles to the construction of roads and railroads that works of this nature could only be executed with the greatest difficulty and at a most ruinous cost.

As an instance of the difficulties presented by the broken nature of the ground, and the long intervals existing in most parts between water-supplies of any description, it may be mentioned that, though the actual distance in a bee-line from Teheran to Kum is only a little over 80 miles, that traversed by the road considerably exceeds, I believe, 100 miles. This extra distance is rendered absolutely necessary in order that each of its stages may be at a place where water is procurable, and this in spite of the fact that, allowing for such necessary detours, the most direct line possible between the two points has been taken for the road, which crosses the intervening ranges straight up and down without any attempt at gradients.

Again, the route from Kum to Ispahan is barred by ranges of mountains stretching far across it to either side, covering nearly two-thirds of its extent, and rising to a height of about 11,000 feet above the sea-level. The easier of the two routes adopted, namely, that *viâ* Natanz, skirts as far as possible the lower portion of these ranges; but even then the way is intercepted by countless ridges which have to be crossed, besides a pass at a height of about 7,000 feet.

In describing the configuration of this plateau I have said that the main portion of its more level surface consists of the valleys and plains which lie between these ranges of mountains. I should, however, have added the reservation *for practical purposes*. As a matter of fact, the greater

portion of its level surface is occupied by the Great Desert, which extends over an area of not less than from 60,000 to 80,000 square miles, and is for the most part absolutely incapable of sustaining any form of life. Besides this, there are found at intervals numerous comparatively small patches of desert of the same description, covered in parts with a salt efflorescence known locally by the term "Kavir," which range from about 2,000 to 15,000 or 20,000 square miles in extent. The total area of desert on the Persian plateau cannot thus be estimated at much less than about 150,000 square miles ; and this, as has been said, is of a soil and geological formation which renders it quite useless for any practical purposes, except during a few of the winter months, when the "Ilyats," or nomad tribes, take their flocks to graze upon the scanty vegetation which appears in portions of it. Even this, however, is only possible in the neighbourhood of the scanty wells found along the few routes which traverse it. Beyond this limit, these parts are utterly unknown and unexplored even by the inhabitants of the country.

The remainder of the plateau is, as has been said, covered with mountains, divided by more or less broad plains and valleys.

Such of these as are watered by natural streams or by means of artificial watercourses are the only portions of the country susceptible of cultivation ; and along the borders of these are found clustered all the villages. For the amount of land in Persia which is cultivated otherwise than by means of irrigation may be described as inappreciable, the rainfall being very precarious, and when it occurs, extremely partial in its effects, which are confined principally to the immediate neighbourhood of the mountain ranges.

The valleys and plains themselves vary in altitude above the sea-level ; that in which the city of Ispahan is situated, for instance, is about 5,000 feet above the sea, while the one surrounding Kashan is not more than 3,000 feet, and that round Teheran about 4,000 feet.

It must not be understood in the case of these plains and

valleys, even, that the whole of the extent covered by such of them as have a supply of water available is by any means cultivated, or, indeed, susceptible of cultivation under the most favourable circumstances; for the water-supply is very limited, and the area over which it can be made use of does not, as a rule, extend, in consequence of the irregularities of the ground, beyond a comparatively slight distance from the banks of the river or stream which is its source. They vary from a few hundred yards to several miles. In the case of the Ispahan plain, which appears a favourable instance of this kind to quote, as it is traversed by a river of some considerable volume, viz., the *Zinda Rud*, the area cultivation extends to a distance of about 10 to 15 miles from its banks towards the north, but then towards the south its course is mostly hemmed in by rising ground or hills.

In addition to the villages situated under such exceptionally favourable circumstances, there are numerous isolated ones scattered over the mountain-sides and along their bases and the plains below, which are irrigated by a species of artificially constructed subterranean watercourse, peculiar to the East, and more particularly to Persia and Central Asia: they are locally termed "Kanat."

These are constructed by digging a well in some spot near the base of a hill, where the drainage from its surface is likely to be accumulated, or where a spring is suspected to exist. Upon what other principle these wells are dug, or how their particular position is decided upon, it has never been possible to ascertain more exactly; there is no doubt however, that the greatest skill and ingenuity are exercised in their selection. This well being dug, another is sunk at a little distance off in the direction in which it is desired that the water should flow, and the two are connected by an underground channel, laid at an inclination specially designed with a view to the length of the intended water-course and the contour of the ground it is intended to traverse; and so on, mile after mile, till it is conducted to

the place where the water is required. As frequently between the source and the supply this channel has to be conducted across low ground, through high ground, and round the bases of hills, the degree of care and ingenuity required for their successful completion becomes very evident.

These "Kanats" are of every degree of capacity—from that containing a volume of water sufficient only to irrigate a few acres, to that enough to satisfy the requirements of a large village. In the case of the latter, however, and of towns, the supply of water necessary for their requirements is obtained by the construction of numerous "Kanats" converging upon them from various points in the neighbouring hills or rising ground.

The peculiar formation of the mountains, which, as has been described, consist of vast extents of gradually rising ground, crowned only with rocks and peaks, lends itself, as may be imagined, most favourably to the establishment of villages along their slopes, and in the vast broad valleys which lead up to the bases of these ridges; and these are accordingly dotted at intervals with patches of cultivated ground, varying in extent according to the volume of the "Kanat" upon which they are dependant, or the number of the same which can be accumulated at any particular spot.

SEA-VOYAGES BY HINDUS:

I.

MAY HINDUS CROSS THE OCEAN?

BY S. E. GOPALACHARLU.

THERE exists among Brahmans a very generally received opinion that if one of their community crosses the sea and remains for a time in a foreign country, he is liable by that act to be expelled from his caste, and to be no longer looked upon as anything better than a pariah. After a careful study of the various authorities, it seems to the present writer that this opinion has no real foundation, and that the crossing of the ocean is not forbidden to Brahmans by their scriptures. But before citing the various passages that go to prove the correctness of this view, a few preliminary remarks ought to be made.

Some may consider that it is unnecessary to discuss this subject at all, on the ground that there is no sufficient reason to induce any of the "twice-born" to cross the sea. In our opinion, however, there are many benefits to be gained by foreign travel, and this without sea-travel is almost impossible.

Until the invasion of the Mahomedans, the inhabitants of India generally knew but little about those of other lands; but in later times, especially since the establishment of British rule in this country, a great interest has been awakened in foreign countries, and the habits, manners, and customs of their inhabitants. This new interest naturally aroused a desire on the part of my fellow-countrymen to see for themselves the things and people of whom they had heard, and accordingly we find that, during the last twenty years, a number of gentlemen from Bengal, the Mahratta country and the North-West Provinces have been to England, and the number of those who go is increasing year by

year. The people of the north set the example, and when it was found that they returned from England after having received a good education, and obtained as a result good positions in life in this country, the Southern Indians wished to follow their example, and some of them did so. But these on their return were visited by all the pains and penalties of transgressors against our strict caste rules. They were refused admittance into the community, and otherwise were made to suffer much pain and misery. Not only Brahmans, but also non-Brahmans, were excommunicated on account of their travelling by sea, and the consequence has been that many who would otherwise have gone abroad have been deterred from so doing by the social consequences incurred by others.

When we, Indians, look at the condition of our own country, we find much to regret. Our ancient prosperity seems to have deserted us. The arts and sciences that were known to our fathers have been forgotten. Native education has reached the lowest ebb, and we have actually to thank foreigners for the education received by our children. Our manufactures have fallen into decay, and we find that, generally speaking, with the exception of those engaged in agriculture, our people are compelled to rely on subordinate positions under foreigners as a means of gaining their livelihood. Our country is poverty-stricken, and our population is increasing. Except the public services and the two professions of law and medicine, there is no career open to our young men; the professions are over-crowded, and there are more applicants for public service than can possibly enter it. Education is sought for merely as a means of gaining livelihood. It is a well-known fact in all *Agraghāras* (villages)* that the sons of Somayajis, and Pandits, and Acharyas, have entirely omitted to follow the old learning of their fathers, but resort to the different European colleges and schools.

In former days our people were not admitted into the

* These are the centres of indigenous learning in this country.

British service under Government, but now the service is open to them under the same conditions as applies to other British subjects, by competition. Our children are ready to pass the necessary examinations, but considering that such examinations must be passed in England, and that therefore competitors in them must cross the ocean, many are debarred from trying to compete, by the knowledge of the social ostracism that will await them on their return from abroad.

Again, our merchants are quite ignorant of foreign countries and their ways, and the trade of the country is almost entirely dependent on foreigners. Even the internal trade of the country is nothing like what it might and ought to be, on account of the general ignorance of the mercantile classes and the want of enterprise on their part. When our merchants attempt to export goods on their own account to foreign countries, they are liable to loss in various ways through ignorance of foreign commercial customs. If those who wish to do so are able, without unnecessary let and hindrance, to go to foreign countries, many of these evils will gradually cease. When our people see for themselves how commerce is carried on abroad, they will be able to employ the same methods here, and increased prosperity will be the result.

Our artisans and workmen require to know about the improved tools and processes of manufacture used by the foreigners, and unless some of our people go abroad it is not likely that this knowledge will be gained for the country. It is humiliating to think of how many of the articles in daily use in this country by almost all classes are imported from abroad instead of being manufactured here. We do not use a single pin that has not been made in Europe, and even our paper—except the most common qualities—has to be made for us by foreigners.

Our cultivators are ignorant of the best and most economical methods of agriculture, and so our land is not as productive as it ought to be. On every account it is necessary

that some of our more intellectual men should visit England and other European countries in order to find out what means may be taken for the improvement of the condition of this country. We should remember the example of the Russian Emperor Peter the Great, who went to England and worked in a shipyard, and then went back to teach his own people how to work.

Until recently we have been comparatively indifferent to the condition of our own country. Now a spirit of inquiry and reform seems to be stirring, and the air is full of plans of reform and improvement. But if the existing prejudice against sea-travel is to continue, and those who are willing to go to England are to be deterred by the prospect of misery and persecution on their return, as is now the case, it will be found that the various schemes are likely to fail, on account of the ignorance of the country at large of foreign methods.

Our forefathers obtained thorough skill in various arts to the number of sixty-four. They were in a position to teach and instruct the mass of the people. Useful knowledge, says Manu (c. ii. 238, 240), must be obtained, even if from inferior classes. All sorts of arts and sciences may be received from all men. Spiritual knowledge may be obtained even from the lowest class of men. The commentator on Manu, Methathithi, describes the later education (after the Vedic education was complete) as *Anukalpadharma*, or the secondary education of a Brahmacharya. This passage shows that it is absurd to say that our people—the Brahmans—are prohibited from receiving instruction from Mlechchas, while at the same time they are taking part in all sorts of political agitation by holding national congresses and the like. If such measures are to be successful, it will be better for our people to go to England, where the matter must be finally decided, and lay their grievances before the English people in their own country. And how can this be done if sea-travel is prohibited? Many of us think that various high offices ought to be held by Hindus, but as

things are at present, it is not likely that such offices can be properly held except by those who have received a systematic modern training in Europe. Even among the Europeans foreign travel is considered a necessary part of education.

Our servants, our peons, our coachmen, are not prohibited from sending their sons to England to be educated, thus enabling them to gain good positions in life, while we, by our unfounded prejudices, cut ourselves off from enjoying similar advantages, and force—it may be—our own children to serve under those whose fathers served us. Is it not worse than folly to continue to harbour a prejudice that will cause the best of our children who may happen to go abroad, to be treated on their return with contempt and cruelty, to be no longer admitted to dwell in our streets, to break the most sacred ties of relationship, and treat them, in fact, as little better than brute beasts? Is there not something inhuman in the prohibition of such sea-travelled Brahmans to even see their wives, whom they so tenderly love? Have you any right to condemn the wives, etc., of those, who have travelled by sea, to beg from door to door while their husbands are occupying high posts and important positions? Such treatment seems to be nothing better than sin, and those, who commit it, cannot look for a blessing on their families. Such bigotry is indeed difficult to understand. Our Aryan forefathers protected our Dharmas, our literature, our religion, our philosophy, from century to century without any danger even from the invading foreigners. But now there is danger to our religion on many sides. Our children are growing up educated in new ways, and many of them forsake the faith of their fathers—not to exchange it for some other form of worship, but to become mere materialists and atheists. Nothing is so likely to prejudice the more intelligent among them against our religion as the keeping up of this foolish and cruel system of persecution against those who travel by sea for the sake of improving themselves and their countrymen. It

is the existence of abuses such as this that will cause our religion to decay, and unless we prune them away we shall be like men who inherited good houses from their fathers but let these houses sink into ruin for want of a little timely repair.

In the Vedas certain duties are described which were afterwards changed by the code of Manu and other sages. The duties laid down by Manu have been modified by Parásara and other modern Rishis. In the introduction to the "*Parásaramádhaviya*" (p. 2, Madras ed.), Mádhaváchárya gives his decision that, according to the circumstances of the country, the law should be changed from time to time. Therefore, if we arrange our duties according to the condition of the circumstances of the country, of the people, and of the time, without altering any main principles, without contradicting the authority of the Vedas, or Manu and other sages, we shall be acting in accordance with our own immemorial custom.

The time has now come when it is absolutely necessary for us to make an exhaustive review of our Shastras on this important point, and it is useless to delay so doing.

We learn from Mádhaváchárya, and other writers of digests on Hindu law, that many duties laid down in our scriptures become without force by mere declaration of some prominent man. Such alterations had to be made on account of the circumstances of the country and time. There are now eminent Sanscrit scholars among us who may be considered competent to hold a legal assembly and to declare the law on this point. Manu and other authorities sanction the holding of such assemblies of Brahmans to declare the law, when occasion may require. (See "*Gautamadharmā*," i. 2 ; also the passage above mentioned from Mádhaváchárya, p. 2, Madras ed.)

We must examine what the Shastras themselves actually lay down, and not content ourselves with hearsay evidence or the prevalence of custom, for which no proper authority can be found. We must not avoid such examination on

the ground that our fathers came to certain conclusions that must be binding on us. Such decisions have been always liable to review when circumstances rendered such review necessary.

The points to be considered are, first, whether the sea-travel of the Hindus is prohibited ; second, whether such sea-travel was practised by our forefathers ; third, whether the Shastras allow residence in a Mlechcha country ; fourth, whether any penance is allowed in the Shastras for the purification of Brahmans who have travelled by sea, and who have resided in foreign countries ; fifth, whether such penance is possible or impossible to carry out at the present day ; sixth, whether after purification Brahmans may be allowed to re-enter the community.

FORMOSA :

AN ISLAND WITH A ROMANTIC HISTORY.

BY COLONEL ALEXANDER MAN, F.R.G.S.

THOUGH it is only at long intervals that we hear of the Island of Formosa, yet no spot of equal size on the surface of the eastern hemisphere—certainly, no considerable island lying beside a busy highway of its commerce—can show a more dramatically chequered history than can this gem of the China Sea ; and our purpose, in the following pages, is to jot down such a brief register of former events as will at least assist in making evident how worthy of note is this remarkable portion of the distant East.

I.

Situated under the tropic of Cancer, and separated from the continent of Asia by straits, the narrowness of whose northern extremity is neutralized by the dangers of their navigation throughout—nearly equal in area to the islands of Corsica and Sardinia combined—and traversed, lengthwise, by mountains which rise in rugged majesty from the Pacific, Formosa ("The Beautiful") is a striking object to the voyager making the modern "Grand Tour" on board one of those luxurious packets which ply periodically between Victoria, Hong Kong, and the far-off empires of the Rising Sun.

Speaking roughly, the whole western part of the island is Chinese, and is thickly peopled by descendants of settlers who came chiefly from the province of Fohkien. To their energy and resourcefulness Formosa owes what measure of prosperity it now possesses. But this, so to speak, civilized pale is bounded eastward by the lower ranges of those mountains to which we have above alluded, as dividing the country into two irregular, and not very unequal, portions. While one—the western—portion is chiefly a level plain,

and a garden whose varied produce of tea, sugar, indigo, and rice is carried over-sea by junk and steamer, the other—the eastern—half is a wilderness of hill and jungle, where the aboriginal inhabitants still hold a precarious possession. What manner of men are these? of what race are they? what are their customs and ways of life? On this much has been written, chiefly in pamphlet form. This can be safely said: all these points have fairly puzzled the few travellers who have essayed to visit them in their well-defended fastnesses. They bear, according to one account, a strong resemblance to the tribes of the Philippines; another author believes them to be of Malay stock; a third is content to class them, generically, as belonging to the great Polynesian family.

II.

Previous to 1625 we know next to nothing of Formosa, save that the Japanese had some more or less shadowy claim to over-lordship on its northern coasts. It is in this year that European interest in Formosa may be said to have begun. Then, on a little islet lying just seaward of the modern city of Taewan, was commenced a fortress which the Dutch Company, whose tricolour was displayed upon the walls, fondly named "Castel Zelandia." Completed in 1634, it was a fine brick-built structure, commanding an excellent harbour over 5 fathoms in depth. Large tracts of land had meanwhile been purchased from the natives; and Formosa was shortly afterwards proclaimed a colony and a dependency of Batavia. This act of the pushing Hollander was at once challenged by rivals from both north and south. The Japanese, very naturally, resented such a step, and the authorities at Manila met by force the claim to exclusive rights of possession. Not until 1642 did the Spanish opposition cease, after a bloody fight at Tamsuy on the 24th August. Then, for a brief season, the settlements flourished. Trade was developed with China, and with the older establishments in the East Indies; and Christianity, preached by missionaries from the mother-

country, rapidly spread far and wide amongst all classes of a simple-minded and ingenuous race. At this period one of our own countrymen resided for some time at the seat of Government, called after its guardian battlements Zelandia; and his account, taken in conjunction with that of a Dutch clergyman, named Candidius, presents an interesting picture of the state of matters in this isolated outpost of semi-commercial sovereignty.

But such quiet progression was not fated to be lasting. Troubles, far more serious than any that had attended its birth, suddenly encompassed the infant colony. The Chinese, aforesaid friendly, appeared as enemies. The Dutch levies were worsted on several occasions; their more exposed stations to the south were first destroyed, and after a serious engagement, in which both sides suffered, but which resulted in the fall of the Pescadore Isles, Zelandia itself was invested by sea and land. For ten weary months the blockade continued, frequent sorties testifying to the spirit of the defenders, who were cheered by the confident expectation of relief from Batavia. In fact, Commodore Cawen, with nine ships of war, entered the roads, and opening communications with the besieged, succeeded in taking on board for despatch to a place of safety, 250 women and children whose presence was a serious drag upon the already straitened commissariat. Hardly, however, had this been done, when a sudden gale caught the vessels while embayed; a frigate and a large transport went on the reefs and were totally destroyed; and the weakened squadron, having lost no less than 800 seamen and soldiers, was forced to retire from the neighbourhood of the now superior Chinese forces. Reluctantly it made sail for Java, and this calamity was the death-warrant of Zelandia. Starving and abandoned, the garrison capitulated in March, 1661. The prisoners were treated with fiendish cruelty. Several Europeans were done to death; others were subjected to torture; and of the native contingent, scores were ruthlessly slain.

The fate of Zelandia seems to have paralyzed the defence at the remaining posts, for the strong works covering Tamsuy and Kelung almost immediately opened their gates. These places, however, were subsequently retaken by a second fleet from Java, commanded by Admiral Bort; and the northern districts were not finally evacuated until seven years later. The Dutch East India Company had by that time resolved to give up the struggle. Continued ill-fortune in other directions, and the impossibility of making a business success of the cramped position they now occupied, decided the directors to accept terms from an enemy whose staying power was evidently greater than their own. They agreed, therefore, with the son and successor of the conqueror of Zelandia to withdraw their troops. The remaining 200 men were accordingly taken on board ship; the flag was saluted for the last time, and then lowered from Fort St. Domingo; and in the autumn of 1668, after a rule of 43 years, the Western stranger departed from Formosa. But his work remained. He had found in the low country a people, hospitable indeed and good-natured to a fault, but perfectly uncultured in the arts of peace. He left large portions of the island in a condition of comparative civilization—numbers of its inhabitants trained to agricultural pursuits; and their language so far cultivated that it had been furnished with numerals, and could be expressed in writing. To this hour the Dutch name lives amongst the poor remnants of the Peppo tribes; and although Europe has forgotten this short page in the history of its colonizing career, a fast dying-out primitive race—which was, in one of the very few instances on record, uplifted rather than degraded, on first contact with the white man—has not ceased to revere the memory of its former masters.*

* The Peppos were the predecessors of the Chinese in the low country, and it was with them that the Dutch had principally had to deal. They have gradually been pushed back, and inhabit to-day the deepest recesses of the lower hills.

III.

To understand the next phase in the story of our island, we must go back a little. When the Chinese captured Zelandia they were commanded by one who is known to us by the name of Koxinga. This great leader's father was a Chinese Christian colonist, who, commencing life as a tailor, had accumulated an enormous fortune in shipping adventures under the auspices of the Dutch. He had married a Japanese lady, and afterwards entered with enthusiasm into the strife then raging between the maritime population of his fatherland and the advancing hosts of the Manchu invader. Taken prisoner in 1657; he had been conveyed to Peking, and there eventually poisoned. Koxinga, his sailor-son, had endeavoured to enlist the old patrons of the family in the cause which he, equally with his captive sire, held nearest at heart; and failing to move them from the judicious position of neutrality they had taken up, he swore dire vengeance and became their most bitter and relentless foe. Koxinga has been described as a pirate, much as such an epithet is bestowed on the valiant merchant-skipper who made the navy of Elizabeth the terror of the Spanish main. In 1660, the fleets carrying the badge of Tartar servitude along the coasts of Southern China had proved too strong for him. He was driven from the country he had vainly attempted to defend, and, refusing all compromise, put to sea and steered towards Formosa. His followers were still very numerous, and he was able to appear with more than 90 sail at the Pescadores, and to firmly establish his base there, before assailing the Dutch in their head-quarters. How fortune smiled upon him we have seen; and we have seen, also, that he did not live to consolidate his victory. He died within two years of the fall of Zelandia, having in the interval done much to advance the internal prosperity of his miniature kingdom, by the vigour with which he ruled, and by wisely governing in many things on the same lines as his predecessors. His eldest surviving son succeeded him,

but had not his ability. This weakling paid little attention to the cultivation of the country, and neglected the interests of those mercenary troops, through whose fidelity alone he could expect to retain his independence. The Tartars, who had in the interval consolidated their hold over China, were not slow to take advantage of a state of matters which seemed almost to invite their intervention. They made preparations for an expedition for the conquest of Formosa : and, as a preliminary, sent over, in 1682, envoys charged to convey secretly to the leading Chinese, promises including their retention of all moneys and prerogatives of which they might be possessed. These spies found the land in mourning for the son of Koxinga, and the reins of government held nominally by his youthful heir. This favoured their plans. The majority of those who had originally followed the patriot Admiral had left friends and connections behind them ; and it is not astonishing, considering the circumstances, that they eagerly accepted the bait. Their Prince himself, after an ineffectual show of resistance, saw that his personal interest lay in submission. He despatched a vessel to China, carrying a memorial for presentation to the Emperor, and was in return commanded to quit his island and present himself at Court. He obeyed the summons in 1683 ; was rewarded with a pension and a title of nobility ; and his inheritance thus passed, 15 years after the Dutch had left it in the undisputed possession of his father, to the control of that warrior dynasty which still rules over the vast provinces and territories, and over the vaster populations, which go to make up the so-called " Central Land "—the Chinese Empire of our day.

IV.

In 1703, the notorious George Poalmanaazaar took the European world of letters by storm with the famous forgery which will for ever connect his name with Formosa. The elder Disraeli has embalmed it for us ; and, if only in tribute to the gifted pen that has handed down the memory

of this effort of misdirected genius, it here claims a short notice. Fitly is it ranked amongst the "Curiosities of Literature." It temporarily conducted its author to a kind of geographical and historical triumph; albeit a triumph scored on data, which strikingly illustrate the difference between then and now. For we are told that London and Amsterdam were captivated by a book built upon theories so completely mythical, that they map Formosa as not one island, but a group of many, and place it politically as a portion of the realm of Japan. This was, we must remember, when only 35 years had elapsed since all the resources of the Dutch Indies had been strained to hold this same Formosa; to hold it against the Chinese; and to hold it on behalf of the enterprising Republic whose capital vied with ours in eagerly swallowing such evident falsehoods. Verily it was a far cry to Cathay in 1703!

V.

The Netherlands flag ceased to fly at Tamsuy in 1668; and for over a century the imposture we have just glanced at is the solitary instance we can find recorded of the word Formosa cropping up. It was long before the curtain which had hidden it was again lifted. Europeans had, we know, been absolutely banished; and, save stray storm-caught fishers from the southern outposts of Japan, no alien had, willingly, set foot upon these forbidden shores. The overflow of population from the mighty coast cities of China had streamed across the waters in the wake of Koxinga, and had spread over the flat country right up to the mountains. Fighting had, of course, been continual; and it had been accompanied by those atrocities which, given such combatants, were, equally of course, inevitable. The religion of the Dutchmen had been pretty well rooted out, its few surviving professors being driven to the hills bounding the plain and acting as a buffer between the untamed savages of the loftier chains and the new dwellers in the fertile lowlands. But though keel of square-rigged

craft might not plough the narrow sea on that side of the island where alone a safe landing can be ventured, one summer day saw a band of light-haired strangers—no Asiatics these—boldly leaping from their skiff upon the rugged strand where breaks the swell of the great ocean. On the 26th August, 1771, a leaky and otherwise distressed vessel, constructed of fir, and only 50 feet long by 16 feet broad, let go her anchor close in, on the north-eastern coast. She had on board 96 souls ; and 18 of her crew pulled ashore in search of water. They found a track leading into the interior, and commenced to ascend it. Needless to say, they were attacked, and, under showers of arrows, compelled to retreat without accomplishing their object. Covered by the fire of the ship, they succeeded in re-embarking, with a loss of 3 killed and 3 wounded. Who were these adventurers? The answer opens for us a page in the narrative of a most remarkable voyage. They were exiles escaping from Kamtschatka, which desolate region they had left in the previous May. We do not propose to investigate what had befallen them in the early stages of their daring enterprise. Our business with them commences with the mooring of the *St. Peter and St. Paul* in a confined and rocky haven under the steep cliffs off North-eastern Formosa. Their leader, Benyousky, was a man of resource. When he found what was the temper of the islanders, he acted promptly. He poured upon the yelling and gesticulating crowd rapid volleys from his guns and small arms, and followed up the panic which ensued by landing immediately and attacking with every available hand. The result was that he captured the village, with its women and old folks, and from this vantage ground was enabled to come to terms. These were not onerous, and the sudden foes as suddenly became friends. Within a short while a Spaniard appeared upon the scene, and thenceforward all went well. This castaway, according to his own belief, and according, also, to all probability, was the only specimen of Western humanity then living in

Formosa. He is represented as happy and contented. With him Benyousky made excursions in many directions, engaged in tribal fights, and pushed straight across the mountains to that debatable land which was then, as it is still, the scene of constant and bitter strife between the native inhabitants and the Chinese invaders. In volumes long since forgotten the Polish Count relates the history of his wanderings, and tells us a good deal that must be taken with due allowance for the tendency to hyperbole then pervading all works of travel. But he tells us likewise much which, under the light of modern research and consular reports, we have no hesitation in accepting, and which shows convincingly how shrewd and far-seeing this soldier of fortune undoubtedly was. Not only are his observations on Formosa the more valuable because they appear as a solitary rift in the darkness of about 150 years, but they are also of absolutely unique interest, because they give the impressions of the one traveller who has viewed the inland districts, coming to them by way of their eastern boundaries. He declares that the mountaineers called their country Paccahimba; and it is very remarkable that he points out the certainty of coal existing in the north. He speaks, moreover, of the traditions of former Japanese intercourse, and of the ever-pushing sanguinary progress of the Chinese. The Spaniard, without whose aid he would evidently have been completely helpless, appears to have amused his leisure with dreams of conquest, to be brought about by the rush of a savage army upon the civilized plains. But though Benyousky fell in with this fancy so far as to draw out a scheme which he promised to submit to the authorities at Paris, he was not induced by its fascination to remain long upon the island. After having careened his vessel, he departed on the 11th September; went round by the north passage; and eventually reached in safety the Portuguese colony of Macao.

VI.

Another long interval elapses ; and we are at the year 1842. China and Great Britain have been at war for over 18 months, and are still facing each other at various points on the Chinese seaboard. The Chusan Archipelago, near the estuary of the Yangtsze, has become the scene of operations, and the assailing fleet has bombarded and captured a few of the chief places in the immediate neighbourhood. We are in the days of sailing, in the literal acceptance of the word ; and the British force is accompanied by but a few small and, as we should now consider them, inefficient, paddle-steamers. When, therefore, despatches require to be sent off, Admiral and General are alike glad to avail themselves of the departure of a smart well-armed clipper, flying the red merchant ensign, and the St. Andrew's-cross burgee of a noted firm.

The ill-fated *Ann* weighed anchor and parted company from the fleet on the morning of the 8th March, being, to use the words of her junior mate, "crammed with boxes and parcels, and with lots of letters to be sent to England." She carried, also, at least one English passenger, in addition to a crew of 56 all told. The dangers of the Formosan channel, and more especially the set of those strong currents which render its navigation so difficult, were then imperfectly known. Almost as soon as she was clear of the islands, the brig encountered a very heavy north-east gale, and in a few hours had run into thick weather, while still steering to pass through the straits. Naturally anxious to make what in nautical parlance is called "a passage," her master held on his course longer than prudence dictated. Too late he determined to ease his gallant craft, to heave her to, and to await a break in the rolling wall of mist by which she had become perilously enveloped. But while the necessary orders were in his mouth, the roar of breakers told the fatal news that rock-bound Formosa must be close aboard. A few minutes of terrible suspense, of skilful but

unavailing effort, and the brig struck and struck again. Miraculous to relate, she was then lifted bodily over the reef, and was cast high and dry upon the shingly beach by the huge wave that, while causing her destruction, at the same time effected the salvation of her crew.

When the morning of the 11th March dawned, the *Ann* was abandoned. All on board landed; and, after a march of an hour or two, reached the town of Tamsuy in sorry plight but in bodily safety. Their already sufficiently miserable condition was immediately aggravated. They were seized by order of the senior magistrate, were chained together, and, after the lapse of a few days, were driven forth, half-naked and starving, and conducted as prisoners along the coast-road leading to the island capital. On arrival there they were cast into the common goal, and had a dismal surprise in finding fellow-subjects with whom to share their captivity. When the massive doors of the old Dutch fortalice, aforesaid called by its builders Constantia, were opened to receive these representatives of a kindred nation, the shipwrecked crew of the *Ann* were added to a community already numbering nearly 200 souls, who, like the newcomers, owned natural allegiance to the British Crown. They were survivors from the hired transport *Nerbudda*, which had stranded some time previously, whilst proceeding northward to join the fleet.

We pass over the weeks that elapsed until the 10th of August. On that day a dark tragedy was enacted at Tawwanfoo. The "City of the Terraced Beach" witnessed a case of wholesale murder, for a parallel to which—to the credit of human nature be it said—the records of modern history may be searched in vain. Over 160 of our fellow-subjects—mostly Indian coolies, but including several whites—were led out, were ranged in convenient lines, and, after hearing sentence pronounced and formally recorded, were delivered over to the sword of the executioner. One's blood curdles when we write of the horrid butchery! For what reasons any of the prisoners were spared, we know

not. We only know that some did obtain grace; and that these, after seeing the heads of their companions stuck on pikes and exhibited to a mob which displayed at least as much pity as ferocity, were taken back to their dungeon, and shortly afterwards sent over to China. The news of the Treaty of Nanking had reached Formosa; and these eye-witnesses of an atrocious crime, disembarking at Amoy, there at last found succour at the sympathizing hands of their victorious compatriots.

Ludicrous in some of its circumstances, an individual escape from the Taewanfoo shambles is worthy of detailed mention. A quartermaster of the *Nerbudda*, named Newman, was amongst those who, on that fatal morning, were marked for slaughter. When brought out, he was handcuffed like the rest, and tied down in a sedan. On the way he prevailed on the good-natured soldier in charge of him to procure sufficient raw spirit to ensure his stupefaction; but, being of the habit which is rendered wild by drink, the stuff made him furious. After a hot ride in the sun, no sooner was he set down on the field of death than he burst his frail bonds, snapped his handcuffs asunder, and, felling with their iron fragments all who opposed him, ran to the foot of the daïs whereon sat the presiding dignitary. With screams for mercy, he commenced to tumble and throw somersaults, and finished up by standing on his head! Believing him to be insane, the guard did not molest him, and the Mandarin pronounced his reprieve. He was then quieted and taken back to his quarters.

To superstitious races, such as that which was native to the soil of Formosa, and, in lesser degree, that which had immigrated to the island, it required only what followed close upon the tragedy we have recorded to burn the memory thereof deep down into the very hearts of all. On the 11th August a terrific hurricane burst over the still blood-stained city. Its massive wall was broken down; hundreds of the magnificent trees which embellished it were up-rooted; many temples and houses were levelled to the

ground; and, more appalling than all else, no less than 2,000 of its citizens perished in the ruins of their homes. After a lapse of 35 years, another generation of these people was led into collision with the countrymen of the victims of 1842. An earthquake which strangely chanced to follow, and which, in the damage it wrought, recalled the calamity of that dread year, was almost universally looked upon as a manifestation of the displeasure of "The Unknown God," who had surely been reminded of an event which priests and elders had been wont to speak of with bitter condemnation and with dire foreboding of future evil.

VII.

We now drop down the stream of time to 1858. Another series of treaties has been negotiated between the Celestial Empire and the Christian Powers. The original instrument, signed at Nanking in 1842 by the plenipotentiaries of China and Great Britain, has been supplemented by a much more comprehensive Convention, to which France and the United States are parties. Formosa is to be opened to trade; and a British Consul has been appointed to superintend the operation. His arrival, early in the sixties, marks the commencement of a new era in the island's history; for, with the first report made by the learned ornithologist who was commissioned by Her Majesty to the city of Taewan, we commence a series of papers which, though locked up in Parliamentary blue-books and in the yellow-bound publications of the Chinese Customs Service, yet form a fairly complete summary of political and commercial doings within its coasts. When the late Mr. Swinhoe began his official labours, he found the interior of the island cut off entirely from the fluctuating fringe of Chinese settlement, and the ever-recurring frontier wars causing ruin and misery in all directions. Things had long been drifting; and in the south and centre a kind of Heptarchy had been formed, in rude opposition to the regularly organized Chinese governorship. The ideas of the latter as to the proper mode of conducting

what was in fact an essay in colonization may be judged by reference to our Consul's statement, that the tariff for native scalps at the various prefectures was 7s. 6d. in 1863; and that only a few months before it had been as high as £1. The reason for the improvement (!) was that this very liberal bounty had answered beyond expectation in stimulating the energies of the border guards.

For a few years after the opening of outside trade, considerable business was done at the four places where foreigners resided. The land-locked mouth of a picturesque lagoon on the south-west coast called Takow became frequented by small vessels; and an energetic officer, Mr. Adkins, who had succeeded to the consular charge, penetrated from his station into the back country, and added largely to our knowledge of its resources and its topography. But a wave of depression passed over mercantile enterprise in the Far East, and there were whispers of closing our establishments in Formosa. The planting of tea near Tamsuy and of indigo in various districts arrested for the moment any such retrogression; and the discovery of extensive coal-fields at Kelung confirmed those second thoughts which had pleaded for remaining. Meanwhile, there had been intermittent trouble with the inhabitants, both aboriginal and immigrant. The former, elated probably by the successes against their natural enemies which had followed the swelling of the Heptarchy before mentioned into a formidable confederacy of 16 clans, had brought themselves into frequent and obnoxious evidence. In the spring of 1867 the American barque *Rover* was lost near Takow, and her crew and passengers, after reaching the shore, were set upon and massacred. The United States Minister promptly called upon the Imperial Government to either assert its authority, or to admit that it was unable to enforce its jurisdiction; and a squadron under the Stars and Stripes anchored off the scene of the murder. Parties were landed under the gallant Lieutenant McKenzie, who was himself killed in action. Some sharp fighting with the

tribes ensued; and some disciplined Chinese troops were also employed in not very successful co-operation. But all who were on the spot felt that, unless the savage confederacy could be made to understand that the Western strangers were in no way desirous of taking part in the struggle between the two races, there could be no lasting security for the vessels engaged in the local trade. Accordingly, in outcome of this feeling, a peaceful expedition was projected, and finally started from Takow in February, 1869. It was led by General Le Gendre, the United States Consul, who had with him Mr. Pickering (now a C.M.G., and the deservedly respected "Protector of Chinese" in the Straits Settlements), the writer of this paper, and six half-caste hunters. After a series of adventures—somewhat of the Robinson Crusoe type, and pleasanter as a remembrance than as an experience at the time—the party was successful in concluding a treaty with Tanketok, the supreme ruler of the tribes. This informal document was subsequently approved of and published by the Washington Foreign Office. Its provisions have been loyally kept by the Formosans; and from the day when, in council assembled with his people, the King spread his hand upon a sheet of paper and requested his youngest guest to pencil round it by way of signature, no shipwrecked European has received aught but kind treatment and safe conduct to their ports. Tanketok was gathered to his fathers in 1873; and the press of Hong Kong, in taking notice of his death, cordially acknowledged our indebtedness to him.

With the immigrant population, the troubles which beset the foreign community were perhaps even more difficult of adjustment. Differing in this respect, as in others, from those we have already touched on, they affected, not the mariner, who is here to-day and there to-morrow, but a class which, being stationary, is keenly sensitive to the effects of untoward relations with the population which surrounds it. Taking their cue from a particularly reactionary

governor, many of the underling Chinese officials entered upon a course of irritating conduct which produced corresponding irritability in the minds of the British residents, and eventually brought about a collision between the armed forces of the two countries. This is not the place to speak of the measures which that trusty sailor, Sir Harry Keppel, proposed to take, when, patience being exhausted, the matter was placed in his hands. Suffice it, a total denial of justice and of protection was charged against the Chinese Island administration ; and, but for the occurrence now to be narrated, it is more than probable that things in Formosa might have been somewhat different during the next decade.

On the 25th of November, 1868, one of our gunboats, then lying just outside the coral reef which has grown up since the Dutch days and at present denies the harbour to anything of deeper draft than a junk, opened a slow shell fire upon the crumbling ruins of Fort Zelandia and upon the earthworks encircling the village of Anping. She was the pioneer of the expected British force, and was " in observation " off this outlet of the capital. Her attack did not draw any reply. During the following night, however, the Lieutenant in command landed with an officer and 23 men, found his way over the ramparts just as day was breaking, and obtained possession of the place, after inflicting severe loss upon a body of local " braves " by whom it was garrisoned. On the 27th, he was reinforced by another officer and 13 men, had a second skirmish with the militia, and proceeded to blow up the magazine and to destroy the stores discovered in Zelandia. In the end our little force was got again afloat without further molestation, thanks certainly to prudent counsels on both sides, and notwithstanding that the Chinese had had time to mass their regular troops in the immediate neighbourhood.

Whatever may be thought of the above proceedings, from an arm-chair or from a diplomatic point of view, it is, in a sense, refreshing to read—in fact, and not merely in the

pages of a lady novelist—of such dare-devilism. We cannot but admire the boldness that rushes into an act of war, thereby forestalling the dignified movements of those who were supposed to be dealing with the quarrel; and, in amplification of the feat, takes a handful of blue-jackets through a raging surf (wherein the boat is smashed to pieces and the men half drowned) and into a town held by an unknown number of well-armed enemies. Those who care for the whole story will find it in the Blue-book; and it will repay perusal. It shows, on the one hand, how a subordinate of strong individuality may well-nigh embroil two great nations; and it proves, on the other hand, that the grit which made the cuttings-out and naval inshore work generally so successful during the great war is yet to the fore amongst the modern generation of our Royal seamen.

VIII.

Our tale is now told:—told, that is to say, as far as we have proposed to tell it. During the 22 years that have elapsed since the bombardment of Anping, much has happened in Formosa. Those years, however, have seen that wonderful expansion of newspaper enterprise which is one of the lesser marvels of nineteenth-century civilization; and we can record nothing which has not been already set out for the use of all and sundry, who take their daily dose of the world's doings, just as our ancestors took their weekly dole of local intelligence.

The descent of a Japanese force sent to punish the aborigines for an affair in which Loochooans were the sufferers—the acts of this force—the counter-despatch of a Chinese army to back up China's stern contention that the island was, wholly and entirely, under her sway—the eventual embarkation of the Japanese—would make an article by itself. International law was discussed at great length and with much asperity, and the relations of the disputant Powers were strained to breaking point, ere the end was attained.

Again, the operations of the French during the seaboard warfare which followed the Tonking entanglement with China are, in connection with our subject, of more than passing interest.

But both events have had full justice done them by competent writers, and are still fresh in remembrance. We leave them, therefore, and conclude ; simply here expressing the thanks we owe for a bright passing glimpse of "The Beautiful" Island which has been accorded us in a recent book of travel.

We open "The Cruise of the *Marchesa*" at the chapter where, enumerated in order, the Penha D'Agua Cliffs of Madeira, the Yosemite Valley of California, and the Hoy Sea-wall of Orkney are finely compared with "the giant precipices of Formosa," and the verdict given that, before the last-named, the others "fade into nothingness." Such a description not unnaturally calls up a flood of memories—a feeling akin to regret. Would that we could have clothed our imperfect sketch of seldom-trodden paths with something at all approaching the eloquence of this charming author!

MY RUSSIAN RECORDS, OR A STROLL THROUGH MY LIBRARY.

(Conclusion.)

THE XVIIIth century is the opening era of Russian Scientific labours and explorations. Peter begins a geodesic survey of Russia and while founding Academies he encourages the accumulation of geographical knowledge.

Thus Dr. Schober explores the region of the Terek; Herber passes seven years in travelling south of the Caucasus. The Greek Levendiani goes to Tomsk to inspect mines. Blüger explores the old mines of European Russia, discovering mineral wealth, and is followed up by Hennin. Messerschmidt by invitation of the Tsar Peter devotes seven years to study and travel in Siberia, resulting in a work on the natural history of that region. Strahlenberg also at this period establishes for himself an authority in this field which lives to the present day, and other mostly German luminaries too numerous to mention shed their lights in the reigns of Peter, Elizabeth, and Catherine. Pallas at this period enriches the world with the results of these and of his own researches. Behring is re-enlisted into Peter's service to learn whether Europe is connected with or disconnected from America, and the results of this voyage of discovery eclipse all attempts made by Russian officers alone in those high latitudes.

As regards the survey of the Caspian by Peter and his purely Russian coadjutors, the work was superficial and scamped; quarrels ensued between the Russian officers (Bekovitch and Kojin), and only so much of the work was attempted as was thought necessary for furthering the safe passage and the disembarcation of the Russian troops sent to Khiva. The accomplishment of this work was left to after ages, by Dandevil, 1849, and by Ivaschinsof.

For more than a century after Peter's death there was a complete suspension of political relations between Russia

and the Central Asiatic States of Khiva and Bokhara. Kokand, until the planting of the first Russian garrison on the Jaxartes, does not appear to have been even heard of. From Baber's time to the date of Prince Gorchakoff's first circular despatch,* the Kokandians remain unnamed as factors in the matter of the political geography of those regions; nor, indeed, until the nineteenth century is there any mention in Russian records of Kokand; and no mission from a Khan of Kokand ever came to Muscovy.

I have under my hand a Russian work of 1763 giving an account of Peter the Great's operations on the Caspian, and including the results of a survey of the Caspian made by Soimonof prior to the Khivan Expedition.† This work contains, among other things, extracts from Jenkinson's narrative, wherein attempts are made to identify some of the places mentioned by our fellow-countryman, and explanations are given of the errors into which he fell. This was a work compiled by the then historiographer Miller, and is, like some others, a great rarity in Russia. No wonder, then, that the Hakluyt Society, in republishing Jenkinson's travels in 1886, failed to benefit by any light that a reference to Russian writers could possibly throw on some of the enigmatical parts in Jenkinson's narrative. The work to which I here refer is a literary curiosity, and it is only by dint of very diligent and well-directed inquiries, coupled with an ability to appreciate and take advantage of opportunities, that Russian sources can be opened and dipped into.

This work, with its long title, is one of the small series of purely Russian works resulting from Peter's enterprises in the south-eastern corner of his Empire.

"Rychkof's Topography of Orenburg, with maps, 1755,"

* I make reservation here on account of Nazarov's "Notes on Certain Peoples and Countries of the Central Part of Asia." Nazarov, an interpreter, was sent on a mission to Kokand from Siberia in 1813. This narrative, comprising 97 pages, 8vo., was first published in 1821.

† "Opisaniye kaspiiskago Moria i chinënnnykh na onom Rossiiskikh Zavoevani, yako chast Istoria Gosudaria Imperatora Petra Velikago trudami, etc. . . . Fédora Ivanovitcha Soimonova. . . . S'dopolneniyami . . . G. F. Millera."

another production of this period, republished in facsimile at Tiflis in 1880, followed by his "Topography of Astrakhan," with the separate publication of his "Introduction thereto, 1774," which I prize no less. Nor am I less concerned in Rychkof's volume of notes on the Cossacks of the Yaïk, embracing also his description of Orenburg and of the province of that name, which is not found in the facsimile. Rychkof's "Opyt Kazanskoi Istorii drevnikh i srednikh Vremën" (1767),* is another rare Russian work on which Russians may pride themselves as being one of the series written at that period. Valuable, among others, are the works on the origin of Novgorod and on Siberia by Professor Miller, and on Kamchatka by Professor Krashenninnikof.

This period teems with the names of foreign professors, scientists, diplomatists, and others who aid Russians, or take a leading part, in acquainting the civilized world with the mysteries of Inner Asia, and far into our own times we take note of this phenomenon. The results, however, are fruits which Russia can herself fairly claim credit for. Thus, without being too particular as to chronological order, we have the journal and correspondence of Florio Beneveni, who was seven years in Bokhara and Khiva. We have Negri and Myendorff, Basiner and Blankennagel, all of which, including a French translation of Benjamin Bergmann's "Voyage Chez les Kalmuks," 1802, I regard with esteem and affection on my book-shelves.

Having done with that period to which so strictly applies the taunt which Purchas, enumerating all the new and striking natural objects to be found in Asia, levelled at the "Muscovites" as "negligent searchers into such things," who care "for nothing but gain," we reach that of systematic and intelligent Russian scientific research, and of the discovery and publication of earlier Russian travels, however meretricious.

The Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences now steps in

* This copy seems to me to be a great literary curiosity by reason, too, of a transcript made in Orenburg of an article which appeared in the *Göttingische Anzeigen* of the 14th December, 1769, by the hand mayhap of Rychkof himself, and bound up with the volume, which has likewise some corrections and notes in the same handwriting of the style of his period.

to encourage and promote the works of Pallas, Schrenk, Gmelin, Müller, and many others, and whilst private individuals give publication to Rukafkin's account of his journey from Orenburg to Khiva in 1753, to Efremop's travels in 1763 (in three editions), to Danibeg's account of eighteen years' wandering in India from 1795, the journals of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, founded in 1845, become replete with matter of the greatest value.

Professor W. Grigorief now begins to distinguish himself as a great Oriental scholar, geographer, numismatician, etc. ; the works he published and annotated are numerous as they are of the first order of excellence. Muravief's "Travels in Turcomania and Khiva" came out as a separate work, with an album, in 1822, and, as already observed, it is a literary rarity which "no one can now obtain who did not long ago possess himself of a copy," as a Russian authority on Central Asia observes. Baron de Bode's notes on the Turcomans appeared, however, in one of the Society's journals, as did notices of other Russian wanderings of which we have as yet no complete versions, *e.g.*, Lebedef's notes and itineraries, completely lost, like many others. Gerasim Lebedef passed about fourteen years in India, from 1782 to 1796 ; built a theatre in Calcutta, and played, with a troupe of natives, some of Dryden's pieces which he himself translated. On his return he published in London "A Grammar of the pure and mixed Indian Dialects," etc., which is little, if at all, known in England, although a copy exists in the India Office Library, where I found it some years ago in hunting for English traces of Lebedef.

Is it utterly impossible even yet to publish the account which Demaison must have rendered in St. Petersburg on his return from Bokhara, where he resided in disguise when Burns was in the same place ? Or like other Russian Records is all trace of this document long lost ? Father Hyacinth, of the Russian-Pekin Mission, published all his works independently of the Geographical Society ; and what more excellent in their way than his "Notes on

Mongolia," 1828, with map ; his three vols. on the ancient population of Central Asia, 1851 ; his translation from the Chinese of "A Description of Thibet, with map," 1828 ; his "History of the first four Khans of the House of Jenghiz," 1829 ; his "History of Thibet and Khukhonor," two vols., 1853 ; and his "Description of Djungaria and Eastern Turkestan" ? The labours of Father Palladius of the Russian-Pekin Mission were of no mean order. His treatise on the origin of the Manchur dynasty, etc., was a masterpiece of good work ; his itineraries are now published in the latest issue of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which can also display a capital work in Nebolsin's exhaustive treatise on the Russian trade with Central Asia, a classical work, and improved upon by Grigorief's critical review of it in another journal ; and we find in the journal for 1851 the distinguished Khanykof's Explanatory Note to the Map of the Aral, and of the Khanat of Khiva, with Maksheyef's admirable description of the Aral. We might here almost conclude with a reference to M. de Semenov's travels and elucidation of the intricacies of the systems of the Thien-Shan and Altai mountain systems, for to name one were now a work of supererogation.

I cannot, however, conclude these brief notes without at least an allusion to my friend, the late Mr. Fedcheuko, who met an unfortunate death in Switzerland while training for further alpine travelling over the Pamirs. His labours are so recent and their result so well known that we can but deplore the loss sustained by the world of science by the death of "that young, ardent, enterprising, and capable explorer."

Since the Russian occupation of Turkestan, Russian geographers have raised monuments to their own memories in independent travels and in their annotated edition of Ritter's Asia. They may now well-nigh claim all the credit for the elucidation of the great Pamir problem, even as Colonel Webel's ride through the whole length of Korea to Seoul in 1889 has solved the mystery of Korea.

R. MICHELL.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE EXISTENCE OF DWARF TRIBES SOUTH OF MOUNT ATLAS.

BY R. G. HALIBURTON, Q.C., F.R.G.S.

"With the precision of Herodotus before us . . . we must admit that the little race of men seen by the Nasamonians exists to-day to the North of the Niger, but has not yet been discovered, or that it has disappeared from those regions."—Quatrefages, *Les Pygmées*, p. 25.

ON the 2nd September last a paper on "Dwarfs and Dwarf Worship," referring to some of the proofs that had come to light that there must be dwarf tribes in Southern Morocco, was read by myself at a meeting of the 9th Oriental Congress in London. It excited very general interest, and the paper was noticed editorially, *pro* or *con*, by nearly all the leading London newspapers, and was awarded a medal by the Congress. In October last, a pamphlet embodying the paper read before the Congress, with statements of numerous informants (three of them dwarfs*) as to the localities in which they reside, their probable numbers, etc., was published by Mr. David Nutt, Bookseller, London, and a few weeks afterwards was specially reviewed in a paper by the President of the Khedivial Geographical Society, H.Ex. Abbate Pacha.

A new light was subsequently thrown on the subject of dwarfs by Sir George Humphrey, Professor of Medicine in the University of Cambridge (see "British Medical Journal," Dec. 5, 1891). Dealing merely with European, *i.e.*, *non-racial* dwarfs, he divides them into two classes, "*true dwarfs*," who only differ from their race in size, and "*dwarfs from rickets*," who are stunted, and generally malformed and feeble. His statement that neither of these classes transmits its small size to the children, disposes of the theory that the dwarfs met with in Morocco are merely a few families of ordinary dwarfs. Far from being stunted and deformed

* See "Dwarfs of Mount Atlas" (David Nutt, Lond. 1891), pp. 14, 18, 24.

through rickets, they are very strong, extremely courageous, and wonderfully active, and are, it is stated, feared by the other Moors. Nor can they be "true dwarfs," a class so rarely met with that though for more than half a century medical and other museums have been multiplied in France and England, those of the former country only possess one skeleton of a "true dwarf," while the only one to be seen in England is that presented to the Medical Museum at Cambridge by Sir George Humphrey himself in December last. The chances of course of meeting with a "true dwarf" in a very sparsely populated country like Morocco would be infinitely more remote than among the many millions of inhabitants of France and Great Britain. If, then, a dozen dwarfs, not stunted or deformed by rickets, have found their way to Northern Morocco, the inference is conclusive that they cannot be what Sir George calls "true dwarfs," but must be *racial*, and connected with some dwarf tribe.

But any doubt that might at first sight seem to exist on this point is settled when I mention that the dwarfs seen in Morocco are not diminutive Moors, resembling their countrymen in everything except size, but are so strikingly distinct from the other people of Morocco, that even if they were not dwarfs we should have to set them down as belonging to a different and peculiar race. Among the points which distinguish them from the Moors, Arabs, Berbers, Jews, Negroes, and Mulattoes, of Morocco, are the following—their wonderful agility; a reddish complexion which is characteristic of almost all dwarf races, and which one of my informants describes as "like that of the Red Indians of America," or according to Schweinfurth in his account of the Akkas of the Albert Nyanza, "resembling the colour of slightly roasted coffee"; and the peculiar woolly hair growing in tufts which distinguishes nearly all dwarf races and their offshoots.* They differ even in dress, etc., and shave their faces,—an abomination to

* I made no note of, as I did not credit, the statements of several natives of Morocco, that the bodies of the dwarfs are covered with hair, a rity which I have since found is a characteristic of the dwarfs both in Africa and of Keltic tradition.

Moslem Moors. In all these particulars as well as in size they are precisely similar to the dwarfs of Equatorial Africa.

Should we meet in Europe with Mongolian-looking dwarfs, only about four feet high, with a yellow complexion, flat, broad faces, high cheek bones, and "pigtailed," we should be disposed to suspect that a race of Chinese dwarfs must have found their way West, and that these peculiarities could not possibly be the result of ordinary European dwarfism.

So far at least as early ages are concerned, the idea is not a new one that dwarfs once existed south of Mount Atlas ; for it has for some years been a subject of contention between French Geographers and some French Anthropologists. The former maintain that the place described by Herodotus where the Nasamonian explorers were captured by dwarf Troglodytes must have been an oasis in the North-Western part of the Sahara, not far to the South or South-East of Morocco. French geographers, the highest, if not the only, authorities on the ancient and Modern Geography of Northern Africa, have for over half a century devoted much attention to the subject, and are therefore the best guides we can have as to the accounts given by Herodotus of the sandy region extending westwardly from the Nile to the Atlantic, and of the races that inhabited it. One description* starts from Thebes, and includes what is now called the Libyan desert, the Sahara, and the Sahel, the term "the Pillars of Hercules" being used for "the Atlantic," or rather for "the farthest West."

The country of the Nasamonians, called by Procopius Zaba, is now known as the Oasis of Mزاب. West of them were the Garamantes, now known as the Touaregs, who, he says, fought in four-horse chariots with the swiftfooted Ethiopian Troglodytes. The Cave-dwellers must have inhabited that rocky region, the Southern flanks of the Atlas, which forms a barrier to the sands of the desert, and many of the spurs of which jut far out into the Sahara, and

* B. IV., ch. 181, 170, 43, 44 ; B. II., ch. 31, v. 32.

are sometimes called "the Saharian Atlas." These cave-dwellers no doubt belonged to the race of swift-footed Troglodytes seen by Hanno on the Western coast of what is now called Morocco. The numerous chambers cut in the face of inaccessible cliffs in Morocco, and especially to the South of the Great Atlas, were probably made by these Troglodytes.

Another description* which Herodotus gives us of that region begins at Cyrene, or rather at Mزاب, and tells us of "the sandy ridge" lying to the south of the wooded country inhabited by wild beasts, and extending westward to Cape Solois, now known as Cape Cantin, on the west coast of Morocco. He in fact describes the present Timbuctoo Caravan route from Tripoli to Dra. According to him some young Nasamonian explorers went *west* for many days until they reached an oasis where they were captured by a dwarf-race of Troglodytes who were all necromancers, and lived on a river which ran from West to East. Three large rivers, that rise near each other in Mount Atlas, run for a great distance in a south-easterly direction, the Ghir, the Zis, and the Dra. Though the exact locality in question must remain a matter of conjecture, it must have been situated on one of these rivers, and must have been to the south or south-east of Morocco. It will be seen in "The Dwarfs of Mount Atlas" that several natives of that country describe a race of dwarf ostrich-hunters living in that part of the Sahara,† who are Marabouts, astrologers, magicians, and finders of hidden treasures, and who own a very small breed of remarkably swift ponies, and are called Teata Tajakants to distinguish them from the larger Tajakants living farther west, near Tinzint.

The dwarfs mentioned by Aristotle cannot have lived in Equatorial Africa, as they possessed a remarkably small breed of horses.

The rock-cut chambers in the Atlas, whether intended

* B. II., ch. 31.

† According to Herodotus, Sataspes, while sailing south from the Pillars of Hercules, saw "a nation of little men."

for storehouses or for residence or refuge, are so uniformly about 5 feet high that they most probably were made by dwarf Troglodytes.

Quatrefages says* that "with the precision of Herodotus before us, and the agreement which his narrative shows with material facts of a permanent nature, we must admit that the little race of men seen by the Nasamonians exists to-day to the north of the Niger, *but has not yet been discovered*, or that it has disappeared from those regions."

The views of French Geographers on this point have been contested in an able article on the Pygmies of Antiquity in the last October number of the "Revue Historique" on the ground that we can find no trace of there ever having been dwarfs north of the Sahara.† By an odd coincidence a letter was received by me in that very month from Mr. Thomas Martin, now living at Crowborough, England, in which he said that having become familiar with the peculiar clicks in vogue in the speech of South African tribes, who have inherited or borrowed them from the dwarf Bushmen, he was surprised in 1888 at hearing at Mogador, a port on the south-west coast of Morocco, some natives from Sus and the Sahara using clicks similar to those of South African races. He naturally came to the conclusion that the Bushmen must have in early ages found their way as far north as Mount Atlas.

The President in the course of his paper on my pamphlet drew attention to the peculiar indentation in dwarf skulls at the base of the nose. If this is confined to the skulls of African dwarfs, it would seem to indicate that it may possibly be connected with South African clicks, either as a

* *Les Pygmées*, p. 25.

† The learned writer of that article, M. Paul Monceaux, on the 9th June, 1892, wrote to Mr. David MacRitchie as follows: "La brochure de votre ami, Mr. Haliburton, est une contribution très curieuse et très neuve à la question des Pygmées. . . . Après avoir pris connaissance des faits précis et des témoignages consignés dans *The Dwarfs of Mount Atlas* il me paraît difficile de contester les conclusions de l'auteur; et je ne doute pas qu'un jour une nouvelle exploration méthodique du Maroc ne vienne les confirmer."

cause, or as an effect.* He also very properly connected the dwarfs seen in Morocco with the Akkas of the Mombutto Country. There cannot be a doubt that there is an extensive district to the south of Morocco, bounding southerly on the Sahara, which is called Akka, and is said to be the head quarters of the Atlas dwarfs; and also that there is another Akka on the shores of the Albert Nyanza, which is also inhabited by a dwarf race called Akka. Which was the original Akka? Quatrefages mentions a tradition among some dwarfs of Equatorial Africa, that the ancestors of their race came from the North-West, *i.e.*, from the direction of Morocco!

When Schweinfurth, and after him Miani, described the dwarfs of the Mombutto Country, and were denounced as impostors, they had but little confirmatory evidence which they could rely on. As respects the question of the Atlas dwarfs, it is fortunate that sixty-five informants have testified to their having seen one or more of them, thirty-two (some of them dwarfs) having been able to describe dwarf tribes and villages south of the Atlas. Before a year elapses further definite information will, I hope, be obtained that will put an end to all question on this point. I may, meanwhile, mention that a few weeks ago I received from the Rt. Honble. Sir John H. Drummond Hay some notes in Shilhach (the Berber dialect, spoken generally south of the Atlas), written by a Sus Taleb of Saffi respecting the localities in Sus and the Sahara where ancient ruins are to be found. Of several of them the Taleb says "these are places where the *little people live*. Their occupation consists in making mats from Esparto grass."

* A resident for some years in the Andaman Islands says the natives have neither this indentation, nor clicks in their speech; and that they shave their faces and heads with sharp-edged shells. It is worthy of note that the names of their tribes are prefaced with *a-ka*. Why was the Sphinx (so venerably ancient a monument that it seems to connect the present with the dawn of Creation—the era of the dwarf-God, Ptah, the Creator, and of the "first-created," half-animals, half-men) called *Akka*? Some of my South Morocco informants say that in the Dra valley the name *Pataiki* (=fathers of our fathers, or ancestors) is applied both to dwarfs and to little monstrous images, part animal, part man. May not *Akka*, *aiki*, have once been applied to both?

EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA.

By C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

WHETHER for good or for ill, European influence is dominant throughout all such parts of the Dark Continent as can fairly be termed habitable by Europeans. This is, indeed, the capital fact in connection with Africa in our day, and it is the chief factor in that African problem which still awaits solution.

It may be well to consider for a moment what are, or should be, European interests in Africa, and how far they are rightly apprehended by Europeans generally.

Speaking broadly, our interests in Africa should be identical with those of Civilization. But then, Europeans must not imagine that the native of Africa is at the pitch of Civilization when he has put on a swallow-tailed coat and a pair of Hessians, perhaps crowning the edifice with a "stove-pipe" hat. Nor is "Fire-water" one of the essentials of Civilization. Others, again, would rest everything upon the work of the Missionary. But although the Missionary may well be, and often is, a pioneer of Civilization, his very advent is sometimes the cause, or the forerunner, of discord, and of intertribal conflicts which can only hinder the progress of Civilization and Christianity.

In his zeal, moreover, for the spreading of the Christian Religion, the Missionary sometimes wants to hurry on the progress of Civilization at too great a pace, and is apt to insist on the instantaneous adoption of practices which the native does not understand, and the equally instantaneous rejection of practices which have come down to him from his forefathers, and which are not always, or necessarily, contradictory to the profession of Christianity.

In any of these cases, and they are all apt to occur in Africa, there comes about a lamentable misunderstanding between the European and the Native, and the march of Civilization is delayed.

This is greatly to be regretted, and another equally regrettable circumstance is the jealousy so apt to reign between the various European nations which are, it may almost be said, with scarcely any exaggeration, partitioning Africa among them.

The "Scramble for Africa" has become a by-word for one of the least lovely aspects of the growing European influence in that Quarter of the Globe. The phrase is not at all an inapt description of what has taken place. All the principal, and some of the lesser, European Powers have seemed to be suddenly smitten with a mania for the possession of some portion of African soil. Some of these Powers were already in various ways interested in the Dark Continent, while others are absolutely new-comers, whose only title to share in the "Scramble" would seem to be their own intense desire to share in it.

Of all the new-comers, Belgium seems to us to have adopted the course best suited, alike to the development of the country under its influence, and to the moderation of International jealousies. For instead of creating a mere Belgian Colony, the wisdom of the King of the Belgians, combined with his philanthropy, has added a new State to Africa, from which, it may well be hoped, the light of Civilization will shed its rays over the entire basin of the Congo, and the yet unknown lands which may be reached from that basin, and which will, sooner or later, fall under the influence of the Congo State. This seems a more solid conception of the mode of developing the native of Africa under European influence than that which we are able to trace in most of the newer settlements of the White man in Africa.

. The native who inhabits the Congo State, or who takes up his residence there for purposes of trade or cultivation of the soil, does not cease to be an African, but he comes under European influence, and under a special system of Law administered for his benefit by European Judges, who are not to be bribed or coerced from the paths of a natural

Equity more or less resembling that which the *rerum domini* of Western Europe developed, so many centuries ago, under the fostering care of the Prætor.

Such a system of Administration, outside the petty rivalries of the various European nations, and carried out by officers of various European nationalities, under a Sovereign who is himself, in Europe, the ruler of a Neutral State, seems to offer some of the best possible guarantees for the development of an African State under European influence.

Perhaps the next best system may be that of the Chartered Companies, which have been founded, in more than one European State, to carry out the work of settlement and civilization. The danger, perhaps, of most of these Companies is likely to be that of ceasing to be settlers and traders, and pioneers of Civilization, and aiming at becoming African Powers, while yet themselves but Trading Companies, chartered under the Laws of a given European State. What is wanted, however, is not the creation of an *Imperium in Imperio* like the old East India Company, for the successful imitation of that very remarkable body is hardly to be looked for.

The object of a Trading Company should be trade, not fighting, or setting up as a sort of Free Lance State.

Companies established, ostensibly at least, for the development of Commerce in Africa, exist under the auspices of several of the principal European Powers. In the existing relations of those Powers themselves, however, most of which are sufficiently jealous of each other even within the limits of Europe, it is, unfortunately, scarcely to be expected that their African Commercial representatives should not feel themselves called to a Semi-Political mission, to which, nevertheless, they have probably, in most cases, no official, or even quasi-official, pretension. It seems unavoidable, for instance, that a German Company, when once it has acquired a tract of land in Equatorial Africa, should consider itself as bound to extend the Empire and its influence to

the snows of Kilimanjaro, and endeavour to thwart any other European influence, whether French or English, which it may find on its borders. It seems equally unavoidable that French Missionaries should, too often, consider themselves agents for a French propaganda as well as for the introduction of Latin Christianity.

These things are much to be regretted, but it is easier to admit this than to point out the remedy. Of course, one remedy would be that the Lion should lie down with the Lamb; that the German should admit that the Frenchman has not been improved off the face of the earth by the mere accident of getting the worst in a War, and that he has a right still to existence, and to a share in the European Concert; while the Frenchman should admit that a man may be a German without being his born enemy, and that, at any rate, it is very absurd to carry old European rancours into the heart of Africa. It would be well, too, if Portugal could be got to recognise that a non-Portuguese European in Africa is not a person to be gratuitously suspected of evil designs upon Portuguese territory in Africa, as if he could have no other purpose in view. And it would be well, also, if Portugal were to wake up to the conviction that property has its duties as well as its rights, and that if she is so zealous and so untiring in her assertion of rights of suzerainty and Sovereignty by olden Conquest and olden Treaty, she must throw open her ports and her rivers to the free commerce of the Nations, and not hug her solitary grandeur in a dilapidated Fort, guarded, perhaps, by a few native soldiers, and arrest Foreign Traders when they attempt to sail up the rivers which should be the highways of Commerce.

There is no use, in these days, in thinking that doubtful claims to having built labyrinthine Zimbabwe stone Forts will avail any nation in the "Scramble for Africa." Those who take the most eager part in the "Scramble" are the least likely to be influenced by such claims. It would be idle, as a matter of history, to deny that the Portuguese opened up

Africa to the knowledge of Europe in the fifteenth century, just as it would be idle to deny that Spain opened up the New World to us about the same time. Columbus, Magalhaens, Vasco da Gama, and their fellow-explorers of world-encircling ocean, are amongst the world's heroes. To Columbus both worlds are now hastening to do homage, on the occasion of the fourth centenary of his discovery. But even as Spain and Portugal shared the glories of maritime discovery with England, France, and Holland, so they came to share the lands of the New World with men of those other countries who shared in the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and of Africa. This has been done and it cannot be undone. It must be recognised as a fact. Politically, indeed, Portugal has fared better in Africa than Spain has either in Africa or in the New World, for she has retained the direct sovereignty of considerable portions of the coast, with undefined claims to inland rights of lordship, or over-lordship, *i.e.*, suzerainty, which she has not been slow to set up in opposition to Europeans of other nationalities. In the New World Spain has retained nothing directly, though indirectly, of course, she is the parent of the various Republics of Spanish origin from Mexico to Chili, and of several States of the United States of America, as Portugal is the parent of Brazil. In Africa, however, Spanish influence can hardly be said to exist at the present moment, since her islands, lovely and interesting as they are from various points of view, are not in a geographical position which can enable her, through their possession, to influence the mainland.

That Spain thinks she ought to have a footing on the mainland of Africa is commonly rumoured, and probably no amount of official denials would induce the average student of European Politics in Africa to doubt that Spain has an eye upon Morocco. Whether she would develop the Shereef's country if she got possession of it, is quite another matter. That Morocco is a very undeveloped country need scarcely be said. The innocent British tourist who

guileless of Moorish ways, talked in the boat, as he was landing at Tangier, of taking a cab up to his Hotel, probably came to the conclusion, somewhat hastily, that Morocco was a "take-in." It is true that there are no cabs in Tangier, and nothing that can be called a carriage road. Yet there is, we believe, a Spanish Electric Light Company, whose sphere of operations, however, is very limited. Supposing Spain to desire the acquisition of Morocco, would European Interests in Africa gain or lose by her successful attainment of such a desire? Probably they would gain, but it should be remembered by Spanish Politicians that the extension of a country's influence has sometimes to be paid for rather heavily. We have ourselves often paid very heavily for what was at least supposed to be an extension of our influence. If Spain were to obtain possession of Morocco to-morrow, she would have a long period to pass through in which nearly all would be outgoing, and there would be no incoming worth speaking of. Everything has yet to be done for the development of the products and the commerce of Morocco, just as France, undoubtedly, found to be the case in Algeria, and now finds to be the case in Tunisia. It is said, and it is denied, and the denial is perhaps worth about as much and as little as such official denials are usually worth, that if Spain has an eye upon Morocco, Italy has an eye upon Tripoli. We do not profess to be in the secrets of either Spanish or Italian Statesmen, but we think it quite likely that the idea exists, though we may not be able to say whether it can be called any part of either Spanish or Italian Policy to transmute the idea into a fact. We do not suppose that either Power would take any active steps towards the realization of these projects, if projects they can be called. We only suppose that if the Morocco or Tripoli pear were to become so ripe as to fall into Spanish or Italian mouths, those mouths would not be closed against it.

The actual Italian occupation of Massowah seems difficult of explanation on any other ground than that of wishing

for a *locus standi* to be heard on any point arising in connection with European Interests in Africa. Of itself Massowah can be of no particular value to Italian trade or navigation. The grounds on which that station has been acquired must be otherwise explained.

The development of any portion of Africa by a European Power must be a work of time and patience. Whoever wishes to succeed in establishing a sound influence in Africa must be prepared for many trials and many disappointments, and he must also be prepared to give time to time. The saying, 'Rome was not built in a day,' applies with equal force to Africa. An African Power under European influence is not to be built up in a day. Centuries of inert Paper Suzerainty have done nothing to consolidate Portuguese power in Africa. If Portugal wishes to maintain her footing among the various European Interests in Africa, she must be up and doing, and show that her interests are living interests, and that she is ready to Christianize, to civilize, to trade, to open up new routes for the advance of commerce and of civilization. Those who will neither take part with their European neighbours in the work which has to be done in Africa nor willingly allow them to do it, will be hopelessly distanced in the race for power in Africa. There is room enough for all in the vast, and even yet but little known, regions of the interior of Africa. Behind the coast ranges there lies a "Hinter-land" which should amply suffice for the ambitions of all Europe, be the nations of Europe never so ambitious. Much of this land has been proved to be fertile, and capable of being inhabited by Europeans. Much of it has been the seat of ancient African civilization, for it cannot be doubted that in some parts of Africa there has existed a fairly high native civilization. The impulse may have come from Phœnician or from Arab in the olden days, just as it may now come from Englishman, German, Frenchman, Belgian, or Portuguese. What has been may be again. There has been an ancient African Civilization. Let us hope that there will be, ere long, a new African

Civilization, under which the highest and best African Interests shall be conciliated with the highest and best European Interests in Africa.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE recent questions in the House of Commons on the Uganda troubles only serve to bring out in relief some of the points upon which we had already insisted.

We have here all the elements of a very pretty international paper war, if not something more. France and Germany and a British Company recently chartered for African exploration and African commerce, are on the stage, and the actors are both missionaries and traders, as well as an African potentate whose dominions missionary and trader are alike anxious to make the most of for their respective purposes. There is the additional complication of officers in the British army taking temporary service under a British Trading Company in Africa while on leave. The point whether these officers were commissioned, or purported to be commissioned, by the Company under which they were serving, was left in doubt in the House of Commons, and on that aspect of the question we do not profess to know more than the Government itself.

The story, as it is at present before us, is obviously incomplete, and only versions hostile to British interests in Africa seem as yet to have been brought to the notice of Parliament. The religious element appears very strongly on the scene as an element antagonistic to peace, most unfortunately. It is difficult to suppose that a British officer's religious convictions would so master his general sense of humanity, not to say Christianity, as to lead to his calmly witnessing massacres of natives of a different Christian confession from his own, as is alleged against Captains Lugard and Williams. It is, moreover, perfectly possible that either or both of these officers may turn out to belong to the Roman Catholic Church, in which case the ground of some of the allegations would have to be shifted.

What is the precise value to be attached to the somewhat recent conversion of the Royal hero of sable hue to the obedience of the Holy Father, is probably very doubtful. He is, we believe, a gentleman of some experience in the somewhat double-edged art of spearing missionaries.

As far as the Uganda affair is as yet intelligible, it seems to strengthen what was said in the body of the present article against making the new Companies chartered for African trade and exploration anything like what the old East India Company gradually became. No doubt it is difficult, and may even prove to be impossible, to prevent this altogether, and it may be that a real rival of the greatness of old John Company will some day arise in British South Africa. If the time and place should really require this, the men will doubtless be forthcoming. But it is not a thing to be lightly encouraged, and, indeed, it must be admitted that if old John Company grew to be what it became, a practically sovereign power in India, it was alike against the will of the home Government, which granted renewed the Company's charters, and against the will of John Company itself, as expressed by its Court of Directors.

UGANDA.

DURING the last few years Central Africa has claimed a large share of political, philanthropic and popular attention, and it is perhaps just that it should have done so. We have been almost satiated by the number of books and magazine articles with which the British Press has been flooded, and it might appear unnecessary to add a line to what has been already written on the subject, were it not for the sensational rumours which have recently reached Europe concerning the critical condition of matters in Uganda.

It is not my intention to give a detailed account either of Uganda or of its vicissitudes during the past ten years ; the limited space at my disposal precludes this. All I can venture to offer is a brief summary of the more important events which have led up to the present crisis. I write at a disadvantage, because up to the date of writing the information which has arrived is one-sided and probably biased in character, and I am well aware that before these pages are in the reader's hands Captain Lugard's eagerly looked-for report may have come to hand and may place a different complexion on the aspect of affairs.

Since Speke and Grant visited Uganda in 1860 a halo of romance has surrounded that country. The interest in it was greatly stimulated by the publication of Stanley's account of his visit to the country in 1875, and his appeal to the British public for missionaries to be sent to instruct the king and people, an appeal which met with a generous response and resulted in the despatch of a party of well equipped missionaries by the Church Missionary Society in 1876. From that time onward interest in the country has been growing and the Uganda Mission has furnished a startling series of events, calculated from time to time to

encourage and depress the friends of mission work. The heroic work of Mackay and his fellow missionaries in Uganda, the martyrdom of Bishop Hannington and the death of many of the missionaries have fired and stimulated the imagination, and the recent persecutions and civil wars have kept alight a vivid interest in the future of the country.

The geographical position of Uganda, the character of the people, their intelligence, their capacity for imitation, their aptitude for acquiring knowledge, their warlike nature and their fertile country, all point to the importance of making the country a centre of civilization ; but on the other hand these very same factors have, as will be seen, been capable of leading to bitter strife and dissension.

In order to understand the present position of affairs in Uganda it will be necessary to rapidly summarise the incidents of missionary activity which have occurred since the 2nd of July 1877, when the Rev. C. T. Wilson and Lieutenant Smith of the Church Missionary Society were first received by King Mtesa. Until this time the Mahomedans had been working, but with little success, to impress their tenets upon Mtesa and his chiefs. When however the British missionaries arrived Mtesa took them into his favour and, notwithstanding the warnings of the Moslems, outwardly at any rate, conformed to their desires. His flag was hoisted upon Sundays and services were held within the precincts of the royal palace. Soon however a disturbing element was introduced into the country by the arrival on February 21st 1879 of two French priests, Père Lourdel and Frère Delmonce, who had been sent by the Archbishop of Algiers to found a mission in Uganda.* They were well

* In the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," December, 1879, reference is made to an agreement which Mackay had made on the coast with Père Horner that neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics should intrude upon each others' missions, but the French missionaries who came to Uganda said they did not hold themselves bound by the agreement, as they were of a different order from that to which Père Horner belonged, and they proceeded to make the grievous mistake of beginning work where Protestants were already in the field.

received by Mtesa, as had been the Protestant missionaries, and here perhaps one may venture to say that in all probability Mtesa's action with regard to these and subsequent missionary parties who arrived in Uganda was influenced, not by his wish for a new religion so much as by his desire to benefit his country and to increase his personal prestige by the presence of many Europeans at his court. At any rate this view of his character explains his apparent changes of religion and the fact that the new comers, provided that they brought him a handsome present, were the favourites of the hour; whether they were Protestants, Roman Catholics or Mahomedans, was all the same to him.

Space forbids me to enlarge upon the vicissitudes of the missionaries, but it should be remembered that from the very first both the Mahomedans and the Roman Catholics had impressed upon Mtesa and his chiefs the warning that if he permitted the Protestant missionaries to remain in his country, sooner or later they would be followed by an army which would annex the country. An ancient Waganda tradition must also be borne in mind, namely, that if strangers were to enter the country from the east across the Nile the power of the Waganda would come to an end and they would become the strangers' vassals. It was in all probability the recollection of this tradition which prompted Bishop Hannington's murder.

After Mtesa's death he was succeeded by Mwanga, one of his sons, a youth without his father's power and with a brutal and despotic disposition. All one hears of him bears out the belief that his election to the throne was a grievous mistake, and from that time the residence of the missionaries in Uganda has been one of extreme danger, difficulty and hardship. Notwithstanding this however, both British and French missionaries have had wonderful success and that success has been proved deep and lasting by the fact that their converts went cheerfully to the stake, to mutilation and to banishment rather than give up their allegiance to their new-found faith.

Passing on to the civil wars which have occurred in Uganda, the first outbreak took place at the instigation of the Mahomedans. Mwanga was driven from the throne, and, escaping to the south end of the lake, he sued for the protection of Mackay, whom he had previously driven from the country, and it was generously accorded him. With the help of Mr. Stokes, he subsequently returned to Uganda, defeated the Mahomedans and regained his throne. The missionaries returned and peace reigned for a few short months. It might have been expected that Mwanga would be grateful for the aid given him ; gratitude however is not one of his characteristics and he appears to have vacillated in his allegiance between the two missions, and, following his father's footsteps, he seems to have taken into favour the newest arrivals of one Society or the other. At length we find that religion and politics become inextricably mixed and two fairly well defined parties are formed amongst the people, a Protestant and a Catholic party, each striving for temporal supremacy. It had been arranged that the high posts in the kingdom should be equally divided between the two parties, but this was too fair for frail human nature ; and although we surely must acquit the missionaries themselves from fanning the flames, yet their hot-headed native adherents undoubtedly fought for supremacy ; and we must leave them fighting for a time whilst we recall what had happened in Europe and upon the coast, events which will lead us to the present crisis.

The friendly rivalry of Germany and Great Britain upon the East Coast of Africa is a matter of common knowledge. For a time it was doubtful which would gain the upper hand or how a *modus vivendi* could be brought about. While the Imperial British East Africa Company and the German East Africa Company were strenuously endeavouring to secure as much territory as possible, the Foreign Offices of both nations were seeking to settle this knotty question by diplomacy. A German expedition headed by Dr. Carl Peters ran the blockade and, ostensibly carrying

relief to Emin Pasha, made rapid progress towards Uganda. The British Company, not to be behindhand, despatched an expedition, with a like object in view, under Mr. Jackson. Both expeditions arrived at approximately the same time at Kavirondo to the east of the Nile near Uganda. Dr. Peters entered the country and made treaties with Mwanga on behalf of Germany. Then, hearing that Mr. Stanley with Emin Pasha was on his way to the coast, he left the country with his treaties in his pocket and after, as he imagined, having made peace between the factions which he found in Uganda. Thereafter Mr. Jackson paid a visit to Mwanga and also made various treaties.

When Dr. Peters arrived at the coast he found that his endeavours to gain Uganda for the German sphere of influence were rendered null and void by the Anglo-German agreement, which, giving Heligoland to Germany, left Uganda within the British sphere of influence in Africa. During the past two years the British East Africa Company has been making rapid strides upon the coast, and, knowing that Uganda had come under their sphere of influence, they naturally enough sent an expedition to that country, commanded by Captain Lugard, who had had considerable experience of Arab and African intrigue during the fighting which took place three years ago on Lake Nyassa. He was accompanied by Captain Williams, an officer of experience. They had instructions to report on the condition of Uganda, to gain information regarding its commercial capabilities and were enjoined to hold the balance even in respect to the religious difficulties which were known to exist in the country. It is no light matter to send expeditions through the Masai country to Uganda, and last year the directors of the Imperial Company came to the conclusion that it was impossible with the funds at their disposal to keep Captain Lugard permanently in Uganda. They offered however to subscribe out of their private means £10,000 if other philanthropists would aid them in supplying the necessary funds for that purpose. At a meeting

which was held in Exeter Hall by the Church Missionary Society in November, 1891, Bishop Tucker made a vigorous appeal to the friends of the Society to come to the Company's assistance and £16,000 were immediately forthcoming, upon which the Company agreed to retain Captain Lugard in Uganda until next December. It will be remembered too that Parliament voted a grant of £20,000 to aid in a survey for a railway from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza. This brings us to the startling dénouement of the last few weeks, and first—we are informed in the public press that the British East Africa Company has felt itself compelled to send orders to Captain Lugard to withdraw from Uganda. This is of itself a serious and regrettable step, and all the more so as at the same time the most startling and almost incomprehensible charges have been made by the Roman Catholic missionaries in respect to the action of Captain Williams in the most recent civil war which occurred in Uganda at or about the commencement of this year. From the vague information which we possess, it seems to be likely that Captain Lugard himself was not in Uganda when the civil war broke out. He was, we imagine, exploring Unyoro and the district to the south of the Albert Nyanza Lake, Captain Williams being left in charge of the Company's station in Uganda at Kampala.*

It is extremely difficult from the information at present to hand to give anything like an accurate account of what has happened, and the report from Captain Lugard and Captain Williams must certainly be received before the tangled skein of events can be unravelled. We have at present the accounts sent by Monsignor Hirth, Père Guillermand, Père Gaudebert, Captain Langheld, Sergeant-Major Kühne and Père Conillaud, all Roman Catholic missionaries with the exception of the two German officers, and we have information from one of the Church Missionary Society's

* Since these lines were written, reports placing in doubt this assumption we reached us, but it is impossible to gauge their trustworthiness.—ED.

agents, written just before the fighting took place. In referring to these reports, it is necessary to write with extreme caution, as it is only too evident that the writers are, and perhaps necessarily, influenced by prejudice and religious partisanship. The Church Missionary Society's agent, the Rev. G. K. Baskerville, writes in his journal, dated December 4, 1891: "We are living in a volcano—the whole country is in a ferment. The Roman Catholics started all the trouble by sending men to destroy the Melondo's place in Kyagwe. He is one of our biggest and most respected chiefs. Wisely, he, before taking any hasty measures, went to consult Captain Williams, who told him to go and defend his property. Accordingly yesterday he went, and the king (*i.e.*, the Catholic party) has sent four Roman Catholic chiefs after him to kill him. . . . Our people have acted nobly and kept from violence; we went to see one chief who was for fighting at once, but he promised to refrain out of respect to our opinion and advice. If the Protestants throw themselves upon the Captain (Williams) and do nothing rash, they will win; but if they act independently they will lose. They are now waiting to hear from the messengers sent after the chiefs who had gone to fight the Melondo. If he has been killed there will be war and it will mean the expulsion of the Roman Catholic party, for Williams will aid the Protestants as being the aggrieved party. . . . Captain Williams has been this evening and expressed himself greatly pleased with the conduct of the Protestants."

The Roman Catholic missionaries state that fighting commenced and they lay the blame upon the Protestants, and go on to charge Captain Williams not only with having instigated the Protestants to fight, but with having supplied them with arms and ammunition and subsequently aided them himself and taken five of the Roman Catholic missionaries prisoner, treating them disgracefully. They further state that Mwanga and the Catholic party were driven from the country, some five or six hundred being

drowned in their endeavours to escape, and, had it not been for the arrival of Sergeant-Major Kühne of the German Expedition who hoisted the German flag upon the boats conveying Mwanga and Bishop Hirth, they would also have been captured by the Protestant party who were hot in pursuit. According to the accounts we refer to, the fighting must have been very bitter, for Père Guillermand says that Msaji, the chief of the Catholic party, repulsed the Protestants five times, and it was only when the Maxim gun literally mowed down the Catholics, men, women and children, that they were obliged to flee. The most recent information which has come to hand was given by the Marquis of Salisbury in the House of Lords a day or two ago. He read a telegram which was dated, at Bukombi or Bukoba at the south end of the Victoria Nyanza, the 31st of May, saying that Captain Williams had arrived there bringing with him the news that the fighting in Uganda had ended and that hopes were entertained of coming to terms with Mwanga and his followers. In any case, whoever were the aggressors, this brief history is sad enough and it is likely to lead to many difficulties and far-reaching results. Already the French Government has protested against the action of the British; and the Roman Catholic missionaries, supported by the Holy See, have claimed compensation from the British Government and have demanded the re-establishment of a Roman Catholic Mission in Uganda.

The affairs in Uganda having reached this terrible climax the question presses itself upon all minds as to what the result will be and what action should be taken by this country in view of the serious issues involved. Some no doubt would counsel the withdrawal of the British from the country and would recommend the Waganda being left to settle their own disputes. On consideration however it must surely be apparent that this way out of the difficulty cannot be taken, for, although the Waganda are a warlike people, and although they are accustomed to copious blood-

shed, it must be admitted that British action has been the indirect cause of the troubles into which the country has been plunged. Again, the importance of Uganda, from its being the geographical and political key to so much of Central Africa, precludes the idea of Britain relinquishing that country to the various possible European claimants who would certainly step in should we retire. Uganda needs and must have a strong and settled government. It is easy to estimate the result of abandonment. The Arabs would regain supremacy, the slave trade would flourish, the civil war would continue, the country would be decimated and the Europeans would be driven out of the land. It therefore would seem to be of pressing importance that the hands of the Imperial British East Africa Company should be strengthened, and that they should be enabled to retain the footing which they have gained and, by taking to heart the bitter lessons of the past, to ensure to the Waganda the blessings of peace and prosperity in the future. As to whether the Government should aid the Company or whether the duty should be left to private individuals, I do not feel called upon to express an opinion, but that one or other should act, and act promptly, I can have no doubt whatever.

I cannot conclude this brief article without expressing my firm belief that in Africa everything should be done to prevent different missionary Societies from working in the same place. The inevitable result is to confuse the people and to engender strife. The country is so large that there is room for all, and in the interests of humanity and the progress of civilization no more useful feat could be accomplished than to bring about an international agreement which should render impossible such overlapping in the future.

ROBERT W. FELKIN, M.D., F.R.S.EDIN., F.R.G.S.

THE
FINANCIAL POSITION OF AUSTRALASIA.

BY GEORGE COLLINS LEVEY, C.M.G.

THE announcement that the Melbourne Board of Works will take advantage of the low rate of interest now ruling, and will place upon the London money market a loan of two millions sterling has again raised the whole question of Australasian indebtedness. The proposed loan would be about as well secured as it is possible that any municipal loan can be ; for it not only has a lien upon the rates raised in the Victorian metropolis and its suburbs, which contain a prosperous population of half a million, but it has the especial guarantee of the Yan Yean water system, from which the chief city of Victoria obtains its supply, and which returns a large profit after paying interest upon the cost of its construction. But the attempt to raise money at the present moment for any Australian public work, however necessary in itself or however ample the security offered for the proposed loan, is likely to prevent or at any rate delay that advance in the value of every description of Australasian Government stock which was so noticeable during the whole of the month of May.

The total of Australian indebtedness is larger than is generally supposed, for it is not confined to the sums owing by the various governments. These amount in round figures to 185 millions sterling, and to them must be added the liabilities incurred by the municipalities, which in the aggregate reach to about 15 millions sterling. But these items do not represent the whole debt. In estimating the financial position of Australia and its ability to remit to this country the large sum necessary for the service of the public debt, it is necessary to take into consideration the amount of European capital invested in various Australian

financial and industrial enterprises. In round figures this is as follows: Capital of Anglo-Australian banks £6,000,000; ditto on English share register of Colonial banks, £1,250,000; deposits in the British branches of Anglo-Australian and Australian banks and invested in the colonies £35,000,000; investments by British insurance companies in Australia, £7,000,000; British Companies advancing on Land and Stock in Australia—paid-up capital, £11,000,000, debenture issue, £20,000,000; money deposited in the British branches of colonial land mortgage and trust companies £12,000,000; land, shipping, railway, mining, gas and other companies, £12,000,000; private property in Australia owned by residents in Great Britain, £80,000,000; or in all nearly £200,000,000, a sum about equivalent to the total of the public and municipal debt. Assuming that the average rate of interest is 4 per cent., and that no more loans should be contracted in this market on Australian account, an annual remittance of sixteen millions sterling would have to be made to this country, and the recent investigation of the Governments of New Zealand and Victoria which contemplate levying or actually have levied a tax on absentees would serve to show that the actual remittance is larger than the sum we have estimated.

Fortunately there is another aspect from which the financial position of Australasia can be regarded. If the colonies have borrowed much, the borrowed money has been honestly and judiciously invested. No great financial house has retained one large portion of the loan in its own coffers; no dishonest officials have intercepted another. The whole sum borrowed, less one or two per cent., has gone to swell the amount raised from taxation, the rent and sale of Crown Lands and the income from public works, and has been expended for public purposes. Ninety per cent. of the money borrowed is represented by railways, water works, harbours, docks, tramways or electric telegraphs. The first loans were contracted during the early fifties and the

following figures, which were given by Sir Edward Braddon in the paper recently read by him at the Society of Arts will show the solid progress made since that date :—

	1850.	1890.
Debt - - - - -	£57,917	£184,912,804
Population - - - - -	648,133	3,532,050
Wool exports - - - - -	£2,836,514	£23,734,332
Total exports - - - - -	£4,763,594	£70,901,685
Total imports - - - - -	£4,619,930	£68,495,581
Number of horses - - - - -	183,892	1,613,585
Number of cattle - - - - -	2,302,327	10,346,661
Number of sheep - - - - -	22,186,833	114,141,893
Shipping, inwards and outwards (tons)-	1,209,515	15,395,186
Bank deposits (say) - - - - -	£6,000,000	£110,855,571
Savings (approximate) - - - - -	£1,500,000	£17,312,795
Minerals exported - - - - -	—	£14,122,117
Revenue - - - - -	£1,201,068	£29,306,217
Railways (miles) - - - - -	—	11,600

It would be absurd to suppose that the productiveness of Australia has reached its limit. The exports in 1891 were nearly three millions more than in 1890. The export of wool will grow larger and larger ; that of grain is capable of almost indefinite increase. The British farmer who is accustomed to a yield of 30 bushels to the acre may wonder how his Australian rival makes less than eleven bushels pay expenses, and yield a living profit. But the circumstances of the two countries are entirely different. The Australian farmer is usually a peasant proprietor owning his farm, and doing the greater portion of the work by himself with the members of his family. With the aid of labour-saving machinery, an economical system of farming, and the low value of land, an acre of wheat can be farmed, including the purchase of seed corn, at a cost of 28s. per acre, in Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania, and at much less in South Australia. With wheat at 32s. a quarter in the colony, the small returns of Australian harvests give a fair profit to the grower. The export of butter, cheese, fruits and wines is becoming larger, and the proposed introduction of Kanaka labourers to the far North of Queens-

land and of Coolies to the Northern Territory of South Australia will revive the sugar industry which has lately languished, and will probably increase the output of minerals.

The doubts which have been expressed about the ability of the Australians to pay the interest upon their debt without fresh borrowings have little foundation in fact. An annual remittance of sixteen millions sterling is no doubt a heavy burden and can only be met by a diminution in the imports and an increase in the exports. Both these results can be easily produced. A large proportion of recent imports consists of railway appliances, steel rails and locomotives, which will not be required after the various schemes for internal communication have been completed, while another consists of luxuries, the consumption of which must necessarily be considerably reduced in the present circumstances of the colonies, and as the local manufactures increase. Colonial wine will have to be substituted for champagne and Burgundy; the ladies will have to curtail their expenditure in lace and diamonds; the theatres will no longer be able to induce Sarah Bernhardt to attract audiences with her silvery voice. Nor is it only possible to diminish imports; the exports will expand, and a steady growth will follow the gradual development of Australian production. The imports of New Zealand in 1886 were valued at £6,759,000, and the exports at £6,672,000. But as soon as that colony ceased to borrow money and looked its position squarely in the face the imports declined, and the exports grew, until in 1890 the former were only £6,260,000, while the latter had grown to £9,801,000.

The ability of Australia to repay its debts, as evidenced by the solid basis of assets which it can offer as security, is undoubted. The various Government statisticians have estimated that the private wealth of Australasia reaches 1,152 millions, so that there is ample security for the 200 millions owed by the inhabitants of the country to their

European creditors. Some of the items which make up the 1,152 millions may be slightly exaggerated ; others are capable of exact proof. The capital invested in grazing is 375 millions, and 250 millions have been expended upon purchasing, improving, stocking, and working tillage farms. The returns from these two great sources of wealth reach 60 millions per annum, and wool, grain, meat, leather, hides, tallow, etc., valued at about 40 millions, are exported. The railways have cost in round figures £130,000,000—for in addition to the sums borrowed, most of the colonies have devoted a portion of their revenue to these works—and they return a net profit of 3·08 per cent. upon that sum, while about £50,000,000 have been devoted to harbour improvements, water-supply, and other public improvements, most of which may be expected to pay eventually a fair interest upon the cost of their construction, and some of which already return considerable profits. Another important asset is the public estate, which even in the smaller colonies is of great extent. Tasmania has 12,000,000 acres of land belonging to the State ; Victoria has 32,000,000 ; New Zealand has 33,000,000. In the larger colonies the extent of the public land is enormous. In New South Wales it comprises an area of 155,000,000 acres, which yield an annual revenue of £1,152,000. South Australia has more than 500,000,000 acres of Crown lands, of which 291,948,000 are occupied by graziers. Queensland leases to her pastoral tenants 290,948,000 acres ; and Western Australia, with an unsold estate of 675,684,000 acres, has 105,057,000 in the hands of so-called “squatters.” About the value of these Crown lands much difference of opinion exists, but leaving out of the calculation the large extent of country which at the present moment is not leased or occupied in any way, and assuming that it possesses no value whatever, there would remain an area in New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand, which at the moderate rate of 10s. per acre would be worth £105,000,000, while the 689,476,000 acres of occupied Crown lands in Queensland,

South Australia, and Western Australia would at 5s. per acre amount to £172,000,000. And this vast estate in land and in revenue-yielding public works, amounting in the aggregate to £467,000,000, may be regarded as the collateral security for the public debt offered by the governments of countries inhabited by 4,000,000 of people which possess a revenue of £29,000,000 per annum, not more than a third of which is raised by taxation. Most States have only their revenue, obtained from the pockets of their people, to offer as security to the public creditor. Australia has in addition a vast national wealth which is every year by leaps and bounds expanding, until it attains a magnitude beyond the dreams of avarice.

A perusal of these figures and facts should relieve the holders of Australian Government securities from any doubt about their value. Nor have private investors any cause for apprehension except the small number who tempted by high interest embarked their capital in risky ventures. Some of the newly established land and mortgage banks have lately gone into liquidation. But in every case these insolvent concerns were of recent origin, had been formed to assist in the inflation of real estate in and near the Australian capitals, and especially Melbourne, and had nothing in common with the more cautious and longer-established institutions, English or Australian, which either transact the ordinary business of banks of issue and deposit, or lend money on mortgage to graziers and farmers.

There is a large school of financial writers who are of opinion that although there may be ample security for the principal and interest of existing Australian loans, they should now cease, at any rate for the present. The example of New Zealand has been cited to show the good effects, which as was shown by the Agent-General, Mr. Perceval, in the paper recently read by him at the Royal Colonial Institute, result from "a phase of economy and abstinence from borrowing." Many colonists entertain similar views. In his annual address to the Melbourne Chamber of Com-

merce, of which he was President, Mr. H. G. Turner attributed the land-boom in that city, and the mass of evils which followed from its collapse, to the cheap money caused by excessive importations of British capital. But Mr. Turner is the General Manager of the Commercial Bank of Australasia, and cheap money is not favourably regarded by bankers. Other authorities entertain different views, and consider that the policy of relying upon external loans cannot, and should not, be stopped at short notice. The mainland of Australia has no great navigable watercourse, with the exception of the Murray and its tributaries; the same want is felt throughout New Zealand and Tasmania. The territory has been opened up by railways; without them agriculture must have been confined to localities within a short distance from the sea-coast. But for the iron horse, the wheat-growing districts in the Northern areas of South Australia and the fertile farms of the Wimmera and Gippsland, in Victoria, would have remained in a state of nature. Nor would sheep-farms have paid in the distant interior of New South Wales and Queensland if the wool had to be conveyed to the port of shipment by the old-fashioned bullock-drays. It would be impolitic to at once stop railway making, even though the greater part of the work is completed, and the branches which remain to be constructed are of minor importance. For the existing lines cannot be profitably worked, until the whole system as originally proposed has been completed.

While therefore borrowing, both by the Government and by private individuals, should be much more restricted in the future than it has been in the past, British capitalists would depreciate the value of their own security, if they were suddenly to close their purses. All that is necessary is that Australian governments should take their creditors into their confidence, should let them know the purposes to which the money it is sought to obtain will be applied, and should undertake that henceforth lines should be built for national and not for political purposes. In the construction

of railways Australia should be regarded as a whole, and every colony should, as far as practicable, sink its individuality, and act as if Australian Federation were an accomplished fact. This advice does not apply to New Zealand and Tasmania, which are islands, and whose railway systems are complete in themselves. An unwise policy has frequently guided the construction schemes in the past. Some of the lines in the Southern districts of New South Wales were built in order to divert traffic to Sydney, which for geographical reasons would otherwise have gone to Melbourne. Victoria even now proposes to construct a railway in order to bring to Melbourne produce which now finds its way easily and cheaply to South Australia by the river Murray. The south-eastern district of the last-mentioned colony bristles with lines whose principal object is to bring goods to its own ports which otherwise might have been forwarded to those of Victoria. In Queensland, New Zealand, and Tasmania, the interests of districts were advanced to the injury of the colony as a whole, and politicians were rather anxious that each locality should obtain its full share of the Government expenditure, than that railway construction should pay its way, or open up country otherwise inaccessible. Above all it is essential that more attention should be directed to immigration. The greatest additional safeguard for the British investor would be increased population. There may, at the present time, be considerable depression throughout Australia, and consequent difficulty in procuring employment. But it is impossible to believe that Australasia with a far larger territory than the United States of America should remain with less than four million inhabitants, or should be contented with the slow and gradual increase which comes from the excess of births over deaths. The great want of Australia is population; and the sooner that fact is realized, and an immigration policy initiated, the better for the colonists themselves, and for their friends and creditors in Europe.

BENGALI PHILOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY.

(A Paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.)

IN this paper, "On the Necessity of Ethnographical Studies to Philological Research : as illustrated by the Bengali Language," I cannot claim to put forward a fully established case based on quite conclusive evidence ; for to do this would necessitate an exhaustive ethnographical study of the seventy million inhabitants of Lower Bengal, a study that no one individual could hope to carry out.

I believe, however, that, in the restricted studies I have personally been able to make, I have disclosed certain linguistic facts of great interest, and have been able to deduce from them a philological principle of considerable importance and far-reaching effect : a principle which does not appear to have been adequately recognised in the past.

It is chiefly with the desire of subjecting this principle to the fullest investigation, and to point out the direction in which facts likely to illustrate it are to be sought, that I have put forward researches which are still unfinished ; the results of which, consequently, cannot as yet claim to be fully demonstrated facts.

In following up the line of inquiry which I have laid down, I shall try, first, to make clear the character of the Bengali language, with special reference to the old metropolitan District of Murshidabad, the language of which I have particularly studied :

Secondly, I shall attempt to explain the ethnographical relations of this District as far as I have been able to understand them :

And, lastly, I shall put forward the conclusions I have been led to form, from comparing the philological with the ethnographical facts.

discussing the character of the Bengali language, I

am met at the outset by a difficulty of definition. One grammarian wishes to exclude from Bengali all words borrowed directly from the Sanskrit ; another would ignore all the colloquial or so-called "low" words ; a third would set aside all loan-words from Persian and Arabic. At this rate very little of the Bengali language would be left to discuss.

I believe this confusion arises from the fact that there are, in Lower Bengal, three distinct forms of the Bengali language, which I found side by side in the District of Murshidabad.

The first of these, the literary dialect of Sanskrit-Bengali,* is the language of the Brahmans, and the classes directly under Brahmanical influence. In the passage I have selected to illustrate this Sanskrit-Bengali literary dialect, fifty per cent. of the words are, in form, pure Sanskrit ; while the rest are of the same origin, but have been subjected to the softening and weakening process which may be called "Prakritizing."

The second form of the language is the Mussulmani-Bengali,† the literary dialect of the learned Muhammadans, and also the language introduced by the Muhammadan doctors in the legal forms and technical phrases of the law courts. In the illustrative passage I have chosen, fifty per cent. of the words are pure Arabic or Persian, twenty-eight per cent. are Prakritized words, while only twenty-two per cent. are of pure Sanskrit form.

These two literary dialects—the Sanskrit-Bengali and

* *E.g.*, "Âmarâ ye dike, jnânânetronmilana kariyâ, dekhi, she-i dike-i dekhite pâi, ye kono vastu nutan utpanna haite-chhe, kono vastu vâ bhinna bhinna bhâva paramânute lina haite-chhe ; adya ye vastu ekrûpa dekhâ yây, kalyatâhâr bhinna bhâva drshta hay ; varttamân nimesh madhye, âmarâ yâhâ dekhi, âbâr, tatparakshâne i, tâhâr âr ekti bhâva lakshita hay."

† "Ai mokuddamâ sankrânta, sawâl, jabâb kârana janya, âpan taraf ukil yukta karilâm ; ukil mosuf, âmâr taraf, ukta mokuddamâ-y, ye shakala sawâl jabâb, o ye kono kâgjât âpan ba-kalame âmâr nâma dastakhat kariyâ, sheresthâ-y dâkhil kariben, o ye kâgjât o dalil wâpas laiben, tat-samadaya âmâr krta karmmer nyâya kabul o manjur."—From a Power of Attorney, or *Vakil-nâma*.

the ' Mussulmani-Bengali—are artificial products of quite recent origin. They stand to each other, it should be noted, in exactly the same relation as literary Hindi and Urdu, and have their origin in the same causes.

Apart from and beneath them lies the true Bengali language, the speech of the illiterate millions, the so-called vernacular or "Low-Bengali," which is, for philological purposes, far more interesting and valuable than the half-Sanskrit or half-Persian jargon of the literate few.

This "Low-Bengali" is the language of the illiterate masses—that is, it is a language with no written documents, if we except the speeches of the inferior characters in Bengali dramas, the analogue of the Prākṛit in the Sanskrit Nāṭakas. Being without proper written documents, any exact analysis of it becomes much more difficult; and, for the same reason, it is subject to great local variation.

My own observations of Low-Bengali apply primarily to the district of Murshidabad; but I am of opinion that they will be found generally true for the whole of Lower Bengal.

Of the vocabulary of Low-Bengali, as talked in Murshidabad, I have formed the following conclusions: First, that the number of pure Sanskrit words is greatly less; and that the few Sanskrit words remaining are cast in a new phonetic mould, or undergo the process of weakening and slurring called Prakritizing.*

After this large Prākṛit element come what, for want of a better name, I must call aboriginal (*desha-ja*) words, such as *pagṛī* (turban) and *donga*. I have collected a number of

* Examples of Pakritizing :

Sanskrit.		Low Bengali (pronounced) :	
Kṛshna,	<i>Krishna</i> -	-	- Kishto.
Ikṣhū,	<i>sugar-cane</i>	-	- Ākh.
Kōkila,	<i>cuckoo</i> -	-	- Koil.
Gardabha,	<i>ass</i> -	-	- Gādā.
Jñāna,	<i>knowledge</i> -	-	- Gyān.
Pushkara,	<i>tank</i> -	-	- Pokur.
Padma,	<i>lotus or Ganges</i> -	-	- Poddō.
Smarana,	<i>remembrance</i> -	-	- Shoron.
Vaishṇava,	<i>Vishnu-ite</i> -	-	- Boishtob.

these words in Murshidabad ; but they require further study ; for it is difficult to be quite sure about some of them, owing to the fact that many words in Sanskrit dictionaries are probably old aboriginal loan-words. Bishop Caldwell cites some of these, amongst them being “*nânâ*,” *various*, and “*kuti*,” *a house*, both in common use in Bengal.

If it be not too soon to generalize, I should say that the *desha-ja* element in Low-Bengali comprises the names of fishes, plants, birds, utensils, and so on—in fact, the vocabulary of a primitive people. Probably the vocabulary of Low-Bengali is made up in something like the following proportions :

Prākritized words	-	-	70 per cent.
Desha-ja words	-	-	25 ”
Persian, etc., words	-	-	5 ”

The grammar of Low-Bengali is, I think, of the highest interest and importance. As far as I have been able to analyze it, I have come to the following preliminary conclusions :

In the substantive, there is a distinct tendency to form the oblique cases, not by inflections, but by adjoined nouns of position or mode ; for example :

Dārā (dwārā), “by the door of,”	for the Instrumental.
Bhitor (bhitare), “interior,”	for the Locative.
Pakhye (pakshe), “side,”	for the Locative.
Kāch (kaksha), “armpit—side,”	for the Locative.
Dik (dish), “direction,”	for the Dative.

Or by adjoined gerunds :

Diyā, “having given,”	in the sense of “along ;”
Chêrê (chhariyā), “having abandoned,”	for the Ablative.

The accusative is declined only in the pronouns. The plural is formed, not by terminations, but by adjoined nouns of number :

Gan, “a host.”	Lok, “folk.”
----------------	--------------

For example :

Chāshā-lok, “cultivator-folk,” for “cultivators.”

For inanimate objects, the plural is often formed by doubling the noun, according to certain phonetic rules :

Jamâ-jamî : *lands* : from jami, *land*.

Lângal-tângal : *ploughs* ; from lângal, *a plough*.

Hâshuâ-tâshuâ : *bill-hooks* ; from hâshua, *a bill-hook*.

The oblique cases of the plural are formed by adding the same adjoined substantives as in the singular, so that, strictly speaking, singular and plural have the same terminations.

If a feminine adjective is formed at all, it is formed, not by a termination, but by an adjoined noun of sex ; but, practically, adjectives are undeclined, except when they are used as substantives.

The verb, in Low-Bengali, tends to form the active voice exclusively by adjoining kottê (karitê ; S. kartum ; *to do*) to a verbal noun. Similarly it tends to form the middle voice by hotê (haitê ; Pali ; hotun ; *to be*) ; while the passive voice is formed by adjoining jêté (yâite ; S. yâtum ; *to go*) to a verbal noun. There is a distinct tendency in Low-Bengali to conjugate only these three verbs (kottê, hotê, jêté), reducing all others to the form of a verbal noun.

Adverbs are formed by the noun "rokom," *mode or manner*, adjoined to substantives.

Prepositions, properly speaking, there are none. And, finally, all words tend to become as short as possible, being mostly monosyllables or dissyllables.

To sum up, the characteristics of the substantives in Low-Bengali are :

- Cases formed by adjoined nouns of position ;
- Number formed by adjoined nouns of multitude ;
- Gender expressed, if at all, by adjoined nouns of sex ;
- Case-terminations being identical in singular and plural ;
- And there being only one declension.

The characteristics of the verb are :

- The active voice, formed by a verbal noun and the infinitive "to do."
- The middle voice, formed by a verbal noun and the infinitive "to be."
- The passive voice, formed by a verbal noun and the infinitive "to go."

All other verbs tend to lapse into a verbal noun, and there is only one conjugation.

v, putting aside the preconceived idea that Bengali

grammatical forms are derived from Sanskrit in the same way that Italian forms are derived from Latin, I think it will be at once admitted that Low-Bengali, if I have described it rightly, is not "inflectional" at all; but "agglutinative," or midway between the "monosyllabic" and "agglutinative" stages: that it is, in fact, far closer, grammatically, to the Dravidian, Tamil and Telugu, than to the Aryan, French, and Italian. It is worth noting, with reference to this, that Bishop Caldwell, in his "Comparative Grammar," especially notes the similarity of the Bengali with the Dravidian passive; and cites the identity of termination for singular and plural, which I have noted in Low-Bengali, as one of the distinctive features of an agglutinative language, like Tamil or Telugu.

This Low-Bengali is the language of the illiterate masses, of all sects and castes, throughout Lower Bengal; and the fact that *Low-Bengali is an agglutinative language, like the Dravidian tongues*, is the first conclusion I wish to put forward.

Turning from the philology to the ethnography of Lower Bengal, as exemplified by the District of Murshidabad, it should be noted, at the outset, that the Census Division of the population into Hindus, Mussulmans and aborigines, has no ethnical value whatever. The employment of general terms like "Hindu" in ethnography is quite illusory, and ought to be avoided; like whitewash over a mosaic, these generalizations hide real differences which are often of the first importance.

The mass of rural Mussulmans in Lower Bengal are not at all the descendants of Mussulman invaders, whether Persian or Mughal, but converts from one or other of the forms of religion classed as "Hinduism"; and, ethnically, they differ in nothing from the masses of "Hindus" about them. Evident as this is at the present day, it was even more so, fifty years ago. A local writer,* speaking from personal acquaintance with the Mussulman peasantry in

* Quoted in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, art. "Bengal," p. 289.

the northern districts of Lower Bengal, in our own day, states "that not one in ten could recite the brief and simple Kalma, or creed, whose constant repetition is a matter of unconscious habit with all good Mussulmans. He described them as 'a sect which observes none of the ceremonies of its faith, which is ignorant of the simplest formulas of its creed, which worships at the shrines of a rival religion, and tenaciously adheres to practices which were denounced as the foulest abominations by its founder.'"

Another writer puts the case epigrammatically: "The masses of rural Mussulmans are little better than a mongrel breed of circumcised Hindus." Setting aside, therefore, the division into Mussulmans, Hindus and aborigines, adopted by the Census, as, ethnically, quite illusory, I shall state my conclusions as to the real race-divisions of the million and a quarter of inhabitants of the Murshidabad district.

Omitting obviously immigrant elements (Afghans, Armenians, Europeans), I found three entirely distinct ethnical types.

First, the true *Indo-Aryan* type, with the following characteristics :

- Fine features.
- Aquiline nose.
- Large eyes, with un-inclined axis.
- Perpendicular forehead.
- Short upper lip ; the lips thin.
- Firm chin.
- Cheek-bones not prominent.
- Fine wavy hair.
- Beard, if grown, curly.
- Rather large head.
- Hands and feet, small and well formed.
- And—perhaps most striking—a fair, almost European, complexion.

The proportion of this true Indo-Aryan type is extremely small ; in Murshidabad District I should put its representatives at some thousands, or perhaps only some hundreds ; and out of the forty thousand Brahmans in the District, enumerated in the census of 1872, only a very small pro-

portion are of the Indo-Aryan type. This fact fully bears out what we know from the Sanskrit Epic and Brāhmaṇa literature of the admission of other castes to Brāhmaṇhood. On a future occasion I hope to point out the bearing of ethnography on many such passages in the Sanskrit books.

The second type I noted, which may be called the *Indo-Chinese* type, had the following characteristics :

- Thick, ill-formed features.
- Broad, flat nose.
- Small eyes, with inclined axis.
- Low, receding forehead.
- Long upper lip ; the lips thick.
- Very prominent cheek-bones.
- Coarse, lank hair.
- Scanty beard.
- Body and limbs large, with large joints.
- Large hands and flat feet.
- Dusky complexion, with a distinct sub-shade of yellow.

This Indo-Chinese type is most numerous in the western half of the district (Kandi), on the higher lands on the right bank of the Bhāgirathi, where the country rises gradually towards the Santal Pergunnahs.

I should be inclined to put the numbers of this Indo-Chinese type at between five and six hundred thousand for the whole Murshidabad District.

The third, and most numerously represented type in this district, is what I shall venture to call the *Dravidian* type, as having many, if not all, features in common with the Tamil or Telugu-speaking Dravidians of Southern India. The characteristics of the Dravidian type in Bengal are :

- Well-formed features.
- Noses, straight and not flat.
- Lips slightly thicker than in the Aryan type.
- Coarser hair, never wavy.
- Beard, when grown, plentiful, but never curly.
- Eyes rather small, but their axis uninclined.
- Forehead generally perpendicular.
- Medium length upper-lip.
- Cheek-bones not prominent,
- Height, below medium ; chest flat.
- Large hands and flat feet.
- Very dark, almost black, skin.

This *Dravidian* type is generally found in the eastern half of the District (Lalbagh and Sadar), and its representatives are mostly Mussulmans. I am inclined to put the type at between seven and eight hundred thousand for the whole district.

My observations, therefore, would lead me to estimate the population of Murshidabad as follows :

Between seven and eight hundred thousands of *Dravidian* type ; between five and six hundred thousands of *Indo-Chinese* type ; a few thousands, perhaps hundreds, of pure *Aryan* type : with immigrant elements, *Madrasis*, non-Indian Asiatics and Europeans.

I am inclined to believe that the same proportions are broadly true for the whole of Lower Bengal ; and I expect that future investigations will show that, out of the seventy-one million inhabitants of Bengal, more than seventy millions are either *Dravidians* or *Indo-Chinese* ; the *Indo-Chinese* being generally grouped among and round the hills, while the *Dravidians* are found in the deltaic and alluvial plains.

That the fact of this non-Aryan element was anciently recognised, in spite of linguistic affinities, is, I think, shown by Manu, x. 45* ; if so, then the *Dravidians* and *Indo-Chinese* of Bengal represent the “ *Aryan-voiced Dasyus*.”

Besides the ethnical evidence here put forward, I could, if space permitted, establish the same results on ethnographical grounds ; showing in detail that almost everything that is regarded as most characteristic in the “ *Hinduism* ” of Bengal (which has been shown to be substantially the same as the *Mussulmanism* of the rural masses, under another name) is really the indigenous product of *Indo-Chinese* or *Dravidian* races.

Take, for instance, certain beliefs of the (*Kolarian*) *Santâlis*, a race undoubtedly *Indo-Chinese*.†

Each hamlet of the *Santâlis* is governed by its own

* Manu, x. 45 :

“ Mukha-bâhûrû-paj-jânâm, yâ loke jâtayo vahih ;
Mleccha-vâchash-châryavâchas sarve te Dasyavas smrtâh.”

Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. “ *India*,” pp., 59, 60.

headman, who is supposed to be a descendant of the original founder of the village, and who is assisted by a deputy-headman and a watchman. The Santâlis trace their tribes to the seven sons of the first parents, and the Santâl must take his wife, not from his own tribe, but from one of the six others. So strong is the bond of race, that expulsion from the tribe was the only Santâl punishment. For the Santâli the earth swarms with spirits and demons, whose ill-will he tries to avert. His religion consists of nature-worship and offerings to the ghosts of his ancestors. First the race-god, then the tribe-god, then the family-god require the oblation ; but, besides these, there are the spirits of his forefathers, river-spirits, forest-spirits, well-demons, and a mighty host of unseen beings whom he must keep in good humour. His gods chiefly dwell in the ancient Sâl-trees which shade his hamlets ; he propitiates them with offerings of the blood of goats, cocks, and chickens ; if the sacrificer cannot afford an animal, he draws near to his gods with a red flower or a red fruit.

Every one of these purely Santâli, Indo-Chinese customs—the village headman, marriage inside the jât but outside the gotra ; expulsion from the jât ; demon and spirit worship ; offerings of blood replaced by red flowers ; oblation to the ancestors—are generally considered part and parcel of the very essence of ceremonial Hinduism.

Then take a Dravidian race, the Kandhs of Orissa.* Among the Dravidian Kandhs, as among the Indo-Chinese Santâlis, marriage between relations, or even within the same tribe, is forbidden. The Kandhs engaged only in husbandry and war, and despised all other work. Attached to each Kandh village was a row of hovels, inhabited by a lower race, who were not allowed to hold land, to go forth to battle, or to join in the village worship. These poor people did all the dirty work of the hamlets, and supplied families of hereditary weavers, blacksmiths, potters, herds-men, and distillers. They were not ill-treated, and a por-

* Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. "India," pp. 61, 62.

tion of each feast was left for them. But they could never rise in the social scale. No Kandh could engage in their work without degradation, nor eat food prepared by their hands. The lower race can give no account of their origin, but are supposed to be a ruder tribe whom the Kandhs found in possession of their hills. The Kandhs used to practise human sacrifice.

Here again we have, in a purely Dravidian race inhabiting a remote mountain range, a series of customs generally considered to be purely "Hindu"; and in the relation of the Kandhs to the subject race, we have a remarkable analogy to Manu's precept: "It is the duty of a Kshatriya to fight; it is the duty of a Shudra to serve." The division of this lower race into hereditary trade-guilds or castes, is exactly the same as in "Hinduism"; as also the institution of human sacrifice: the last human sacrifice to the Hindu goddess Kâli was offered, in Hugli, only twenty-seven years ago.

It is quite evident, therefore, that a medley of the beliefs and customs of the Santâlis and Kandhs, or of other Indo-Chinese or Dravidian tribes, might, by the addition of a few names, become the "Hinduism" of Bengal; just as this "Hinduism," with the addition of a few rites, has become the Mussulmanism of the rural masses—the "mongrel breed of circumcised Hindus." In fact, the Mussulmanism and Hinduism of Bengal are nothing but a medley of the beliefs and customs of non-Aryan Dravidians and Indo-Chinese.

It would be of absorbing interest to examine how far these original beliefs of the non-Aryan tribes have affected the faith of the Aryan Brahmans; how far, to the inverse attraction of the non-Aryan races, are due the successive changes from the bright gods of the Vedas to the complex mythology of the later Purânas.

It would be of absorbing interest; but many years of patient study are required, before any firm conclusions can be reached; so that I must content myself with recording

the conviction that this is the direction Indian Orientalism will take in the future.

In the meantime, I think I may say that the evidence of beliefs and customs I have brought forward, fully supports my ethnical conclusion as to the *Dravidian and Indo-Chinese character of the population of Bengal*.

I have spoken of the inverse attraction of religion : there is, however, another inverse attraction, that of language, to which I wish to draw attention.

It will be remembered that my first conclusion in this inquiry was, that the Bengali of the masses—Low-Bengali—is an agglutinative language like the Dravidian tongues ; or a language between the monosyllabic and agglutinative stages, like the Indo-Chinese Santâli. My second conclusion was that the masses of Bengalis are not Aryan in race, or Vedic in religion ; but that in race and religion they are almost pure Dravidians and Indo-Chinese.

From these major and minor premises I would draw the conclusion that the agglutinative or semi-agglutinative grammar of the Bengali of the masses is directly due to the "Inverse Attraction" of the agglutinative or semi-agglutinative grammar of the Dravidian and Indo-Chinese languages it has displaced, or is displacing.

It is true that this conclusion is at variance with the axiom that "languages adopt vocables, but grammar never,"—an axiom broadly true of fully formed languages ; but I believe it can be shown that nascent languages do adopt grammar ; and that the process can be watched actually in operation. I may illustrate this conclusion by two dialects of English, in process of formation at this moment, both of which are adopting the grammar of the language they are displacing.

The first of these nascent dialects is what is called "Pidgin" or China-English—the dialect of English spoken by the Chinese in California and Australia. This "Pidgin" is a dialect mainly English in vocabulary, but purely Chinese, I believe, in grammar ; it is probable that, even

now, this dialect is spoken by a far larger number of people than Albanian, or Basque, or Armorican, or a score of other languages whose independent existence is unquestionable. I believe, therefore, that I am right in saying that, in China-English, or "Pidgin," we have an instance of grammatical "Inverse Attraction," by which the English vocabulary adopted by the Chinese has been attracted into the grammatical form of the Chinese language which it is displacing.

We can see exactly the same process going on nearer home, in a dialect of English spoken by the peasantry in the south and west of Ireland. It has been shown by Dr. D. Hyde, the Celtic scholar, that the "Hibernicisms" of this dialect are nothing but word for word translations of pure Gaelic idioms into English—another case of "Inverse Attraction," by which the adopted vocabulary is attracted into the grammatical form of the language it has displaced.

In the same way, I conceive that when the Indo-Chinese and Dravidian inhabitants borrowed an Aryan, Sanskrit or Prākritic vocabulary, this vocabulary was attracted into the grammatical form of the agglutinative languages it displaced; and that to this "Inverse Attraction" is due the decidedly agglutinative character which I have shown as pervading Low-Bengali grammar.

It may be remembered that, in describing the process of Prākritizing, I showed that, on their adoption into Bengali, Sanskrit words were cast into a *new phonetic mould*; this process of re-casting is a phonetic "Inverse Attraction," just as the assimilation of form is a grammatical "Inverse Attraction." I believe both processes can be demonstrated to take place in every case when a word, or a group of words, are adopted into a language of a different phonetic or grammatical type. The Prākritizing of Sanskrit words, in their passage to Bengali, I conceive, therefore, to be the result of the effort of Dravidian and Indo-Chinese—races of a different phonetic type—to pronounce Sanskrit forms.

This process of Prākritizing, in India, is curiously like what takes place when races of a different phonetic type

try to pronounce English, or some other Aryan language. Compare the Prākṛit forms *Vihapaddi* for *Vrhaspatis*, and *Kilittho* for *Kṛishtas*, with the Polynesian *Hiteeli* for *steel*, and the Chinese *Ki-li-si-tu* for *Christ*, and it is at once evident that the same process of phonetic "Inverse Attraction" is operative in both cases.

It is unnecessary, at present, to collect further instances of "Inverse Attraction," whether phonetic or grammatical. I believe it will be found that these processes invariably take place, whenever a vocable or a vocabulary is adopted by a race of a different phonetic or grammatical type; that the vocable or vocabulary tends to assume the phonetic or grammatical form of the language it displaces; further, that the evidence of this attraction having taken place in a language will infallibly indicate its adoption by an alien race; and, lastly, that in this law of "Inverse Attraction" we have the "missing link" of evidence, for the lack of which identity of vocabulary has often been wrongly interpreted as identity of blood; and that this hitherto little noticed philological law will be found to modify the normal progress of linguistic development, as largely as the mimetic instinct of insects and flowers modifies the normal progress of atavistic reproduction.

And, though I do not expect that these results will be accepted without further study and examination, I do confidently claim that they demonstrate the necessity, or, at any rate, the abundant advantage, of combining Ethnographical Studies with Philological Research.

CHARLES JOHNSTON,
Bengal Civil Service.

OBSERVATIONS ON DR. TSUBOI'S DISCOVERY OF ARTIFICIAL CAVES IN JAPAN.

BY W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.,

Late Japanese Secretary, H.M.'s Legation Tokio.

DR. TSUBOI's discovery of a number of artificial caves at Nishi Yoshimi in Eastern Japan will be received with much interest by all who have given attention to Japanese archæology. A few of these monuments of antiquity had been already examined by others, but it was reserved for him to explore them on an extensive scale and to supply many interesting details which throw much light on their character and object. Perhaps he may on some future occasion favour us with a similar report on the thirty other cave districts which he has visited.

But, while rendering justice to the value of the facts collected by Dr. Tsuboi, it may be permitted to question some of his conclusions, more especially his view that these excavations were primarily intended as dwellings. There appears, from the evidence he himself has furnished, good reason to think that they were meant in the first place for sepulchres, although some of them were doubtless used as shelters by beggars or outlaws at a later period.

First of all it strikes one as improbable that so much labour should have been expended merely to provide a dark and narrow cell (2 or 2½ metres square), so wet that gutters were necessary to carry off the leakage, and with sleeping accommodation for only one, two, or occasionally three persons. This too is in a country where wood and other building materials are abundant. It is not easy to see how the ordinary occupations of a household could be carried on in such a narrow space, with doors opening on a precipitous hillside. The improbability becomes more glaring when it is remembered that from the earliest times the Japanese have been an agricultural race, and that accommodation was required not only for their families but for their implements of husbandry, their crops, and their domestic animals. Nor is this all. A glance at the drawings given opposite to p. 283, showing the modes of closing the entrances, will convince anyone that the roof of the entrance, with its drop near the middle, was so constructed purposely that it might be closed *from the outside* with a slab of stone, an arrangement which alone leads irresistibly to the conclusion that these excavations could not have been primarily meant for dwellings.

Dr. Tsuboi very justly points out that the fragments of Iwaibe (sacrificial vessels) found close to the caves must be contemporaneous with their use as tombs. It is a pity he could not have found space for a more detailed description of this pottery. I presume it is of the same character as that called Giôgi-yaki—viz., unglazed vessels of certain well-defined shapes, turned on a wheel, and ornamented with wavy lines made by a stick or wooden comb. The larger specimens have mat-impressions outside, and
in are marked by a curious stamped circular pattern which has been

called the Korean wheel.* Popular tradition has it that this kind of pottery was introduced into Japan in the eighth century A.D. by a Buddhist priest of Korean extraction, named Giôgi, who is also credited *inter alia* with the invention of the potter's wheel. There is good reason, however, to think that this instrument became known to the Japanese some centuries before Giôgi's time. A guild of Korean potters, who can hardly have been ignorant of the use of the wheel, was established in Japan in the fifth century. They were probably the first makers of the so-called Giôgi ware, which, be it observed, is identical in character with the older Korean pottery. The inference as to the date of the pottery found by Dr. Tsuboi and of the caves with which it is associated is obvious.

The clay cylinder† found near the caves belong to a different category. They are not wheel-made, but shaped in a mould, and are more like terra-cotta than pottery. They are not Korean in style, and probably represent the type of pottery in use in Japan before the establishment of the Korean manufacture. There is therefore no reason to limit their age to the date just mentioned, and, in fact, they are found surrounding the tombs of emperors who must go back to the beginning of the Christian era if not further. But these cylinders are appurtenances of a tumulus of the first or second class. Their object was, partly at least, to prevent the soil from being washed away by rain, and they have no *raison d'être* in connection with caves dug in a rock. Their presence at Nishi Yoshimi, if there is no mistake as to the description, points not doubtfully to the existence of a large sepulchral mound in the immediate vicinity. This supposition is rendered more probable by the fact that Mr. Satow in the paper above referred to describes some such mounds, which are situated a few miles farther north. Would it be possible for Dr. Tsuboi to have this suggestion verified?

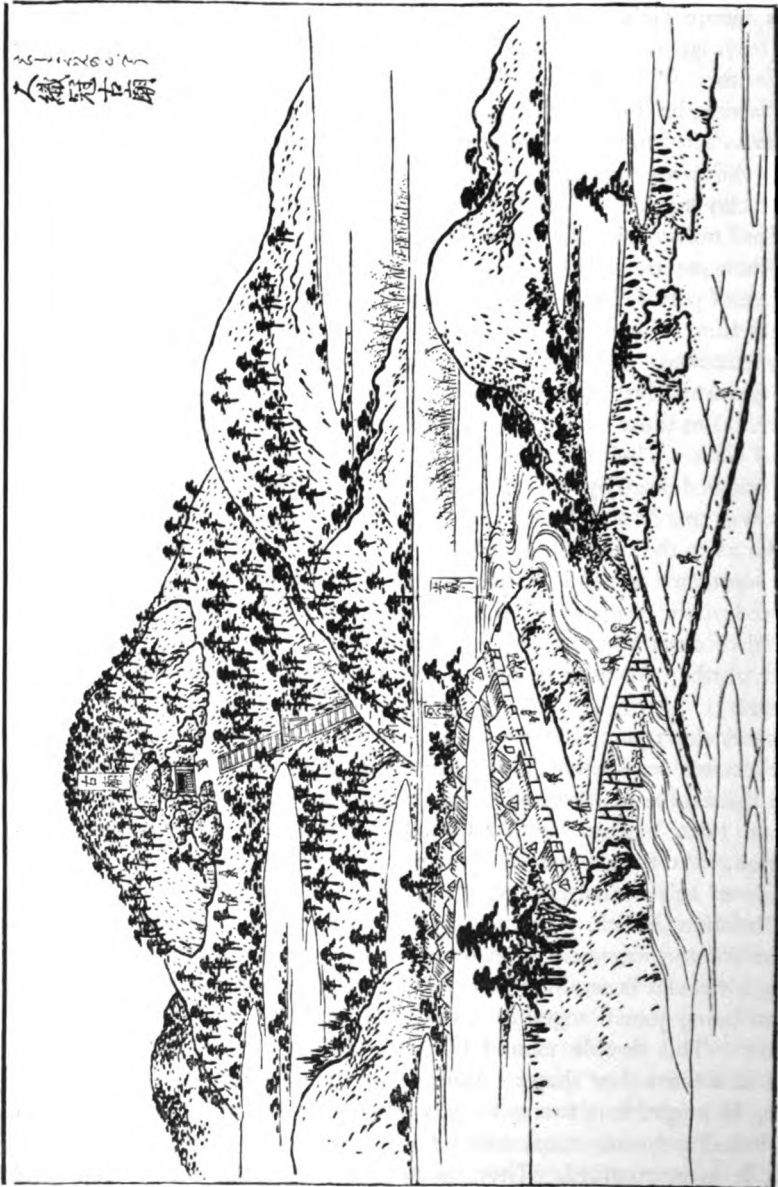
A short description of the ordinary system of interment practised by the upper classes in Ancient Japan may throw some light on the relation in which these cave-tombs stand towards it. The most ancient tomb seems to have been a plain circular tumulus of no great size erected on an elevation. At least, some of the more ancient Emperors were buried in mounds of this character. At some time, however, not far distant from the Christian Epoch, a highly specialized form of tumulus came into fashion for the interment of sovereigns. It consists of two mounds, one having a circular base, the other shaped like a truncated isosceles triangle, the two being joined together so that the ground-plan resembles a keyhole in form. This double mound is surrounded by one or sometimes two moats of a horse-shoe shape. Many of these tumuli are of enormous size, varying in height from twenty to sixty feet. That of the Emperor Nintoku, near Sakai, measures 2,494 yards round the outer of the two moats by which it is surrounded. They do not face any particular point of the horizon. The slope is not even, but is broken by terraces, along each of

* Numerous drawings of this pottery are given in a paper by Mr. E. M. Satow in vol. vii., part iii., of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. There is a good collection in the British Museum—the Gowland collection.

† There is a specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford.

which, as well as on the margin of the moats, is placed a row of the clay cylinders above mentioned.

It is uncertain at what time it became the practice to construct a vaulted stone chamber within the tumulus. We know, however, that some of these



TOMB OF THE JAPANESE MINISTER OF STATE, KANATARI, WHO DIED A.D. 669.

chambers date from the sixth century A.D. The entrance to them is by a long gallery, which always opens toward the south.

Princes and other persons of high rank were buried in circular mounds of smaller size, with one or two terraces provided with rows of clay

cylinders, and usually surrounded by a small moat. Those of later date contain a stone chamber.

The tumuli of the nobility and officials may still be seen in great numbers in the provinces near Kioto, known as the Gokinai. They are plain circular mounds without moat, terraces, or clay cylinders, and are generally found in groups on the lower slope of a hill. Like the others, they contain a chamber, which is entered by a gallery opening to the south—the same aspect as the Nishi Yoshimi caves. The walls of the chamber converge towards the top, which is then roofed in by a few rough blocks of stone often many tons in weight. The gallery is roofed in a similar manner. Sometimes it was adapted for being closed by a large slab of rock in a similar manner to the entrances to the caves at Nishi Yoshimi, but more commonly it was simply closed by blocks of stone thrown in anyhow.

An edict has come down to us dated A.D. 646, which regulates minutely the construction of these tombs. It is too long to quote *in extenso*; but I may mention that it provides that in the case of a functionary of the highest rank, the vault should be 9 feet long by 5 feet wide, and the covering mound 7 fathoms square and 3 fathoms high. It was also enacted that the tumuli should be built on uncultivated hill-sides, and grouped in cemeteries instead of each family burying where they found it most convenient.

Tombs answering the above description are not unfrequent in the near neighbourhood of Nishi Yoshimi, as shown by Mr. Satow's paper already referred to; and I think it will appear a probable conjecture that the artificial caves discovered by Dr. Tsuboi are an adaptation to circumstances of this form of burial. It was found that the sandstone rock lent itself more readily to excavation than to the splitting off of the great slabs of stone required for the roofing of the mound-enclosed vaults. Their situation in groups on a barren hill-side may well have been in order to comply with the enactment above quoted. That they belong to about the same period is shown by the character of the pottery found in and about them.

The building of costly mounds began to fall into disuse in the eighth century, and after the capital was transferred to Kioto in A.D. 794 was only occasionally practised—at least, in the case of sovereigns and grandees. For persons of inferior rank it may possibly have remained the custom for some little time longer. Its abandonment was due to the spread of Buddhist ideas of the worthlessness of these mortal frames of ours, and also, no doubt, to a desire to spare the people what had become the very onerous burden of their construction.

Everything considered, I would suggest the 8th century A.D. as not far from the date of the excavations at Nishi Yoshimi. Further investigations may enable us to establish it with greater precision. For the additional data which are necessary in order to do so, we must depend on explorers who like Dr. Tsuboi are able to conduct their inquiries in Japan itself. A wide field is open to them.

A few words about the Tsuchigumo. What little is known of them is contained in three passages of the Nihongi and one passage of the Kojiki,

all of which belong to the highly legendary period of Japanese History. We gather from them that the Tsuchigumo were usually, though not invariably, outlaws who defied the Imperial authority. They had Japanese names, and inhabited such long-settled provinces as Yamato, Harima, and Bungo. There is nothing to suggest that they were not of Japanese race beyond the statement in the Nihongi that some of them had short bodies and long arms and legs, and were of the same class as pigmies. This, however, I take to be nothing more than a product of the popular imagination working on the hint contained in the name *ttsuchi-gumo* which is literally "earth-spider." Some etymologists prefer the derivation which connects *kumo* (or *gumo*) with *komori* to hide, thus making *ttsuchi-gumo* the "Earth-hiders." But this is probably a distinction without a difference, these two words containing the same root, and the animal which we call the spider, *i.e.*, spinner, being in Japan termed the "hider," an epithet of which no one who has observed its habits will dispute the appropriateness. An ancient Japanese book says *Ttsuchi-gumo* is a mere nickname. It is therefore to be compared with our clod-hopper or bog-trotter.

One of the passages above referred to speaks of *Ttsuchi-gumo* who lived in a rock-cave, but there is nothing to show whether it was natural or artificial. The *Kojiki* tells us of a band of *Ttsuchi-gumo* who occupied a *muro*. This *muro* was large enough to hold 160 persons, so it could have had little in common with the Nishi-Yoshimi excavations. But it was not only *Ttsuchi-gumo* who inhabited *muro*. Allusions to these dwellings are frequent in the older Japanese literature long after the period assigned to the *Ttsuchi-gumo*, and from the way they are spoken of they were plainly not uncommon. It results from a comparison of numerous passages in which *muro* are mentioned that they were houses consisting of a wooden frame lashed together by ropes of a creeping vine, thatched with reeds and built in a pit several feet deep, to which steps led down. The walls had sedge or reeds by way of laths which were also fastened with cords of creepers, and were probably plastered with a mixture of clay and grass. Within there was a wooden platform for sleeping on.

Now it will be obvious that the epithet "Earth-hider" is more appropriate to dwellers in such pit-houses than to the inhabitants of rock-caves. *Ttsuchi* is earth, not rock. Probably the *muro* inhabited by the *Ttsuchi-gumo* were of a ruder kind than those described, perhaps resembling one which I have seen used as a lodging by the poorer class of pilgrims to Mt. Ôyama, and which was a square pit three or four feet deep covered with a thatched roof, the ends of which rested on the edge of the pit. There were no walls. At the present day the word *muro* is applied to gardeners' forcing-pits and to ice-houses, so that the original meaning of the word has not been altogether lost sight of.

It seems difficult to trace any connection between the *Ttsuchi-gumo* or their habitations and the caves discovered by Dr. Tsuboi. It may be, however, that the *muro* was the type after which the first mound-enclosed vaults were constructed.

REMARKS ON IBRAHIM HAKKI BEY'S ARTICLE :

"*IS TURKEY PROGRESSING?*"

BY HYDE CLARKE.

CERTAINLY not the least interesting, and probably the most influential and important article in the April number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* is that by Ibrahim Hakki Bey, at p. 265.

Let us hope it will mark an epoch in the relations of Turkey and England; for it is the first exposition of Turkish policy and progress to the hundred millions of English-speaking people, in their own language, by an Osmanli. These millions constitute the greatest force and power for promoting civilization and freedom throughout the world, and consequently the strongest counterpoise to Russia. Compared with this influence, that of Russian, German, Spanish, Italian, French and other smaller nationalities is but limited. The press and political institutions as developed among the English-speaking races are of themselves powerful factors in their moral influence.

Hitherto the Osmanlis have abstained from literary relations with those best qualified to show them sympathy. Hence that state of affairs as to public opinion here, which Hakki Bey bewails (p. 265), and which is most prejudicial to the political and industrial welfare of Turkey. Large as is the Ottoman empire, the English and American empires extend over a far larger surface of the globe, and over at least a third of the human race. Hence arises a mass of interests, which come closer home to our people, than Turkish affairs which are only of partial concern. It lies with our Turkish friends to avail themselves of the press, which is free, and which it is not necessary to pay like Paris journals for *Réclames*.

True it is, as Hakki Bey says, that the most extravagant ideas find credence in our press; but it is not true that

the English and American press lies in hands whose interest it is to suppress the truth. In many cases, however, from partisan motives, some correspondents of papers are anti-Turkish ; and their misrepresentations are turned to account by Greek, Armenian, Russian and other enemies of the Turks. No explanation is given by Turkish writers of matters, unknown to their friends here. Consequently here Turkey is ignored. Whether Turkey has a literature or no, whether the people can read or write, and have books, is only known to those who may see the articles of Urquhart, Vambéry and the few writers in English on Turkey. For a quarter of a century I have vainly tried to induce some Turkish literary friend to contribute to a literary journal an account of the present condition of Turkish literature. The *Athenæum* gives, each year, articles on the literature of Poland, Sweden, or Greece, but not of Turkey. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Turkey fares most scantily, with a few paragraphs from the *Athenæum*.

I have also vainly tried to induce Turkish public men to give details of those institutions, referred to by Hakki Bey (p. 272) under which Jews and Christians in Turkey enjoy greater privileges and more individual freedom than most people do in France and other European countries. This would constitute the most effective answer to the lying representations as to the persecution of the Christians in Turkey, that produce so unfavourable an impression among its friends and enemies here. These institutions, peculiar, and dependent on religious and sectarian organization, are difficult for outsiders to understand ; and a detailed explanation by Hakki Bey would supply a remarkable chapter in the history of political institutions.

Some account of Mussulman legal education would also be useful, showing the real bases on which these institutions rest. Our Indian officials and those of Russia, who have published manuals of Mussulman law, know that their Eastern judicial brethren, far from being absolute savages, are as learned as those of the West. No exposition, how-

ever, exists of the origin, it may be said, the common origin, of doctrines in oriental law books, with the ancient sources whence are derived the admired and elaborate compilations of Roman law, or of modern codes founded upon this. Only the wide knowledge of a Sir Henry Mayne could do justice to such a subject.

Hakki Bey has preferred to begin with the great progress made in recent years in Turkey in public instruction. It may, however, be open to question whether the people of Turkey are or have been so deficient in practical intelligence, as Hakki Bey and his Western rivals represent. It is indeed a great subject for consideration, what are the intrinsic characteristics of schoolmastership, and what their results on the population in China, Turkey and England. We know the popular notions derived from writers ; but actual and practical facts do not always support theoretical statements. Western schooling is assumed to be superior to Oriental ; and Hakki Bey labours to show that his Ottoman friends are adopting Western models. Hence he himself, like others, is inclined to depreciate the old Turkish teaching. Yet precisely that older teaching must have made the Turks of to-day, as it was our older teaching, which made the late generations of Englishmen. The tests to be applied are not those of the school Inspector as to the lessons that can be repeated, but whether the Turk or the Englishman is a good law-abiding citizen and an industrious man, and in the case of the Turk, a patriotic soldier, ready to maintain the honour and dignity of his Country, at the peril of his own life.

Hakki Bey does not overrate the old common schools of Turkey, nor the Medresseh ; nor does he seek to propitiate the advanced educationalist or the advocate of technical education. He very probably thinks that Englishmen have been trained under some system very different from that of his own country. But during the greater part of this century, the wealthier, and many of the middle classes have frequented grammar schools, where neither the English

language, writing, nor arithmetic, much less science, was taught by the masters, or learned by the boys. The sons of the political and professional classes wrote and spelled badly their own language. Just as the Turks were taught in Arabic instead of Turkish, so have the English been taught Latin and Greek, and even the Greek Grammar in Latin! English history, English Grammar, German or French, Geography, Science were not taught, as Hakki Bey supposes. Of the lower and the common schools it is unnecessary here to speak.

Practically the adult Englishmen of the present day were taught, as people are in China and Turkey. Latin, a foreign language, has for centuries here occupied the place that the classics hold in China, and Arabic in Mussulman countries. Yet neither Chinese nor Turkish statesmen have been unintelligent or inferior beings. 'Ali, Fuad, Ahmad Vefik, Munif were able to hold their own against all whomsoever. These are indeed picked men; but those who have come in contact with Chinese and Turkish public men, know that their standard is high. Turkish officials, if they do not know English or Latin, may know Turkish, Arabic and Persian, and have a mass of acquirements equivalent to those of the Western.

The real essentials of the various school systems of schooling consist in applying methods of discipline and drill, for training the mind. The use of so imperfect a medium as Latin holds its own with many in this country, as against the adoption of scientific instruction for a substitute. Practically we ought to consider, what we do not consider, of what the mind of the boy or man is capable? and how far the schoolmaster can go? We seek a theoretical standard—the possession of all human knowledge, though with all our cramming, the minds of most boys cannot or will not retain what is taught; and as to schoolmasters they are insufficient in numbers and in industry. Hence they adopt a drill (Latin or Arabic) under which they can teach a number of boys at once. What is in truth effected is

some training in habits of perseverance and industry. So were our forefathers trained in the time of Elizabeth, and they were not inferior to Englishmen now.

Imagination and exaggeration apart; the sober results of male and female education, under pretentious systems, in Scotland and the United States, have not supported the vaunts of their advocates. A very curious example of the effect of education by rote on the old methods is found in the common Jewish schools, the Talmud Torah. The teaching in Hebrew in these places, large or small, scattered over the globe, is of a low theoretical type. It is, however, a sufficient drill; and many a leading Jew, who has made his way in the world, has had nothing but a scanty instruction in the Talmud Torah.

Though written rather in reference to Hakki Bey's apology, this tells likewise in defence of what should be the real aims in the education of a nation. Knowledge of all kinds, and particularly practical knowledge, is of the greatest value; but schoolmastership is not the sole power in promoting the moral, social, political and industrial welfare of men. It cannot be true that the Turks really are in these respects so far behind us as is alleged. The true picture of the Turks is certainly that of a noble people, contending for their independence, against the most audacious conspiracies of the enemies of human freedom and civilization. These practical results are the test of the condition of the people.

One may be inclined to differ from Hakki Bey's statement (p. 267), that the wars and other events in the reigns of 'Abdul Mejid and 'Abdul Aziz greatly impeded intellectual development in Turkey; but perhaps by this phrase he means the development of the new school. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of Turkey and its people, than the intellectual development, during those reigns. With their country in perpetual peril, a band of devoted and patriotic men persevered in the task of restoring and extending Turkish literary development. One particular

labour was to preserve and extend the old school of history ; —the solid and successful work of Ahmad Jevdet Pasha and his contemporaries.

Besides the system of schools, superior, secondary, and elementary, described by Hakki Bey, technical books in Turkish were provided for many departments, to enable students to learn in their own language and independent of foreign manuals. The national language was so cultivated by 'Ali, Fuad, and their coadjutors, that without sacrificing the adornments of the classic style, anything spoken or written in Turkish was made comprehensible to the population, instead of being obscured by extraneous ornamentation. This has been a great basis of power to the new Turkish press. In carrying out this mission it is to be noted that its authors worked on lines different from those on which others were simultaneously trying to nationalize the vernacular languages in other countries of Eastern Europe. The object of the restorers of Magyar, Rumaic and Armenian was to exclude every foreign word, however familiar, and to substitute some archaic term. Thus the main body of the population found a new language, knowledge of which can only come to the next generation, from the action of schools.

There might have been a temptation to cultivate Turki in a like fashion, but it was not done. Common and familiar words were preserved ; and Arabic words, as familiar with the thoughts of the instructed, were adopted for the new technical terms required by the introduction of modern sciences and ideas. Thus, while popular and national requirements are complied with, the type of Osmanli is maintained on its old footing.

All this was accompanied by a general literary revival. The older classics were reprinted, poetry and novel-writing were cultivated, and efforts made to promote useful and entertaining publications, to attract the public. The foundations of a theatre were laid, which is slowly growing, acquiring popularity. A great and steady work has

been the creation of a press, which if it does not reach the standards of England and America, is on a par with the journals of most countries in Europe. There are many special professional periodicals; and the Government has helped considerably in promoting them, and in extending the local press. In the East, the news-writer has not held the highest rank; but the Government has specially encouraged journalists by conferring upon them decorations, and, what is of more importance, rank, which in Turkey, as in China, Russia and India, constitutes the hierarchy of the social system. Literary distinction has long been a qualification for political employment and advancement, and the journalists share in such encouragement. Nowhere have men of talent had a more favoured career than in modern Turkey. This is why patriotic exertion has never been relaxed, even with the enemy at the gates, and national sentiment has been maintained, even under the discouragement of military defeat or political disaster.

It is impossible to record this or anything relating to the progress of Turkey without bearing in mind how extensively the imperial dynasty has helped to promote the welfare of the country. Their strong hold on the affections of the people, has enabled the sovereigns to exercise a personal influence for good, rare in any country. Loyalty is seldom more than a mere sentiment; but in Turkey it is a reality. Hakki Bey is no adulator, when he says that the court of Mahmud, and of his son and grandson bears comparison with that of Peter the Great. Certainly it does; but with this observation: that whereas Peter the Great stood alone, the labour, in Turkey, has been carried on by the members of the remarkable dynasty of Ottoman, and is continued by the Sultan 'Abdul Hamid, who has gained the respect of statesmen throughout Europe. If Peter the Great had had such successors, the present condition of Russia might better have responded to the efforts of that remarkable man, and Russia might be civilized.

The material progress of Turkey has been largely ad-

vanced. Part of the plan for its development—the construction of a railway system—has taken a long time, and much exertion, and has been attended with many sacrifices. The Government suffered largely from want of experience and from ignorance of the manœuvres of speculators ; but valuable results are now being achieved. It is well to put foremost what was done as to the earliest railways in Western Asia Minor, too much neglected of late by writers on the subject. The two railways, (the Smyrna-Aidin and the Smyrna-Cassaba,) have opened up a large region of productive country, and given the Government confidence at length to carry out the important measure of connexion with the European railway system. This design, for which Sir R. Macdonald Stephenson patriotically exerted himself for so many years, is of more moment than is generally conceived. The Roumelian Railways are commonly put down by writers as merely so many miles of railway in length, as if they were of the same kind as the Smyrna railways. These latter, however, are purely local, and can only stimulate a local development ; but the others, uniting Turkey with the whole railway system of Europe, has the effect of enabling it to share in all the advantages of industrial advancement resulting from this great modern instrument of civilization and culture.

One consequence, not generally appreciated, is that the Asiatic Railway Continuation has now become practicable, for which Turkey was supposed to be unable to provide the resources. It is, however, now evident that the Asiatic extensions will not only reach the main centres of Asia Minor, but, will form a through line to the Tigris and the Euphrates, so long advocated by us for political and economical reasons. Thus the prospects of the Turkish empire for means of transport and protection have acquired great interest and importance.

With the financial matters referred to by Hakki Bey, having regard to the part taken by me for some years, I
in from dealing.

The development of mining in Turkey has not been what it ought owing to the common vice of the administration, of imitating French models : in consequence of this a cumbrous code of mining administration obstructs the due development of industry. Of all countries, France was the last to copy, not being a mining country : Spain or Russia would have afforded better lessons. Once, when consulted by the Government I obtained a relaxation of the original code ; but though promised, the necessary further modification was not carried out. The Government, like some others, was under the delusion that mining is a highly profitable pursuit, whereas it is one of the most precarious, and can only be carried on at considerable sacrifice, in the spirit of adventure. The Government did one good thing in getting rid of its copper and silver mines, convinced at length that these monopolies entailed a substantive loss.

The Turkish Government can well bear to be tested by its fruits and the condition of the population. Hakki Bey has a right to claim (p. 278), that, with all said and published about brigandage and crimes of violence, the proportion of crime in Turkey is less than in most countries. To say nothing of France itself, the condition of Corsica after more than a century of French administration is worse than that of many parts of Turkey, and the whole power of France cannot suppress brigandage. Italy and Sicily, Spain and Greece speak for themselves. Nor should we forget that Turkey is subject to the invasions of Greek brigands, not only on its frontiers, but particularly on its extended seacoasts : A boat can take across a company of brigands to any point, supplied with the best arms by Greek traders, who share in the expedition. Our own troubles in Ireland show how imperfect a strong government may be against the organization of criminal populations. In India and Burmah dacoity, murder, assassination, and robbery exist to an extent unhappily proportioned to the vast population. The English press is kept well supplied with Turkish atrocities by Armenian and other conspirators ; but we never hear

anything of crimes committed by Armenians, of which there is evidence enough in the local press.

The Turks do not even defend themselves, and so they leave the minds of the English-speaking populations to be poisoned. The Turks are so taken up by their mania for France and what is French, that they devote themselves to Paris and to subsidising French papers and writers, who levy a considerable tribute upon them. Every Paris journalist has a Turkish decoration. Whether impostors lead the Turks to believe they can influence the English press is not known; but the Turks themselves neglect writing in English papers, which not only want no payment but pay large salaries to their correspondents in Turkey.

At one time the Turks had intelligence enough to seek the aid of the English in shipbuilding, railways and finance; for they knew that the so-called centre of civilisation in Paris only followed in the wake of the English. Later, however, they allowed themselves to be persuaded that French was the great language of literature, politics and diplomacy, and applied themselves to its study in schools at home, and by going to France. At Galata is a school wholly French! Hence, in course of time, a most serious prejudice to Turkey has ensued, morally, socially, politically and industrially. This the Turks brought about though they well knew that for three centuries the French had been their enemies, and that their intrigues in Syria have been persistent. One of the latest financial troubles in Constantinople arose from the Government giving a contract to the French for two war steamers. The French ambassadors and agents have always persistently pushed French pretensions, claims, and trading interests. The English have not followed a similar course; and indeed their dragomans, frequently foreigners, have sometimes been mixed up in speculations with their kindred of the French service.

The Turks at length found out that French was not the language of diplomacy, and that the great nations, England

and the United States, declined to use it and insisted on their own. Thereupon they sagaciously broke the power of their ancient enemies, the dragomans, and became independent by instituting the Translation Department of the Foreign office. The English, who greatly resemble the Turks in neglecting their own interests, are not yet free from their Levantine and half-caste dragomans, and are but slowly training English students of Turkish, although the necessity has long been evident.

English was only learned by naval officers, who studied in England; but these took little part in Turkish political life. English has also been taught in the Naval school at Halki, at one time by a Frenchman, who did not know it! The story goes that when the Porte, finding French of little good for naval officers, suppressed the French professorship at Halki, the English professorship happened to be vacant, and on the French ambassador intervening for his unfortunate fellow countryman, the Turks with their constitutional good nature, said, Let him teach English, as if the languages were the same. This suited the lads at Halki; for the French classes being suppressed, and the Frenchman being unable to teach English, they had freedom from both lessons.

The Turkish officers, who learned English, spoke it like natives, and made a deep impression on their English friends. There are many resemblances between Turkish and English construction; and some philologists believe that a Turanian influence is to be traced in English. The English verb is very simple; and so is the Turkish, and the two have many similarities of idiom. English has prepositions chiefly, while Turkish has post-positions; but these can be readily illustrated by a strong body of English post-positions. Thus the Turk easily, almost without knowing it, acquires colloquial and idiomatical English.

This, however, is not turned to account, for the political Turks all learn French. Thus they throw themselves into the arms of their enemies, and abandon their friends.

Every now and then, the old zeal is shown in England for their Turkish allies, and the strongest admiration is manifested; but when the emergency is over, both parties forget; deeds of heroism fall into oblivion, Turkish atrocities are reproduced, and the enemies of the sick man have their revenge. The only advocates the Turks find are a few Englishmen, besides their great protector, the Hungarian Professor Vambéry, whose eloquence arouses sympathy from England to India, and thence throughout the Atlantic States. Vambéry knows the value of the English press, which sheds on him a halo of glory. The Turks, thrown on French manuals and books, are supplied with inferior and second-hand information, in many cases imperfectly obtained from English and American sources.

Hence, the article of Hakki Bey in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly*, has its peculiar importance and significance. The enemies of Turkey will no longer have the English press to themselves; nor will they be able to coin a defence by calling a writer a Philo-Turk, as if it were not as legitimate for an Englishman to sympathise with a noble people like his Turkish allies, as to show sympathy for any other nationality. If other Turks will follow the example of Hakki Bey they will obtain great advantages for their country and its cause.

The English do not forget that they are the chief Mussulman power in the world, having so many millions of Mussulmans under their protection, not only in India, but in much scattered communities, in Australasia, at the Cape. The English-speaking Mussulmans of South Africa recognise the Sultan of Turkey as their spiritual head; and he contributes to their religious education. Thus from them the sovereigns of the two nations receive allegiance,—the one spiritual and the other civil. If the Turks cultivate the common bonds of alliance, they will arouse the sympathies of the English-speaking nations, through the free press by which so great an influence is exercised on the public opinion of the world.

LEGENDS, SONGS AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN.

BUJONI=RIDDLES, PROVERBS AND FABLES.

A. RIDDLES.

THE NAVEL.

1. *Tishkóreya ushkúrey halól.*

"The perpendicular mountain's sparrow's nest.
The body's sparrow's hole."

A STICK.

2. *Méy sazík héyn, súdeo peréyn, bás darre*
my sister is at day [*she*] walks, at night door
*pató; búja.**
behind; listen!

"Now listen! My sister walks in the day-time and at night stands behind the door." As "Sas" "Sazik" also means a stick, ordinarily called "Kunali" in Astori, the riddle means: "I have a stick which assists me in walking by day and which I put behind the door at night."

3. The Gilgitis say "méy káke tré pay; dashtea" = my brother has three feet; explain now. This means a man's two legs and a stick.

A RADISH.

4. *Astóri mió dádo dimm dáwa-lók; dáyn surpa-lók, buja.*

My grandfather's body [is] in Hades; his beard [is in] this world, [now] explain!

This riddle is explained by "radish" whose body is in the earth and whose sprouts, compared to a beard, are above the ground. Remarkable above all, however, is that the unknown future state, referred to in this riddle, should be called, whether blessed or cursed, "Dawalók" [the place of Gods] by these nominal Muhammadans. This world is called "Sarpalók," = the world of serpents. "Sarpe" is also the name for man. "Lók" is "place," but the name by itself is not at present understood by the Shins.

* Words inviting attention, such as "listen," "explain," etc., etc., are generally put at the end of riddles.

A HOOKA.

5. *G. méy* DADI *shishédji agár, lúpenu*
my father's mother on her head fire is burning.

The top of the Hooka is the *dadi*'s or grandmother's head.

A SWORD.

6. *Tutâng gotéjo rúi nikai*

"Darkness from the house the female demon is coming out," viz., "out of the dark sheath the beautiful, but destructive, steel issues." It is remarkable that the female Yatsh should be called "Rúi."

RED PEPPER.

7. *Lólo bakuró shé tshá lá há—bíja !*

In the red sheep's pen white young ones many are—attend !

This refers to the Redpepper husk in which there are many white seeds.

B. PROVERBS.

DOTAGE.

To an old man people say :

8. *Tú djarro móto shúdung* { "You are old and have
thou and old brains delivered, { got rid of your senses."

Old women are very much dreaded and are accused of creating mischief wherever they go.

DUTIES TO THE AGED.

9. (*G.**) *Djuwanie keneru digasus, djarvelo betshumus*
In youth's time I gave, in old age I demand

"When young I gave away, now that I am old you should support me."

A BURNT CHILD, ETC., ETC.

10. *Ek damm agáru² dáddo dugúni shang thé !*

Once in fire you have been burnt, a second time take care !

EVIL COMMUNICATIONS, ETC., ETC.

11. *Ek khatsh látshek bilo búdo donate she.*

One bad sheep if there be, to the whole flock is an insult
= One rotten sheep spoils the whole flock.

12. *Ek khatsho manújo budote sha* = one bad man is to
all an insult.

* The abbreviations "G." and "A." stand respectively for "in the giti dialect" and "in the Astori dialect."

ADVICE TO KEEP GOOD COMPANY.

13. A. *Mishto manújo*—*katshi béyto*, to *mishto sitshé*
Katsho manujo—*katshi béyto*, to *katsho sitshe*

When you [who are bad?] are sitting near a good man you learn good things.

When you [who are bad?] are sitting near a bad man you learn bad things.

This proverb is not very intelligible, if literally translated.

DIMMI CON CHI TU PRATTICHI, ETC., ETC.

14. *Tús máte rá* : *mey shughulo ró hun*, *mas tute rám* :
tu ko hanu = "Tell me : my friend is such and such a one,
 I will tell you who *you* are."

DISAPPOINTMENT.

15. *Sháharè kèru gé shing shém thé*—*konn tshint tey tshint téyanú*.

"Into the city he went horns to place (acquire), but ears he cut thus he did. He went to acquire horns and got his ears cut off."

HOW TO TREAT AN ENEMY.

Dî dê, *putsh kàh* = "give the daughter and eat the son," is a Gilgit proverb with regard to how one ought to treat an enemy. The recommendation given is: "marry your daughter to your foe and then kill him," [by which you get a male's head which is more valuable than that of a female.] The Dards have sometimes acted on this maxim in order to lull the suspicions of their Kashmir enemies.*

C. FABLES.

THE WOMAN AND THE HEN.

16. *Eyk tshéekeyn kokói ek astlli* ; *sése sóni thál (hané)*
déli ; *setshéy-se kokóite zanmá láo wíi* ; *tulé dù déy*
 (food, grain) eggs two giving
thé ; *sè ékenu lang bilt* ; *kokói dêr páy, múy*.
 does ; this one rid got ; the hen's stomach bursting, died.

MORAL.—*Anésey mant ant hant* = the meaning of this is this :

Láo arém thé ápejo lang biló.

Much to gain the little lost becomes.

* Not very many years ago the Albanian robbers in attacking shepherds used to consider themselves victorious if they had robbed more sheep than they had lost men.

Translation.

A woman had a hen ; it used to lay one golden egg ; the woman thought that if she gave much food it would lay two eggs ; but she lost even the one, for the hen died, its stomach bursting.

MORAL.—People often lose the little they have by aspiring to more.

17. THE SPARROW AND THE MOUNTAIN.

"A sparrow who tried to kick the mountain himself toppled over."

Shunútur-se tshíshe—sáti pájja dem thé náre gó.
The sparrow with the mountain kicked fall went.

18. THE BAT SUPPORTING THE FIRMAMENT.

The bat is in the habit of sleeping on its back. It is believed to be very proud. It is supposed to say as it lies down and stretches its legs towards heaven, "This I do so that when the heavens fall down I may be able to support them."

Tiltèd ráte súdo—to pey hunte angái—warì
A bat at night sleeping its legs upwards heaven—ward
theun ; angái wáti—to péy—gì sanarem theun.
does ; the heavens when falling with my feet uphold I will.

19. "NEVER WALK BEHIND A HORSE OR BEFORE A KING" as you will get kicked in either case.

ashpe pataní nè bó ; rajó mutshanì nè bó.
horse behind not walk ; raja in front not walk.

20. UNION IS STRENGTH.

"A kettle cannot balance itself on one stone ; on three, however, it does."

Ey pútsh ! èk gutur-yá dèh nè quriyein ; tré gútúrey á*
Oh son ! one stone on a kettle not stops ; three stones on
dek quréyn.
a kettle stop.

The Gilgitis instead of "ya" = "upon" say "dja."

"Gutur" is, I believe, used for a stone [ordinarily "bàtt"] only in the above proverb.

* "Tré" = "three" is pronounced like "tshé."

21. THE FROG IN A DILEMMA.

"If I speak, the water will rush against my mouth, and if I keep silent I will die bursting with rage."

This was said by a frog who was in the water and angry at something that occurred. If he croaked, he would be drowned by the water rushing down his throat, and if he did not croak he would burst with suppressed rage. This saying is often referred to by women when they are angry with their husbands, who may, perhaps, beat them if they say anything. A frog is called "manok."

Tós thém—to áze—jya wéy bojé; né them*
Voice I do—if mouth in water will come; not do,
to py muos.
then bursting I will die.

22. THE FOX AND THE UNIVERSE.

When a man threatens a lot of people with impossible menaces, the reply often is "Don't act like the fox 'Lóyn' who was carried away by the water." A fox one day fell into a river: as he swept past the shore he cried out, "The water is carrying off the universe." The people on the banks of the river said, "We can only see a fox whom the river is drifting down."

23. THE FOX AND THE POMEGRANATE.

Lóyn danù né utshàtte somm tshàmm
The fox the pomegranate not reached on account sour,
thù: tshùrko hanù.
spitting, sour it is.

"The fox wanted to eat pomegranates: as he could not reach them, he went to a distance and *biting his lips* [as "tshàmm" was explained by an Astori although Gilgitis call it "tshappé,"] spat on the ground, saying, they are too sour." I venture to consider the conduct of this fox more cunning than the one of "sour grapes" memory. His biting his lips and, in consequence, spitting on the ground, would make his disappointed face really look as if he had tasted something sour.

* Ae = (*Gilgiti*) mouth; aru = in the mouth; ázeju = against the mouth.
Aze = (*Astori*) mouth; ázeru = in the mouth; azeju = against the mouth.

SONGS.

THE GILGIT QUEEN AND THE MOGULS.

I. GILGITI SONG.

Once upon a time a Mogul army came down and surrounded the fort of Gilgit. At that time Gilgit was governed by a woman, Mirz y Juw ri* by name. She was the widow of a Rajah supposed to have been of Balti descent. The Lady seeing herself surrounded by enemies sang :

- I. Mirz y Juw ri = Oh [daughter of] Mirza, Juw ri !
 Shaker y pi l; dar  = [Thou art a] sugar cup; in the
 Duny  sang tar ye = world [thy] light has shone
 II. Abi Kh nn  dj lo = Abi Kh n [my son] was born
 Lam yi tey ! latsh r t ro = [I thy mother] am thy sacri-
 fice; the morning star
 Nik to = has risen

The meaning of this, according to my Gilgiti informant, is : Juw ri laments that " I, the daughter of a brave King, am only a woman, a cup of pleasures, exposed to dangers from any one who wishes to sip from it. To my misfortune, my prominent position has brought me enemies. Oh, my dear son, for whom I would sacrifice myself, I have sacrificed you ! Instead of preserving the Government for you, the morning-star which shines on its destruction has now risen on you."

SONG OF DEFIANCE.

2. GILGITI WAR SONG.

In ancient times there was a war between the Rajahs of Hunza and Nagyr. Muko and B ko were their respective Wazeers. Muko was killed and B ko sang :

Gilgiti.

Ala, mard ney, B ko-se : m  shos they !
 M ko-se : m  shos they !
 B ko-ga d n sajj y
 M ko may ro they

* [Her father was a Mirza and she was, therefore, called Mirz y.]

  Kh n is pronounced Khann for the sake of the metre.

English.

Hurrah ! warriors, Bako [says]: *I* will do well
 Muko [also says] *I* will do well
 And Bako turned out to be the lion
 [Whilst] Muko was [its prey], a [mere] Markhōr [the
 wild "snake-eating" goat]

LAMENT FOR THE ABSENT WARRIOR BY HIS MOTHER.

3. ANOTHER GILGITI WAR SONG.

Biyashtëyn nāng Kashīru

A Paradise [is the lot of whoever is struck by] the bullet
 of Kashīru ?

Gōu nēlli, āje Sahibe Khann*

He has gone, my child, mother of Sahibe Khann [to the
 wars].

Suregga karé wey jill bey ?

And the sun when coming will it shining become ?
 (When will his return cause the sun again to shine for
 me ?)

Mutshūtshul shong putēye

Of Mutshutshul† the ravine he has conquered

Htyokto bijéy, lamayi

Yet my soul is in fear, oh my beloved child, [literally: oh
 my sacrifice]

Ardām Dolója yujéy

To snatch [conquer] Doloja‡ is [yet necessary = has
 yet to be done].

Translation.

"The bullet of Kashīru sends many to Paradise. He
 has gone to the wars, oh my child and mother of Sahib
 Khan ! Will the sun ever shine for me by his returning ?
 It is true that he has taken by assault the ravine of Mut-
 shutshul, but yet, oh beloved child, my soul is in fear for his
 fate, as the danger has *not* passed, since the village Doloja
 yet remains to be conquered."

* Term of familiarity used in calling a daughter.

† Mutshutshul is a narrow pass leading from Gakutsh to Yassen.

‡ Doloja is a village ahead of Mutshutshul.

4. THE SHIN SHAMMI SHAH.

OLD NATIONAL SHINA SONG.

Shammi Shah Shaítngêy mtojo.

Shammi Shah Shaítng, from his courtyard.

<i>Djálle</i>	<i>tshâye</i>	<i>dúloe</i>	<i>dên.</i>
The green fields'	birds	promenade	they give.
<i>Nye'</i>	<i>tziréye</i>	<i>tshayote</i>	<i>kóy bijey.</i>
They (near)	twitter	birds	who fears ?*
<i>Tómi tom</i>	<i>shiudóke</i>	<i>dên</i>	
From tree to tree	a whistle	they give.	
<i>Alldátey</i>	<i>pótsheyn</i>	<i>mtojo.</i>	
Alldat's	grandson's	from the courtyard.	

<i>Djalle</i>	<i>tshaye</i>	<i>dúloe</i>	<i>dên.</i>
The green fields	birds	promenade	give.
<i>Nye'</i>	<i>tziréye</i>	<i>tshayote</i>	<i>kóy bijey.</i>
They	twitter	birds	who fears ?*
<i>Tomi tom ; ,</i>	<i>shiudóke</i>	<i>den.</i>	
From tree to tree ; :	a whistling	they give.	

Shammi Shah Shaítng was one of the founders of the Shín rule. His wife, although she sees her husband surrounded by women anxious to gain his good graces, rests secure in the knowledge of his affections belonging to her and of her being the mother of his children. She, therefore, ridicules the pretensions of her rivals, who, she fancies, will, at the utmost, only have a temporary success. In the above still preserved song she says, with a serene confidence, not shared by *Indian* wives.

Translation.

- “ In the very courtyard of Shammi Sha Shaítng.
 “ The little birds of the field flutter gaily about.
 “ Hear how they twitter ; yet, who would fear little birds,
 “ That fly from tree to tree giving [instead of lasting love]
 a gay whistle ?
 “ In the very courtyards of Alldat's grandson these birds
 flutter gaily about, yet who would fear them ?
 “ Hear how they twitter, etc., etc., etc.

* [To fear is construed with the Dative.]

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. III., page 446.)

XIV.

SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARY DISPUTES BY ORDEAL.

[This note consists of official correspondence relating to a now happily obsolete method of settling a boundary dispute between two villages. The date is 1795. The first letter is from the Collector of the Guntoor district to the Collector of the neighbouring district of Masulipatam, both constituting the present Krishna (officially "Kistna") district. The second is from the same officer to his subordinate, the Assistant-Collector. The third is a translation of a petition sent to the Collector of Masulipatam.—R. S.]

I.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose you copy of the orders of the Board of Revenue under date the 10th instant, directing the treading of the boundaries in dispute between the inhabitants of Yádalanka in the Divi division of your district, and those of Vissa Issaram in the Guntoor Circar. With respect to the mode of performing this ceremony, I understand it will be proper that one or two Goomástahs (clerks) should be sent from the Collectors of each district respectively to summon the principal inhabitants of the three neighbouring villages, about two persons from each village, making—

				12 persons, also
From Yádalanka	-	-	-	2 „
„ Vissa Issaram	-	-	-	2 „
Goomastahs	-	-	-	4 „
				—
In all				20 „ :

a proper person, who should be a Curnam (village accountant) either of Yádalanka or Vissa Issaram, to tread the boundary with the *Rámáyanam* on the head of the person being fixed upon. An inventory is to be taken, by the said Goomastahs and principal inhabitants, of his family, his

cattle, his furniture, etc. Twenty days after the performance of the ceremony a second inventory is to be taken in like manner, when, if there should appear any deficiency by death in the family, or of loss in cattle or furniture, the village of the person treading the boundary lose their cause; but in case everything is found agreeable to the inventory first taken, the village of the person treading gain their case.

I have endeavoured to state the most material circumstances of the ceremony; but if it should appear to you that anything is omitted or wrongly stated, you will be so kind as to inform me.

In addition to the Goomastah now sent from my Katchery named Venkatasawmy, I have thought proper to appoint another named Trimul Rao. You will be so kind as to inform me of the persons you send, and at what time it may suit that they should begin the business.

I have, etc.,

G. A. RAM, Collector.

II.

SIR,—You will proceed to the village of Vissa Issaram with all convenient expedition to see performed, with as little disturbance as possible, the ceremony of planting the Borja-trees, etc., in the boundaries trodden by Yarlagudda Subiah of that place. You will take as your assistant Bommacunty Senkariah, a servant in the Katchery of this place, who is a Brahmin well versed in the custom and ceremonies of the Hindus. Upon your arrival at Vissa Issaram you will send for such of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages as have signed to the award. You will likewise inquire after the Yádalanka man Minmany Baupanah, who marked the boundaries as trodden by Subiah and the two Goomastahs of Mr. Wrangham (Collector of Masulipatam); and in case of their absence, or refusal to attend your summons without the orders of the Collector of the fifth^d division, you will be pleased to write to Mr. Wrangham signifying your arrival, and your desire that these

persons may attend the ceremony, and allow a reasonable time for their arrival or for Mr. Wrangham's answer ; but their mere absence, if it appear wilful, is not to delay the ceremony, which consists in proceeding with the persons who signed the award, and the person who trod it, to plant Borja-trees or to set up *Sila Sásanams* (*i.e.*, stones having the figure of the sun, moon and Lingam cut upon them), which latter are to be placed at the two or three closing boundaries, or such as are esteemed most important. I do not apprehend that after the positive orders of the Board Mr. Wrangham will make any objections, but, in case he should, I do not conceive any mere protest of his should stop the ceremony, unless a probability of a breach of the peace should occur, which you are by all means to avoid, even if it should occasion a delay or discontinuance of the ceremony. If it should be objected that that part of the Company's orders which require an inspection of the cattle, effects, etc., of the person treading by the Goomastahs, etc., of the Yádalanka village has not been taken by them, you will observe that this has been wilfully their own fault, as they had due notice given them to attend by my Goomastahs, as well as Mr. Wrangham by me, in several letters of 12 and 29 June.

I enclose for your further information various papers on the subject, as per list of the packet.

I am, sir, etc .

G. A. RAM, Collector.

III.

[Native official translation of a representation from some inhabitants of the village in the Masulipatam district to their own Collector, dated the 4th June, 1796.]

With respect to the disputed ground between Yádalanka and Vissa Issaram, one of the inhabitants of the latter, named Yarlagudda Subiah, was nominated to tread the boundary on June 1st ; that they having started some objections, we addressed our representations to you upon the subject, which we hope you have received. What has since occurred in

this place we take the liberty to set forth, *viz.*, that the inhabitants of Vissa Issaram, in conjunction with Mr. Ram's Goomastah, have this day assembled 200 armed men from Manikakowvar Zamindar of Vissa Issaram village, 50 from the Thanadar of the Kyatapilly village appertaining to Woodiagherry Circar, and 100 people from the village, with some Sepoys, amounting in all to about 400 men; and had a conjuring Brahmin brought from a village called Varahalapuram, who instantly put a ring on Subiah's hand. The whole of the above force immediately surrounded the above Subiah, and went over the ground without suffering him to walk softly within the limits, as has been always customary. We also observe that it is customary that the nine different sorts of grain, tied in the cloth of the person who treads, should be opened by a Curnam of the opposite party; but the inhabitants of Vissa Issaram, instead of complying with this rule brought another Brahmin and had the grain (tied in the cloth of the said Subiah at the time of treading the boundary) opened by him. Thus they set at naught all custom or former usage of performing the ceremony.

Mr. Ram's Goomastah, instead of stopping such irregular conduct in the Vissa Issaram people, has combined with them, representing the matter in a far different light to his master; and we, therefore, address this for your information. The six persons assembled from the neighbouring villages, as witnesses on the part of the Yádalanka people, did not approve of the manner in which the ground was trod by the Vissa Issaram people. We further beg leave to observe that after the ceremony of treading had been performed, as already mentioned, the people of Yádalanka, etc., should have been allowed to place confidential people to watch the house of Subiah (who had trod the boundary) for twenty-one days, to find out his losses, if he sustained any within that period.

We hope, therefore, you will be pleased to write to Mr. Ram that the inhabitants of Yádalanka may at least be suffered to keep their people for this purpose.

[To this Sir Walter Elliot adds the following personal note.]

“ My brother Charles informs me that when he was Commissioner of Raepur, in the Nagpore State he had to settle some boundary disputes between Gond villages, in which the Gond selected to walk the limits seized a live fowl by the neck with his teeth and kept tearing it along the line in dispute, the poor bird screaming, fluttering, scratching and pecking. Whatever object he touched was considered a boundary mark ; and if within fifteen days no death or other disaster occurred in the man's family the award was confirmed.”

XV.

A HUMAN SACRIFICE.

IN the first criminal session for the Zillah of Cuddapah, held by D. Davis, Esq., third Judge of Circuit, Centre Division, from 7th to 28th February, 1839, a curious trial (No. 22) is recorded, in which Bharatam Venkata Rámiah was the prosecutor, and Wonkah Subiah the accused.

It appears that on the 14th of July, 1838, the prosecutor's niece, a Braminee girl named Venkata Subamah, aged 8 years, went with two girls, Venkata Lutchmee and Subamah, her relations, to play in the village of Chintacoontah, in Dovoer Taluk, Cuddapah Zillah, where all the parties resided.

She did not return home that evening with the other two ; but this excited no surprise, as she was in the habit of sleeping occasionally with her mother-in-law, who lived in a neighbouring house. But as she did not come home the next morning, and had not been at her mother-in-law's, apprehensions were entertained and search made. Meantime Numbu Muddulaty, Pujaree [priest] of the Añjanaya Swami [Hanuman] Pagoda, gave information that the dead body of a girl was lying behind the idol in the temple. The prosecutor, village officers, and others immediately repaired thither, and found the corpse to be that of Venkata Subamah.

It bore all over marks of violence. Death appeared to

have been caused by strangulation or twisting the neck. The eyeballs were torn out from the sockets with a nail or some sharp instrument; two of the upper and two of the lower teeth had been wrenched out; and all the joints seemed to have been pierced and wounded with an iron style [*Guntam*] or a nail. Blood had been drawn from the ends of the fingers, and the body in several places had been bruised with stones. When discovered, a stone was found lying upon it. The body had been rubbed with saffron or turmeric [*Huldee*]; marks of red powder [*Koonkam*] were visible on the forehead, and also of blood; and on the neck and hands were other marks of rice and turmeric mixed [*Atchintaloo*], and sandal.

The other girls declared that on the previous evening the deceased took them to the house of Wonkah Subiah, son of Rámabhattach, a Brahmin also of the Siva sect, to see a snake which they heard was there. They found Subiah and a Mussulman of dark complexion pitted with the small-pox. Subiah induced the deceased to enter the house by offering her a piece of cocoanut and some Jaggery, and drove away the others, saying in Hindustani, *Jao ! Jao !* [Go !]

The prisoner, Wonkah Subiah, called also Venkata Nursoo, was not in the village when the murder was discovered, but was apprehended returning about 3 o'clock p.m. He had on a pair of trousers belonging to one Ramasawmy, and a *Puncha* cloth recently washed, the latter stained with blood, which he attributed to betel-nut spittle.

On searching his house there were found two books on magic, containing *Mantrams* [spells], a board on which several *Mantrams* were written, an iron nail stained with blood, and some rice, of which it is remarkable the deceased had had a quantity tied up in the corner of her *Sári*-cloth. The *Puncha*-cloth, books, board, and nail were admitted by the prisoner to be his property.

The two magical books produced by the prisoner's friend, Lutchmee Nursoo, were said by the prisoner to have been written by one Poolunagarry Ramanah, who, however,

denied all knowledge of them. Muddulaty, the Pujaree, admitted that he copied "the new book" for Poolunagarry Ramasawmy, and gave it to Lutchmee Nursoo to deliver to Ramasawmy.

The prosecutor stated at the trial that he believed the deceased to have been murdered for purposes of *Pooja* [sacrifice to a deity]; that the books before the court stated that a man by pronouncing certain *Mantrums* and sacrificing an unmarried girl to Devi, could make the goddess appear before him and obtain from her wealth and the power of killing whomsoever he wished. It was stated further that prisoner's family, his father and others were well versed in incantations, etc., though they had not been known to resort to such illegal acts; and that the prisoner when quarrelling with others would frighten them by threatening to use *Mantrums*.

From the marks of sandal, turmeric, etc., on the body, there was no doubt it had been used for a sacrifice; but as there was no evidence that the deed had been done by the prisoner, he was acquitted.

XVI.

MANTRAMS AND SORCERY.

[The following is a note by the celebrated Telegu scholar, Mr. C. P. Brown, on two books of magic, with translations of the original spells. I have no means of knowing certainly, but it may have been the very books alluded to in the last note as having been found in the possession of the supposed murderer.—R. S.]

NO. I.

THE small Sanscrit book of magical charms is a fragment of the *Sabara chintamani*, imperfect in several places. I have ascertained the sense by the aid of a complete copy in my collection. The fragment begins about the middle of Chapter IX. In this translation several words are explained according to the mystic sense, different from the literal meaning.

"Let the querist stand on the north side, and the magician on the south. Let the road be on the east. Such is

the rule in Kérala (the Malayalam country). Let him cry : ' *Ôm ! ham ! hram ! śram !* I salute Bhagavatī, goddess of Malayāla, who in a trice possesses [men with demons]. Come ! O come !' Let him, on a Sunday night, provide the corpse of a virgin, and place it at the root of a tree as if in a seat. Then let him recite 100 times the appointed spell, and this shall make the devil fill the corpse. Then give him a piece of flesh and some wine, with any other food he desires : by this the demon will be compelled to bring to thee any woman thou desirest. This magic rite is denominated [*Kanya vītra*] the virgin-demon. This is the Kerala [*i.e.*, the Malayālam spell for obtaining a woman].

"I will now declare the Karnátaka mode of acquisition, O my faithful spouse !* This is powerful in raising ghosts. Place some white earth in a temple sacred to *Garuda* ; and after 40 days, on a Sunday, take up that earth with your left hand. Then recite 10,000 times the spell in a cemetery with your face turned south. And now, O Queen, will I repeat the spell as taught me, for no spell can be of effect unless imparted by a teacher.

"[*The Spell.*] ' *Ôm !* hail, O *Bhagavati*, who dwellest in the cemetery ! who art adored by all ghosts ! Come ! come ! O handmaid of *Siva*, thou who didst devour the demon *Mahisha*, approach ! approach !. *Ahram ! Śram ! hraum ! hrīm ! Svaha !* [*These meaningless magical monosyllables are perpetually used in treatises on magic.*] Let the cunning man use this spell on a Sunday night in a cemetery. On finishing it, a great demon will appear visibly ; his name is Mahisha : Vanquisher of Kingdoms ! This demon will exhibit a marvellous power of acquisition, such as will sanctify the earth." [*Thus far is in Sanscrit ; the next passage is in the Telegu language.*]

"Take the white earth in your hand ; mix it with lamp-black ; and begin your prayer on Sunday night, continuing

* Treatises on magic are generally framed as conversations between *Siva* and *Párvati* ; hence vocations like this frequently occur, but have no connection with the spells.

it three nights until Tuesday night. The third night a goddess [or fairy] named *Maisamma* will come and ask you what you desire. The aspirant must reply, 'I wish thee to be ready whenever I call.'

"Then let him get a shroud and tear strips from it, which are to be smeared with the white ashes and made into wicks. Let them be oiled and lighted. Then *Maisamma* will appear to him, and will bring to him anyone whom he desires, and afterwards will carry them away.

"Further,—The '*Andhrá Cháram*, a most marvellous spell; supreme; framed by 'Adi-nátha, and hidden in the [*Agamás*] rituals. Let the magician, on a Sunday night, repair to a cemetery where are interred heroes slain in battle. Let him take a nail a span long, and a cord of twenty cubits. Let him drive in the nail and roll the cord round it. Then let him sit under a tree and repeat 1,000 times the following spell, having wine and flesh at hand. This shall raise the ghost of a hero.

"[*The spell:*] 'Om! Hail, O great hero! approach! approach! accept the sacrifice! accomplish the deed! accomplish it! Hum! Phat!' This spell will force the hero to appear. Then satisfy him with wine and flesh. He will be potent to serve thee. Let also a lamp be prepared according to the rule already given; and sitting facing the south, repeat the spells 1,000 times. This shall cause him to harry thine enemy most marvellously.

"CHAPTER X.

"'Explain to me,' said *Párvati*, 'the wondrous and terrific spell that causes death.'

"[*Siva replies:*] 'I will explain to thee the potent spell that causes death, called *Gaula*. On a dark night, as ordained in the land of *Gaula*, let the following spell be used to cause death. To cause death without its aid is as impossible as for the sands to fill up the sea.

"[*The spell:*] 'Ôm! Nama! Bhagavatí! Kála Rátri! thou, O goddess, who delightest in human blood and

flesh—thou who art black as the King of Hell!—accept and devour this man as a sheep! Render him lifeless! *Hum ! Hum ! Svaha !*

“Let this spell be reiterated 10,000 times in a cemetery. The goddess Káli shall appear to him at night. Then let him offer a piece of flesh as a sacrifice. From that moment shall his foe be like a dead man before him. Let him also perform. . . . [*Here follow a few words quite unintelligible.*] This shall plunge his enemy into hell. This is the *Káli* spell to be recited in a cemetery from the 12th till the 14th day of the lunar fortnight. Then shall Kali appear visibly before him, and he must offer the oblation to her, and she shall grant him his desires. Then let him desire her to come whenever he may call on her. Let him use the magic powder and the lamp, as already directed, whenever he requires her presence, and she shall act as he desires. Let him insert his enemy’s name in the spell, and recite it for 15 days. This will kill him.

“Let him make a powder of human bones, while he recites the spell over it ; then recite it 1,000 times more, mingling the bone-powder with his foe’s meat and drink ; and in a week his enemy shall go to hell [the house of *Yama*].

“Now as to the Kérala [Malayálam] mortal spell invented by ‘Anádi Nátha.

“I will describe, O virtuous one ! [*Parvati*, so styled merely to fill the metre] the spell that forthwith obtains victory : ‘*Ôm ! hram ! bram ! glâm ! glaum !* O hog-faced goddess ! [Circe] seize this beast ! accept this victim ! Drink, drink [his] blood ! eat, eat his flesh ! Thou who art the image of Death ! O *Bhagavatî* of Malayála, *hum ! glaum ! phat !*

“This is the spell. Recite it before the great mother 10,000 times, and this shall gain victory to the daring magician, who must be naked, in a deserted house ; let this be repeated 10,000 times, and it will slay your foe in a fortnight.

"Get a bone of a *pariah*; perform the same incantations. Then on a Tuesday the magician must conceal it in his enemy's house. This shall make him perish childless. [*N.B.—This passage, unintelligible in this MS., is given from my own manuscript, where the meaning is clear.*]

"Make a waxen image of your foe; and at night take it in your right hand, with a rosary of wooden beads. Recite the spell 10,000 times; burn the image with some wood remaining from a funeral-pile. By reciting the spell your enemy will perish in a fortnight, and go to hell.

"Recite it 10,000 times while you face the mother [*Kālī*], and she will promise to attend you whenever you call her. On reciting it 1,000 times she will appear, and accomplish all you wish. Recite it 1,000 times in a cemetery, and it will kill him in a week. Consecrate a human bone with it, and by hiding this in his house you will kill him in a fortnight. Make a waxen image of your foe; touch it with your right hand, while you repeat the spell 1,000 times. Then burn it with sticks from a funeral-pile. This shall kill him in a fortnight.

"Now I will explain the Karnátaca spell invented by 'Adi-Nátha. This spell, O goddess, shall obtain all we desire if we recite it in a cemetery [*lit.*, in a ghost-thicket] with the following words:

"*Ôm ! hum ! glaum ! Dhakinî !* [a name of a certain fairy or sprite] who delightest in human blood and flesh, who eatest the wine-cake; thou who destroyest men without number, who devourest living creatures, O devour him! devour him! Drink, drink [his] blood! eat, eat [his] flesh. *Hē ! Hē ! Hē !* [mere exclamations] *Hum ! phat !*

"Let this spell be performed in a haunted grove. The magician is to stand naked, facing the south. Let him begin at the wane of the moon, and continue the rite through that fortnight. Recite the spell 10,000 times in the Kali-durga mode. [Kali Durga is the celebrated goddess of Thugs.]

"This Dakinî [Hecate] shall come to thee, attended by

a host of sprites, and will say, 'What desirest thou?' Reply, 'The death of a foe.' She will answer, 'I will willingly do it at once, with immediate destruction.'

"Let the sorcerer then recite the syllables of his foe's name, mingled with the spell. Thus [here recite the above spell], O devour *so and so*, eat the flesh of *so and so*, etc. This process will, without a doubt, lead to his death.

"Next will I explain the 'Andhra spell :

"*Ôm, hrîm, glaum, Bhairava !* goddess, destroyer of destruction ! thou who art adored by hosts of god-like giants ! who delightest in human blood and flesh ! approach ! approach ! Come ! come ! *Hum ! Phat ! Svaha !* This spell is to be performed in the presence of *Bhairava* [an epithet of a god] ; let it be recited 10,000 times, and it will be successful if used after you have used his name. Then shall he perish, though strong as an elephant.

"Whenever you have occasion for it, recite it 10,000 times, and your foe will die in a fortnight.

"Next is the Gujerâti spell, composed by 'Adi-Nâtha. It is most potent ; let it be ever kept secret.

"[*The spell.*] '*Ôm ! glaum ! glaum !* mighty *Maya* [Venus and Delusion], awful in power, awful in might, awful in form, approach ! approach ! *Khê ! Khê !* [More probably it should be *Khadaya, Khadaya*, which are the proper phrases in a spell—viz., "Devour ! devour him !"] Slay ! slay my foe ! Drink ! drink his blood ! *Glau ! glau ! svaha !*

"This spell must be recited to obtain the presence of the goddess *Chandika*, and the power shall appear in visible form. You must sacrifice a cock, and flesh and blood. Perform this in a cemetery, and be resolute. As is above directed, this rite is to be performed whenever requisite, and the goddess will enter the cemetery.

"*Ôm !* Hail, O [*Bhagavati*] *Kali !* painted with yellow ! devourer ! black with fire ! yellow - tongued ! terrible ! *Rohini ! Hum ! Phat ! Bhur ! Bhuvâs ! Svaha !* Devour the flesh and blood of my enemy ! Cut my foe !
to pieces ! *Mêdi ! Bhâvi ! Bhâva ! Hum ! Phat !*

“Repeat the above spell 128 times, sitting on the house-top, and then drop a stone down. This shall destroy your foe.” [*Here the manuscript ends.*]

No. 2.

[Translation of a small book on nine palm leaves, written partly in Sanscrit and partly in Telegu.]

“Salutation to the goddess *Kali*!

“O thou who governest all nature by spells! who rulest by means of the system of magic! who rulest the gods and all demons! who rulest all destruction! universal! vast! supreme! great possessor! be gracious to this work! thou who at once ledest captive Great Devadatta! goddess of gods! ruler! greatest of sprites! who rulest the genii of Maya! who rulest all knowledge! great *Kāli*, *Ôm*! *hum*! great goddess of fever, O *Durga*! great *Kāli*! *Kāli*! *Kāli*! O *Kali-Jhum*! *Kāli-śram*! *śa*! *śum*! *Karali*! *Marali*! smite him! smite him!

[*Here are Telegu words intermixed as directions to the wizard, but are broken and scarcely intelligible*] “. . . applying your mouth duly [say], ‘Smite him! May thy mouth be filled with his blood! *Kakka*! *kakka*! *pikku*! *pheli*! *pheli*! *bhali*! *bhali*! *adé Karaum*!

“*Dhum Karāl*! may his eyes turn spinning in his head! may his bowels be twisted! may his heart be broken with terror! may his legs and joints rattle and totter! Break him and mangle him! make him as a broken potsherd! and may he explode like rotten grain! may he burst! In the fury of thy bursting rage let his bloodshot eyes start out of his head! *Thá*! *thá*! *thá*! Look on him with fiery eyes till he burst! *Bhagavatî*! great *Maya*! who quelledst Karta Virya . . .’ [*Here follow 22 unintelligible sounds.*] Let the above spell be recited 1,000 times, with the following rite:

“Select a burning-place or [cemetery] on the east of the town. Go there one Sunday night. Walk round the cemetery seven times. Stand at the north-east angle.

Then enter the cemetery. Turn westwards. Walk seven steps backwards. Strip naked. Fill your left hand with ashes, and tie these in a yellow cloth with frankincense, and roll them up in cotton, which you must not carry home but put in a chapel of any *Sakti* goddess. When you have occasion, you must erect a magic square with these ashes on the ground; draw a figure of the goddess, and put a bit of the *Tulasi* tree in the mouth. Recite the spell 27 times, sprinkling water. Then bring water from the well, and put the ashes in it. Then recite the spell 27 times, and drink the water. If you drink it all, he will die in a moment. If you drink half, and leave half, he will endure great torments. If again you shed the water, he will return to his former state.

"The above spell is called the *Atkar Kali Mantram* of miscreants.

"Get a bottle of toddy, a bottle of wine, and raw flesh, and then utter the following spell :

"Salutation to *Bhagavati ! Mátangi Sakti* [cannibal pariah goddess] of Malayála ! thou who feedest on flesh and blood ! thou who speedily effectest the spell ! thou who canst destroy his five senses ! *Malayala ! Kúdu ! Kandhi ! Mar ! Mar ! Malayála Sakti ! Râm ! Râm ! Kham ! Kham ! Gham ! Gham ! Ôm ! Ôm ! hram ! hrím ! hraum ! phat ! svaha !*"

"Get ashes from a potter's kiln, and also from a washerman's furnace, and ashes from a cemetery ; place these on the ground, and therewith draw a pentagon. Thereupon place an image. Bring red rice, a red fowl, and red sandalwood ; red-coloured grain and red flowers. Then cut the fowl's throat. Let the blood flow into a cup ; dip two arrows into the blood, and exclaim, 'Mother ! strike ! pierce him !' Repeat the spell nine times over each arrow, and devote one to strike him in the eye, the other striking his mouth. Then bury them on the north side.

"Rules regarding the Milk spell :

'*Ôm ! hrím !* Destroy, goddess ! long-tongued ! who on the Ram ! *Ôm ! Phat ! Svaha !*'

“Process : On a Sunday get the milk of a black goat, and sprinkle it 27 times behind his house. His hands and feet shall be dried up, and a slow fever shall seize him.

“[*The spell.*] ‘*Ôm ! hrîm ! grâm ! trîm !* Thou who destroyest all ! Blest *Kâli*, armed with the lance and drum, who joyest in red-sandal ! long-tongued ! ghost-visaged ! goddess of speech ! O devour my foe ! devour ! devour him ! *Hum ! phat ! svaha !*’

“Another process : Get some ashes from a funeral-pile, and, repeating your enemy’s name, scatter the ashes over his house. This shall produce death. [*Here follows a reiteration of the first page of this manuscript.*]

“‘*Ôm !* hail *Bhagavatt !* pariah-goddess ! who devourest flesh and blood ! O red one ! eat ! devour him, dreadful goddess ! slay him, O great goddess ! supreme’ [*Here follow more unintelligible syllables.*]

“Get some grain of different sorts, with flour and rice. Put an equal quantity of salt, and grind them in a paste with water from a stream. Go to a pit on the north of the village, and spread some *Jille* leaves. Set up a doll ; offer frankincense and lamps. Offer a cock as a sacrifice ; cover it with the leaves, and bury it. This shall obtain thee success.

“Recite the above spell 24 times.

“Salutation to *Bramha*, son of *Siva* [*i.e., Hanuman*]. Thou on whom *Indra* rides ! [*Here Hindustani and Arabic words are intermixed.*] Great Monkey God ! *Sunjeeva Raya* ! Seize and slay him !

“I adjure thee by the sacred feet of thy mother, O *Hanuman* ! if thou swerve from this adjuration. I adjure thee by thy feet, great leader ! [*More unintelligible syllables.*] This spell shall bind the earth, however extensive.

“I adore my great teacher *Rama Guru Sanyâsi.*”

XVII.

RURAL SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEF.

THE following Petition from a villager of Konas, in the Bándá Division, dated 13th November, 1847, was actually presented to the political agent in Sawantwarree, a district under the Bombay Government.—

“My petition is this. Sewa Sati Gawas, Láro Lom Sáwant, and Káno Thill Sáwant brought Rám Gámkar of Humkari unto my village, and caused him to take away from the Máwáti temple the *Mayechá Purwas* (an idol) and bury it. In consequence of this, the labour of the Ryots is cursed and produces no fruits. Their cattle also die. It has caused two deaths; one in my own family. Thus does evil of all kinds fall upon us; and the officials are perplexed how to settle the Government demands. The three above-named parties, moreover, introduced demons from another village, and stopped the village *Devapan*,* whereby the village has become unproductive and myself ruined. One or other of my family is daily suffering from sickness; and I myself have been ill for the last 2 or 3 months, besides others in the village. I have lost forty head of cattle. If such calamity continue, the Ryots will cease to cultivate their fields, and the village will be deserted. I pray, therefore, that the Defendants may be summoned and directed to replace the idol in the temple, and take back the demons to their former abode; and, further, that the village *Devapan* be re-established, and the parties complained of be required to give good security for abstaining in future from such evil deeds.”

Marked with a plough for

PHATÉ NÁRE GAWAS.

[W. E.]

* A religious ceremony, generally including prophecy and teaching by the performer, under the inspiration of a deity.

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(*Continued from Vol. III., page 462.*)

(BY H. E. WASSA PASHA AND THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN.)

UPPER AND LOWER ALBANIA—GHEGS AND TOSKS.

LIMITROPH nations will invariably use either a single language or be bilingual ; and this has occurred on the confines of Albania.

The inhabitants of Phelites, Margarite, Argyro Castro, whether Mussulman or orthodox, know no Greek, while those nearer to the Greek frontier have more or less adopted the Greek language, through the scholastic influence, neglected by the Othoman Government, and of the orthodox religion, which still retains ancient Greek as the ecclesiastical language.

In Upper Albania the case is different ; but it is not quite a borderland of Italy. There the Latin rite prevails ; but the clergy of the Western Church have adopted the Albanian language for ecclesiastical purposes, and to them the inhabitants are indebted for the few printed books in the language of the country.

Had the Albanian race been exposed to the temptations of high civilization, it would probably have shared the fate of other nations so situated. Herodotus described the Persians as originally abstinent, frugal, constant, and truthful ; but corrupted by luxury, they afterwards became known for the contrary vices. The Albanian race, segregated from the world by their geographical position, with equally unsophisticated nations on their frontiers, with whom, moreover, they were for the most part at strife—with traditions and customs of long descent forming a strong public opinion—have remained till now with their savage virtues intact. But it would be temerity to prophesy that they would

maintain those Spartan virtues when brought into close contact with the abuses of civilization which dominate large centres in Western Europe.

The *Ghegs* of the North and the *Tosks* of the South differ in no respect in their manners and customs; nor is their dialectic difference greater than that in parts of England. Any rivalry which in earlier times existed between these two great divisions was the result of the ambition of their respective leaders, the native Pashas of Scutari and Yanina. Subsequently to the death of Iskander Beg down to 1831, they were governed by their own native pashas resident in the different important towns. The Beg inherited the authority of his ancestors, and the Porte confirmed to the heir the powers of his antecessor. Self-government, according to the ancient unwritten law and custom known to all, was the norm. Profession of faith had no influence in obliterating or altering old-established usage, and their courts were mixed. Race prevailed over every other consideration.

ANCIENT TRIBAL CUSTOMS.

Their life was and is primitive and patriarchal, for each class and its elders administered justice according to ancient and established usage, based on the law of talion.

It is necessary to give the leading features of these customs for the illustration of the second part of this treatise, whence comes another of the strongest arguments in favour of the identity of this race with the Pelasgians.

He who slays is slain by the heir of the deceased. If the murderer cannot be reached, his father, son, brother, or cousin are liable to make amends in their own persons—nay, further, in default of such, all the members of the clan are answerable in like manner. When, therefore, Mr. Gladstone,* alluding to them as Turks (!), stated that it was a common thing to find dead bodies on the coast of Albania, it is clear he had been the victim, and perhaps a not un-

* He passed twenty-four hours in the country.

willing one, of a hoax. This rough justice operates in the same deterrent fashion as formerly duelling in Great Britain ; a man considers well ere he exposes not only himself, but his whole family and clan, to such retribution ; thus murders and homicides are of very rare occurrence among this people.

He who steals is amerced in double the value of the object stolen, together with a fine to the chief and elders. He who murders for theft is dishonoured, and without the pale : he becomes a pariah. The rape of a married woman is equivalent to one "blood" (*ghiach*) ; and the ravisher must be slain by the husband or the relations of the ravished woman.

An affianced woman who marries another confers on the man jilted the right to kill her father, uncle, or cousin german ; but if the affianced woman be carried off, the right of slaying the ravisher accrues to the affianced man or to his relations. Adultery is punished with death. The husband has the right to slay the seducer caught in the fact, or whenever the adultery is proved.

The debtor must pay his debts in money or in kind. Property of all kinds is sacred, and none can infringe that of another. All questions of territorial property or real estate are judged by the elders, who in such case are bound to swear on the stone to execute justice. These judgments are executable without appeal.

The law is equally applicable to all without distinction of rank or religion, be they Christian or Mussulman, and the tribunals are mixed.

The guest is sacred, and breach of hospitality has no justification. He who ill-uses a guest is outlawed, dishonoured and exiled, nor can he ever return to his own family. The dishonour is eternal and ineffaceable, even by blood. For slaying the guest of another, the host can demand 40 "bloods" of the clan of which a member has committed so foul an act.

He who kills a woman is dishonoured, and the disgrace extends to all the members of his family, to whom the infamous term "women-killers" attaches.

As each clan, so each family has its chief, who is the oldest member. Similarly, the oldest woman is mistress of the house; and as the system is patriarchal, the members of the family are numerous, and many families thus consist of 100 to 120 persons.

The men must obey without question the behest of such head of the family, and the respect paid to age is without limit. The mistress of the house exercises the same authority among the female portion of the household. If members of the same family have cause of complaint against one another, the chief of the household reconciles or punishes, according to circumstances; and whoso resists this authority incurs the penalty of dishonour.

The condemned person must go to execution cheerfully, manifesting neither indifference, joy, nor depression. He improvises a song, which is repeated by his fellows in time hereafter. These rules are common to Ghegs and Tosks.

Albania has furnished the Othoman Empire with some of its best Grand - Viziers and best generals—Kypryly Muhammad, Ahmad, Loupti, Sinan, Bairaktur, Mustapha, and many others, who by their tact and courage have vanquished external foes, reconciled internal difficulties, and restored the equilibrium of the state, by improving the administration and suppressing the corruption of ministers.

ANCIENT DIVISIONS OF ALBANIA TRACEABLE.

Albania, as before remarked, consists of two great divisions: the Gheg of the North, and the Tosk of the South, termed Upper and Lower Albania. The former begins at Antivari and comprises all the Catholic tribes of the North within the districts of Ipek, Pristina, Vrania, Platzkovik, Uskub, Prilipe, Monastir, Okhrida, ending at Elbassan.

Lower Albania, all to the south of Elbassan, is subdivided into three clans: the Tosks, the Tshams, and the Liapes, answering to the Chaones, the Thesprotes, and the Molopi of antiquity. These, again, are subdivided into other tribes or Phares, corresponding to the 44 ancient tribes referred to

by the classical authors, especially Theopompus, quoted by Strabo.

Upper Albania is not thus divided into great classes, but into numerous smaller tribes, corresponding, if not by their present designations, at least in number, with those set out in ancient authors, of which the most complete list is found in Pliny.

The present tribes are Hot, Klemenet, Kastrat, Shkriel, Shâla, Shoshe, Mirdita, Mertour, Temal, etc., answering to the Ballaï, Nesti, Manli, Taulantii, Autoriatæ, Ardiæi, etc., of the ancients.

The derivation of the word "Tosk" applied to Lower Albania is uncertain, but it would seem to be identic with Tuscan and Etruscan.

To that of the Ghegs of the North an indication is found in Homer, who says: "Beyond the mountains of Acroceraunus live the giants" (γίγας), which is in so far true that these people are above the middle stature, and the word is identic in signification in both Greek and Shkipetar.

In an official document of the Premier Kadi in the fifteenth century, appointed by the Othoman Government in the district of *Doukagin* on the death of Iskander Beg, when all Albania was in the occupation of the Othoman Government, it is reported that Ghega Lish, Ghega Dod, Ghega Tanoush, and another Ghega, without alienating or ceding, quitted the mountains of Poshterrik at Yakova, to establish themselves in the Miriditis. This document was in the possession of Beb Doda Pasha, and is probably now in the hands of his son, Prenk Pasha. There has never been an accurate official census of Albania; but the population may be taken at from 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 souls;—1,200,000 in Upper, and 800,000 in Lower Albania. The language, customs and traditions of all these are the same. One half are Mussulmans, the other half Christians. The Mussulmans and Western Catholics together form two-thirds of the whole, the remaining third belonging to the Eastern Church.

The land near the coast is very fertile ; and the valleys of Boyanas, Mathia, Skumbi, Argentis, Vajutza, Drin, Bestriza, Vardar, comprise rich alluvial plains. Agriculture is, however, primitive and backward ; yet with an improved system, it would not only suffice for its present, but for an increased population, leaving a good margin for exportation.

The Albanian is, however, rather a shepherd and herdsman than an agriculturist ; and he raises large numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats. The forests are extensive and full of fine trees, and the mineral riches also are considerable, but remain undeveloped. The mountains are gray limestone, and sufficiently inaccessible to form a barrier against an invader. In picturesqueness the country vies with Switzerland and the Tyrol.

PHILOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION OF THE PELASGI.

The foregoing quotations from ancient authors clearly prove that the two divisions or tribes of the great Pelasgic race—the Leleges and Pelasgi proper—the former originally occupied the whole of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, while the Pelasgi proper, pushing westward by way of the Hellespont into Thrace, peopled that country, Macedonia, Illyria, and all south of those districts, including the islands on the coast, and in Italy, all south of Liguria, together with the adjacent islands.

The Pelasgic race may be traced in some degree by the names of their fortresses, for wherever the word “Larissa” is found, there must have been formerly a Pelasgian fortress.

Dr. Smith's classical atlas gives eleven Larissas : one on the river Peneus in Thessaly in the district of the Pelasgic Argos, another, Larissa-Cremaste, in the southern portion of Achaia and Phthiotis. There is the river Larissos, which flows south of the north-west promontory of the Gulf of Corinth, at Elis ; and near it is a Larissa, now Techos (τεχος)—a translation of the word. In Asia Minor there are several : one in Lydia, south-west of Ephesus, on the Eudon ; and another on the Kaister,

west of Ephesus. There was another not far distant in Lydia, west of Phoea on the Hermus, otherwise called Neoteichos—another Greek translation of the Pelasgic word. On the west coast of Lesbos, north of Mytelene, stood Larissa Petrea, and not far from it another, on the spurs of Ida, south of Tenedos, on the mainland. In Syria stood a Larissa, opposite Cyprus, and south-west of Laodicea. Lastly, there was one in Cappadocia, near the sources of the Arasacus, west of the Halys.

Lârt-ishel signifies in old Albanian “High Island,” from the custom of the Pelasgians of planting their fortresses on an eminence, and surrounding them with a moat where possible. The Latins in like manner used *insula* for a detached block of buildings ; and throughout the countries they occupied these natural isolated hills exist, as though they had dropped from the sky into the middle of the plain. St. Michael’s Mount in Cornwall, St. Helier in Jersey, Mont St. Michel off St. Malo, Aradus of the Phœnicians, are instances ; and the citadels of Parga, Corfu, and several in Syria, are well known to travellers.

LANGUAGE.

Herodotus asserts as a fact that the Ionians, Hellenes, Dorians and Athenians were all Pelasgi.

The Ionians were originally called Pelasgians; Ægialians, from their inhabiting the seashore ; and afterwards Ionians, from Ion, son of Xuthos. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and originally called Kranai, next Kekropides, next Ionians from their general, and lastly Athenians in the age of Erectheus. Ephoros calls the Pelasgi Arcadians by descent ; but this amounts to no more than identifying them with a locality, for the whole of the Peloponnese was Pelasgic. In like manner Asius calls the early Elians, Pelasgians, and says that they exceeded other men in height, size and mental endowments.

Now, if, according to Herodotus, the Hellenes possessed Phthiotis under Deucalion, and then Histiaëotis under

Dorus, and then migrated successively to other places under the designation of Dorians, they too must have been a Pelasgic tribe. The Lacedæmonians were of Doric origin, consequently Pelasgic, as also were the Thessalians. Then Marsh observes emphatically that Ἔθνος πελασγικὸν and Ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν were synonymous, and used only to distinguish the same nation at different periods of its existence.

Herodotus does not distinguish between Doric and Æolic; and Strabo and Pausanias say Æolic was spoken in Thessaly, and that the old Hellenes used it. Æolic was the genus, Doric the species; or, perhaps, to speak more accurately, the Doric was a more advanced stage of Æolic. The terms for these dialects must not be understood as applying to any language in particular, be it Pelasgic or Greek, but as to two different dialects of one and the same speech; nor can an instance, ancient or modern, be cited, where the whole population spoke the same language, devoid of dialectic difference.

MARSH AND HERODOTUS FALL INTO THE SAME DIFFICULTY.

Marsh, while admitting, on the evidence of ancient authors, that one race inhabited the whole area, stumbles against the same absurdity as Herodotus, who attempts to break through the barrier by surmising that the Attic nation, although Pelasgic, simultaneously with its conversion into Hellenes, also changed its language: Τὸ αττικὸν ἔθνος εἶν πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ εἰς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθα. This is more than Marsh even can tolerate; for he says: "It was nothing more than μεταβολὴ εἰς ὄνομα Ἑλληνικόν. For a change of inhabitants at Athens in consequence of any conquest by the Hellenes, which alone could have produced such a change in the *language* there, is a thing of which we have never heard." But even a conquest would not have produced such an effect; nor would anything short of the extirpation of the previous inhabitants. Besides, both the Hellenes and Athenians were Pelasgians—*ergo* had the same speech, and that

speech was Pelasgian ; consequently no change could have taken place.

THE CONTINUOUS MAINTENANCE OF THE PELASGIC SPEECH.

Now, with regard to this Pelasgian speech, it has maintained itself to the present day, in a consecutive and uninterrupted line ; for at different periods of history down to the present time incidental reference is made to it.

That Herodotus was unacquainted with any language but his own, is not questioned. He speaks of Pelasgic, and of a language mixed of Pelasgic and Greek—a sort of *lingua franca*—which he includes, with all other non-Greek languages, under the generic designation of “ barbarous.”*

Alexander’s mother-tongue has been shown to have been at least not Greek, but the language of Emathia or Macedonia, in which country and in the neighbouring Epeiros, a language is yet found, distinct from any language in Europe, which until lately has puzzled philologists. Though extending over a very much larger area, it stands in the same isolated position as Basque ; but it is now acknowledged to belong to the Aryan category, and to bear the same affinity to Sanskrit as do the other Aryan dialects. Its construction shows the modern Albanian or Shkipetar to be a developed form of speech, abounding with a far greater variety of sounds than either the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, or Slavonic, or any other language of the Aryan class ; bearing the type of high antiquity, and, in respect of development, on all fours with Slavonic.

The conclusion therefore is inevitable that the bulk of the population of the Greek area was ever, and still is, Shkipetar.

The great difficulty therefore to be solved is, whence the Greek language, which has no more affinity with the Pelasgic or Albanian than with other Aryan tongues, came into such common use by the Pelasgic race.

* A curious mixture of Turkish and Romaic is used in the present Psomatia, a suburb of Constantinople.

History affords no trace of any invasion in force of any other race, and to suppose such to have occurred without leaving such trace is impossible. Rawlinson finds it impossible to suppose that what he calls Hellenism "would have gradually spread itself, as it did, from a small beginning over so many Pelasgic tribes, *without conquest*, unless there had been a close affinity between the Hellenic tongue and that spoken by the Pelasgic races."

But would even conquest have this result? Historic experience does not lead to such a conclusion. Something more than conquest is required;—for the mother-tongue will prevail against all artificial systems. The children may be taught at school in a foreign tongue; but they will play with their fellows, using their own; they will return home and speak it in the house. They may be bilingual, but yet not substitute an imposed speech for their own. Amalgamation may effect it in time, or extirpation forthwith. In the end the more civilized speech will prevail.

THE TROJANS SPOKE PELASGIC.

In the Homeric poems the term Hellenes is applied to a tribe only, or to the inhabitants of a particular limited district of Thessaly, and it acquired a generic signification for the first time long after the expedition against Troy;—that is to say, historically speaking, in a comparatively modern age. For it is obvious that in the age of the Homeric poems, the language, whatever it may have been, was general among the allies and besiegers; and therefore it must have been the original language of the Pelasgi. Moreover, it was that of the besieged, though not of their southern allies. There is no suggestion of interpreters having been used; and their deities were identic, espousing the cause of either party—Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Venus, Apollo, Mercury, Minerva, Vulcan, Neptune.

Under these circumstances some theory must be advanced which will reasonably account for the introduction of the Greek language, without any violent means, subsequent to the Trojan expedition.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

It is admitted that the Phœnicians were the first known traders in the Levant, and they are said to have possessed, in those parts, as many as 300 colonies. This must be taken in a qualified sense. Either it is an exaggeration, or these so-called colonies were nothing more than trading stations, numerically limited as to inhabitants, which in the present day are called factories.

LANGUAGE WILL NOT ALTER RACES.

It must be seriously doubted whether Greek was even the general language of the country, and whether it preceded or co-existed with the Phœnicians. To argue from analogous cases within personal knowledge, Romaic Greek now occupies the same position as the classical language occupied in earlier ages. In the greater centres of agglomerated population in the present Greek area, the people are bilingual. In Athens, Romaic will be spoken as a general language, while a great proportion of the population retains the Pelasgic Albanian as well. Some have lost their mother-tongue, and speak Romaic only. The influence of the Church, which has always used the ancient Greek, and of the schools in which the youth is educated tends, however, to obliterate the Pelasgic among the educated classes. Still Albanian, within the last thirty years, was exclusively spoken at Eleusis, within a ride of Athens, where not a single inhabitant understood Romaic.

In modern Belgium, the general language is French, while the national tongues are Flemish and Lettish ; yet no author would think of publishing a serious philosophical work in other than French. Till recently, the Court language of St. Petersburg was French, and correspondence was carried on in that language. In Pommerania, German has superseded the native language now extinct. Yet no one will assert that the Belgians are of the Latin, nor the Pommeranians of the Teutonic, race.

The inhabitants of Ireland, notwithstanding their having

been frequently conquered by the Norman and Saxon races during the last 800 years, still retain, to some extent, their own tongue; and most of those who have done so are bilingual. But if they write, it is invariably in English, and in this case the language has survived government and colonization by a foreign race: yet their language of literature was formerly Latin.

In the great trading centres, little or no Erse remains; and the same remark applies to the northern districts of Scotland. In France itself the Gaelic and Teutonic tongues have been obliterated by a language of Latin origin, while Armorican remains only in Brittany, and there merely as a vernacular. Nor will it be denied that in Spain and Portugal the generality of the people are not of Latin race and origin, though their tongue is so.

So little as forty years ago, Latin was the official language of Hungary and Poland—nay, more, that of the newspapers and society, to the prejudice of Magyar and Polish; but none will pretend that on that account they are of the Latin race. The Court language in Sweden, and also in Russia, was French, and in Denmark German, which one might say was also that in England. There is also a wide difference between a Court language and an official language; as was formerly the case with Norman-French and Latin in England, and Latin in Scotland.

Another reason for supposing the retention of Greek as a common speech in Pelasgia is, that the various tribes of this wide-extended Pelasgic race had slid into dialects so different from each other as to be incomprehensible. A very slight change may produce this result. The intonation or accent will make all the difference; and this is, in fact, the case with the Scottish and Irish Gaelic. Nay, more, an Englishman will be troubled to understand low Scotch, or even English, in the mouth of the natives. So, too, the inhabitants of China adopt "pigeon" English as a common tongue; and the nearly as barbarous *lingua franca* is used along the northern coast of Africa and elsewhere in the

Mediterranean. In India, Urdu is the common speech or interpreter, enabling the extreme provinces of India to converse.

It has been proved that Asia Minor was originally occupied by a branch of the Pelasgic race as conquerors ; yet, in a later age, this same race is found passing over from Pelasgia or Greece, to plant colonies among men of their own race, and formerly of their own language, though it must be admitted as probable that the Pelasgic of Asia Minor had deteriorated far more rapidly and completely than that of the European side, even to the extent of becoming a separate tongue. It is fair to presume that some bond of race existed, even in the age of the Trojan war ; since the inhabitants of Asia Minor appear as allies of the Trojans, when it is presumable that the Lycian Sarpedon was still a Pelasgian in language and sympathies.

Monumental inscriptions, however, show that the Pelasgian element had become eliminated at their date.*

WERE NOT THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND OTHER PELASGI
BILINGUAL ?

Commerce would favour the retention of the original Greek speech. The new civilization, if introduced, grecicized the Pelasgic inhabitants of the Greek area, while Pelasgic became lost and forgotten in Athens, so that Herodotus was ignorant of its nature. But it is by no means clear that the Dorian Lacedæmonians did not retain their original Pelasgic speech as a vernacular, side by side with Greek as an official, language. Athens had become purely grecicized in its sympathies ; not so that small knot of warriors about Sparta, whose mode of life and tendencies remained purely Pelasgic and warlike. The former cultivated the arts and sciences, regarding as barbarous whatever was not Greek in language. The latter looked upon war as the main object of existence.

* The intermarriage of Pelasgians with the daughters of the land would entail the mother-tongue on the issue.

THE EXTINCTION OF THE SO-CALLED GREEK RACES.

No sooner, however, had Athens fallen into decadence than the influence of the Greek language waned, and the cultivated language—Greek—disappeared, while the inhabitants were superseded by their uncivilized but more warlike neighbours. The few descendants of the pure incursive Greek race were wiped out, together with the grecicized inhabitants, and the rougher of the Pelasgic races resumed their sway.

The numerical strength of the Greeks has been estimated at under 3,500,000 including slaves, which latter made up certainly not less than half, if not three-quarters, of that number. These were also, in all probability, not of pure Greek origin, but, for the most part, grecicized Pelasgian and other foreigners; for Herodotus relates that the Greeks adopted into their body many barbarians, whereas the Pelasgi admitted no foreigners; and he adds, "wherefore they have never greatly multiplied."

Wassa Pasha estimates the number of the present Pelasgians at 2,000,000; but he does not include in this a far more numerous population of Pelasgic race who speak other tongues and no longer maintain the customs and manners of the Epeirots. Long before 800 A.D., probably not a single descendant of the original Greek commercial settlers remained, and perhaps not even of the grecicized Pelasgi. Driven first from the country into the fortified towns, slain, or carried into captivity by the savage hordes of the North, they abandoned their lands and their country estates, as unsafe; and ultimately, besieged in their strongholds, they were extirpated by the invaders, leaving behind them nothing but their literature as a colossal monument of the highest civilization of the ancient world.

THE PELASGIAN STATES.

History represents the Pelasgi as having, among other qualities, that of being great builders. They fortified the Acropolis of Athens, originally a Pelasgic city, and were

employed further to fortify it by their grecicized countrymen. The so-called Cyclopean walls—of which frequent specimens are still extant in the Epeirus, and of which the best is in Ithaca—were the work of the Pelasgians, long anterior to the appearance of the Greek race; and the Ægialians or sea-coast Pelasgi were great navigators at the same early period: they were warriors by land and pirates by sea.

Odysseus represents in his mendacious accounts to Penelope, in his feigned personality, the attack he and his companions made on Egypt from Crete, in which they were worsted; showing that Egypt, even at that early period, was well known to the inhabitants of the Peloponnese and its adjacent islands.

There were also two early invasions, or immigrations of Pelasgi into Italy. The first has too much the savour of myth about it to be absolutely reliable, but may be accepted without its details, as presumptive evidence of a very early emigration in that direction. These migrations are represented as taking place from Thessaly, the principal seat of the first immigration, in earlier times almost synonymous with Thrace, and whence they are said to have migrated to Crete, Lesbos, Chios, and many other islands of the Ægean Sea. Indeed, it is probable that the islands on the European side were so peopled, while those of the Asiatic coast were occupied, at a still earlier period, by a branch of the Pelasgic race above referred to, and usually designated as Leleges.

This first colony started from Palanteum, a city of Arcadia, and is somewhat mythical. The second was led by Evander, whom Livy* styles, "*Venerabilis vir miraculo literarum rei novæ inter rudes artium homines;*" and Tacitus says, "*Aborigines Arcade ab Evandro didicerunt; et forma literis latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum.*" Pliny, "*In Latium eas (litteras) attulerunt Pelasgi*"; and Solinus, "*primi (Pelasgi) in Latium litteras intulerunt.*" This,

* Liv., i. 7; Tac. *Ann.*, xi. 14; Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 56; Solinus, viii., p. 53, ed. Basel; Dion. Halic., i. 11.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who came to Rome 30 B.C., places at about 600 years before the Trojan war.

The second emigration is placed in the age of Deucalion, when the Pelasgi were settled in the Pelasgic Argos in Thessaly, whence they went first to Dodona, the seat of the famous Pelasgic oracle, and, finding the country too strait for them and insufficient to supply their wants, they pushed on, in many ships, to Italy, then called Saturnia; and being ignorant of that sea and its navigation, made for the nearest land, which they struck at Spinete, at the mouth of the Po, where they quitted their vessels.

Here they drove the Sentinians from many cities, in which they dwelt in common with the aborigines. Among these were, one of the Kairetanj then called Agylla afterwards Cære, near Rome; Saturnia, Alsion, and certain others. Having driven the Umbrians out, these had, in their turn, to make way for the Tyrrhenians.* Hence it was clearly the opinion of the later authors, who, doubtless, based their assertions on older authorities, that, compared with the then inhabitants of Italy, they were considered a highly-cultivated people, even if not exceeding in culture those they conquered.

The Pelasgi then made their way towards central Italy, and used the Æolic dialect, which, like Albanian, had no dual, but used the F form of the digamma, which is said to account for the introduction of that letter as the sixth in the Latin alphabet; and that the Romans spoke a mixed language, in which Æolic prevailed.

It is not impossible that Virgil founded the immigration of Æneas on these legends, assuming a broad poetical license for ignoring chronology, and boldly leaping over the 600 years fixed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the general opinion was that Italy was indebted to the Pelasgi for the introduction of the art of writing, and other arts for which Etruria became afterwards famous.

* Dion. Hal., i. 17, 18; Plin., *loc. cit.*, iii. 5; Strabo, v., p. 220.

AN INDIAN RAJAH AT HOME :

A SKETCH FROM REAL LIFE.

MANY Rajahs of the present day have been educated under European superintendence and training ; but there is yet a large, though continually diminishing, number of Indian princes of the olden type, who, while they have improved their civil and criminal administration under British suzerainty, still maintain unchanged their own ancestral customs and habits, even as they were over 50 years ago. As a few more years will probably extinguish for ever this very interesting class of Chiefs, I purpose to describe one of them, as I found him, in friendly intercourse, at his own home. Not as he would appear when visited by Government officials, dreaded as the schoolboy dreads the inspector at his annual visit ; but as he lives, and acts towards his friends, in his own natural manner, going through his daily life, at unaffected ease, undeterred by the fear of being reported to the Government for some unknown fault. Known to be utterly unconnected with official circles, I was all the more popular with the natives, and was consequently admitted to unrestrained intercourse by my Indian friends in every class of life.

During my residence at F——pur I had made the acquaintance of his Highness the Rajah of F——cote. I first met him at one of his visits to F——pur during the Garrison Races. He was attended by several of his courtiers, mounted on horses which, though good, were certainly not in training for a race ; for, according to native custom, they were fat and sleek, from overfeeding and lack of regular exercise. A race was just coming on—for a purse of no great value ; and as only a few entries had been made, one of the stewards asked if I could get the Rajah to have the race card better filled. I introduced myself to him, and made my request. He smiled, and said that though

his attendants' horses had no chance, he would willingly help the sports. At a sign from him, some of them, equipped even as they were, with sword and shield, went to the starting-post, joined in the run with the utmost good-humour, and tried their best to render it a tolerably hot one. This gave me a favourable opinion of the Rajah's good-nature, which was amply confirmed on further acquaintance. We gradually became very friendly; and he expressed the hope that I would visit him some day at his capital. He even told me that I need send no previous notice of my visit, as is generally expected. My duties prevented my accepting for some time this oft-repeated invitation of the Rajah; and when I was able to visit him, it was only by a chance leisure, which left little time for a formal notice.

I had been dining with a mutual friend, an officer on the Medical Staff, who had, some years before, done the Rajah (then only the Heir-apparent) a very great service. One evening, a mounted messenger, his horse reeking with sweat and foam and reeling from exhaustion, had summoned the surgeon hastily to F——cote, about 19 miles distant, to attend the Rajah's son, suddenly taken ill. He arrived only just in time to save the child's life, placed in deadly peril from a characteristic occurrence, let us hope, quite unusual in such households. The Rajah's first wife had no children; but his second had made him the happy father of one boy, who would eventually become the heir to the *Guddee* or throne. The grief of the senior Ranee for her own childlessness—the greatest of women's misfortunes in the East—was changed into fury on seeing her husband,—fond to doating, as natives are, of male children,—bestowing his favours by no means impartially and equally to herself and her rival. If she could but have a child herself,—or if the other's child were to die, they would both again be on a footing of equality before their husband! Though the first was not in her power, there was a chance of the second. In the East such obstacles are sometimes

removed without much difficulty. The art of poisoning, once so much studied and developed in Europe, is perhaps yet known in India to a greater extent than we think ; and many a sudden death excites suspicions, which are not the less well founded, because they cannot be substantiated with judicial certainty. Naturally or otherwise, I cannot say ; but, as a matter of fact, the infant was suddenly taken dangerously ill ; and the Chief would have been left childless, had it not been for the timely aid and the skilful treatment of my medical friend. He had naturally been profuse in his thanks. He had since succeeded to the throne, on the death of his father, and the child was now the heir-apparent. As the doctor had just returned from England, we decided on going together to visit the Rajah, the very next day but one ; and I despatched a letter to announce our advent. We then sent a buggy (hooded gig) and horse to the 12th milestone, and a couple of riding horses to the 6th ; while a cook and a table assistant (males, of course, as are all servants in India) were sent on, in an *Ekkā* (native one-horse vehicle), to await our arrival at F——cote.

F——cote is about 19 miles from F——pur, ten miles lying in British and nine in the Rajah's territory. On the appointed morning, after a hasty meal, we drove the first six miles in the doctor's conveyance ; and very hard work it was, over the sands of an extremely neglected road. It was, in fact, but a track through a sandy waste, though the native Chief had a well macadamised road over his portion.*

* The Indian Government, though insisting (and rightly) on the opening out of good roads in native territories, are not always quite so ready to spend their own money on such objects. Some Government roads are splendidly made and maintained. Such are the roads connecting the principal military stations and important towns, and especially the Grand Trunk Road, from Calcutta to Peshawur, which is the foundation of our reputation for road-making. But little else is done to open out new communications, or to construct branch or district roads. The few such that exist are little better than the track I have just mentioned, and they are seldom repaired or renewed, except at those long intervals when the Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor happen to visit the districts.

We were glad to mount our horses at the 6th milestone, and to ride rapidly over the remaining four miles of this sandy road. On reaching the Rajah's territory, at the 10th mile from F——pur, we found a small body of his cavalry drawn up on each side of the road. The officer in command saluted, and bid us welcome in his master's name, who had also sent a conveyance for our use,—and he pointed to a splendid landau with a pair of beautiful horses. I expressed our thanks in suitable terms, but said we would ride the sooner to reach our friend. We therefore cantered on, leaving the landau to follow. The officer sent two of his men a quarter of a mile ahead of us, and he with the remainder rode a short distance behind : in India attendants never keep near their principals, (except where real danger needs it) in order to spare them annoyance from the dust which the least movement raises in those arid and parched plains.

On reaching our buggy and horse, we dismounted ; and entering the buggy, drove on rapidly, escorted as before. At the third mile from the capital, we found awaiting us, under a large tree, an Elephant, with a rich *Howdah* or seat on its back, and a larger escort of cavalry. We, however, preferred going on, in the buggy, for the sun was by this time getting uncomfortably hot. On our declining, with many thanks, the use of the Elephant, the magnificent pachyderm was led homeward at leisure, with our first escort, while the second followed us, at our more rapid pace. We reached the capital at about 10 ; and were conducted to a walled garden of some extent, with a comfortable and well-furnished house in the centre,—the usual guest-house for the Rajah's European visitors. Here the officer of the Escort again bid us welcome, and then took his leave, to report our safe arrival to his master. Meanwhile we sat down to the breakfast, prepared for us by the servants we had despatched before us. While sure of our welcome, we could not be sure of the success of the Rajah's catering for us ; as ignorance of European manners and

requirements might have caused unmeant inconvenience. For myself, I could have done very well with the native fare ; but my friend was more dependent on Western necessities. This was why we had provided for ourselves, though I had told our men to utilize the provisions and servants which I knew the Rajah would send and place at our disposal.

While we were yet at breakfast, an official from the Rajah arrived with some attendants, and after profound *salaams*, told us that "the Rajah had sent him to bid us a special welcome, and to express his hope that we found everything comfortable ; for the house was ours, as also were the servants in it, and the provision he had made for us." We made the proper acknowledgments ; and were left to finish our breakfast, and then to enjoy our cigars under the trees of the garden. Etiquette would not permit our calling at once on the Rajah ; for there were preliminary ceremonies to be gone through. The delay was rather irksome, but there was no help for it.

Soon a small procession entered the garden gateway. We were now seated, facing this gateway, on the raised platform of solid masonry, upon which the house was built. A mace-bearer (*Chobdar*) led the van ; two servants followed bearing trays, one of fruits and the other of sweetmeats ; lastly came an elderly official, probably a chamberlain, surrounded by half a dozen armed attendants. After *salaams*, the official made a little speech on behalf of his master, bidding us welcome to F—cote, and expressing his hope that we were quite well, and now refreshed from the fatigue of our long journey : and the trays were placed on the table. With a suitable reply. I sent by this official, on his return, two Zulu assegais and a Zulu shield as a present to the Rajah :—it was just after the Zulu war. Half an hour passed. Then a high Court official, in a gold-embroidered dress, escorted by a squadron of cavalry, entered on horseback through the gate. On alighting, he came to us and saluted. I asked him to take a chair,

which, after repeatedly refusing and offering to sit on the carpet, he at last did. Then followed another speech of welcome; and next he told us that His Highness was ready to receive us. Though the distance was not 500 yards, yet etiquette would not permit our walking to the Palace. Hence he asked us whether we wished to proceed thither in a carriage, or on an Elephant. We chose the former. Thereupon a grand landau with 4 horses, which, accompanied by an Elephant, had waited outside the gate for our decision, was driven in. We took our seats with the official, and escorted by the cavalry, were driven to the Palace in state.

F——cote is a good specimen of a native town. It has about 8,000 inhabitants; is surrounded by a wall; is nearly circular in shape, and is built on the slope of a hill. The southern and highest part of the hill is occupied by the Rajah's Fort-palace. The battlemented walls can be seen from afar, on the level road by which we had come. It was a cloudy March day when we paid our visit. A few drops of rain had luckily both laid the dust and cleared and cooled the atmosphere. Dense masses of black thunder-clouds still hung in the southern sky, forming a splendid background to the bastions and battlements, the turrets and towers of the Rajah's Fort. Not that it was remarkable for strength, or could stand the shock of European war; yet the old fortress, which a dozen modern shells would change into a shapeless heap of ruins, made with the town that surrounds it, quite a pretty little picture, set off by that noble background of clouds, in the golden light of an Indian March morning.

At the city gate, the guards, doubled in our honour, drew up and presented arms as we passed. We went along the main thoroughfare, or High Street. It was neither very wide, nor very clean, according to our Western ideas. Still it was very good for a native town; and the present Rajah has done, and is still doing much for the sanitation and beauty of his little capital. Near the

palace, the street opened out into a sort of little square or piazza, immediately under the principal front of the palace, which has a balcony and a great windowed hall just above its main gate or *porte cochère*. In this square were drawn up the Rajah's Band, a squadron of cavalry, a half-battery of artillery, and a half battalion of Infantry. As we drove up, some orders were given in a loud voice; the Band played; and the troops all presented arms. The carriage took us past the troops, passed through the great covered gate and entered the inner courtyard of the Fort-palace; turned to the right, and proceeding some fifty feet further, drew up at the foot of the staircase leading to the principal apartments of the Palace. Here was drawn up a double file of the Rajah's body guard, fine, tall men, of middle age, evidently picked with care. At the staircase, we met the High Steward and the Minister or *Diwân*; and preceded by them, and by two mace-bearers, we ascended to the Reception Room. The Rajah himself awaited us at the door. He shook us both warmly by the hand, and showed great pleasure at seeing us. He expressed also his regret that he could not speak English, as our mutual friend, the doctor, was not well conversant with the vernacular; but he trusted to my acting as interpreter. He then thanked me for my little present of the Zulu arms; and he showed great interest when I pointed out, on a map of the world hanging on a wall, the locality whence they had been brought. We were by this time seated on chairs, near the large window over the great gate: it looked on to the outer courtyard and the High Street, and commanded a splendid view both of the town and the surrounding country. Some complimentary remarks made by me on the splendid natural site of his Palace-Fort led to a conversation, in the course of which he ordered to be brought in and showed us, several plans for a new palace, sent in, at his request, by some well-known London architects. Among them were two in would-be Oriental style, while the others were of European types, including a bad copy,

diminished of course in size, of the Farnese in Rome. As he asked me my opinion on them, I gave it freely, saying that I should certainly prefer a palace there in the genuine Oriental style, from plans drawn up by native architects. I enlarged on the beauty and grandeur of several edifices in that style, which both he and I knew, and on the genius and originality of Oriental architects. He admitted that the London Oriental plans were very un-Oriental in look. Still I could see that the prestige of their having come from London inclined him to value them, that he preferred those of the Western type, and that the mock Farnese was a special favourite.

The Rajah had ere this sent for his son and little daughter, the etiquette of Oriental seclusion not allowing us to be presented to the two ladies of his household. The children, loaded with gold and precious stones, were very interesting. They were quiet, self-possessed, and well-behaved; and though quite simple and childlike in their manner, they seemed perfectly conscious of their birth and position. They talked simply and unaffectedly with us, and answered very readily the questions I put to them regarding both their studies and recreations. We conversed on various subjects till it approached noon, the hour for the Rajah's midday meal, which the laws of Hindu caste would prevent his asking us to share. We then rose to leave. Having arranged that his gamekeepers should take us out deer-stalking in the afternoon, and that the next day we would all go after antelopes with his Hunting Leopards, we took a ceremonious leave of the Rajah, who came with us to the foot of the stairs. We returned to our garden-house, with the escort of Cavalry; and there had our lunch from a varied and plentiful supply of both eatables and drinkables sent for us by our kind host,—a supply sufficient for a dozen.

The afternoon shooting, where game was plentiful, is too common an affair to need detail here. We came back early, to be in time for the return visit which etiquette

required the Rajah to pay us, as a proof of the sincerity of our welcome.

We had just taken our evening bath, when the Rajah's herald came, attended, to announce formally that His Highness purposed paying us a visit: he then left us. Shortly after, came a small procession,—a mace-bearer, two servants carrying a tray each, the Treasurer, several attendants, and a few soldiers or guards. On each tray was a choice shawl, a piece of silk, and a turban of fine muslin. The Treasurer placed a tray before each of us; and still standing, he told us, in a set speech, that "these were but slight tokens of His Highness' great esteem for his guests, whose virtues, etc., and whose wisdom, etc., etc., etc." When I had replied, he saluted and retired, saying that His Highness was already on his way to thank us personally for the honour of our visit.

A quarter of an hour afterwards, eight camelmen on richly caparisoned dromedaries came in, two and two, through our gateway and formed two lines, facing inwards. There followed a score of cavalry men, who disposed themselves in similar order. Next came some officials in an open carriage. Behind another score of cavalry, came a landau drawn by 6 horses with outriders. In it were the Rajah, his son, and his son's tutor. A squadron of cavalry closed the rear.

We advanced to the edge of the platform to meet the Rajah. He shook hands with us both. Then he placed himself between us, and so we entered the house together, followed by his son and the tutor, the state officials from the first carriage, and a few of his attendants. These last, at a sign from the Rajah, ungirded and left their swords at the door of the room; the Rajah and his officials had come quite unarmed. This was an oriental mark of great honour, as showing complete trust and friendship and the absence of all suspicion of evil. The Rajah, his son and the tutor, like ourselves, sat on chairs; the court officials sat on the carpet, and the attendants stood behind the

Rajah. After we had thanked him for the kindness of his visit and for his valuable presents, the conversation soon drifted into the arrangements for the Leopard hunt next day, and other matters, not requiring special notice here.

I was particularly struck with the marked respect paid by all to the tutor, who alone of the Rajah's suite was allowed to sit on a chair. He was an elderly Brahmin, who to doubtless great general erudition added a little knowledge of English. He was slender and ascetic-looking, yet with a mild and pleasant countenance, a bright smile and gentle manners, spoke but little, and was an attentive listener. His little pupil showed him great respect and seemed fond of him. Altogether, I considered this young gentleman in remarkably good hands. His moral, social, religious, and intellectual cultivation seemed well attended to; and there was every probability of his growing up to be a good Chief, if not ruined by the enervating influence of his female relatives. Alas for that *if*! Many a good and promising boy-chief is ruined by that baneful influence:—for baneful it certainly is in some Indian households. But why should we find fault? or what have we better to offer? Are not children elsewhere also spoilt by over-petting? and in India how many Chiefs, placed in childhood under European tutors and superintendents, have turned out even worse than if brought up in Oriental style? The frying-pan or the fire seems to be their lot. Of the two systems, I, for one, prefer their own mode of education, which leaves them at least *some* religious ideas, as possible germs of future good, instead of the almost absolute blank which is all that we generally succeed in producing, in such cases.

But let us return to our visitors. When, after half an hour's conversation, the Rajah took his departure, we accompanied him to his carriage. He went home, and we, after dinner, sought our repose also. The next morning we spent with him at an antelope hunt with Leopards.

In the afternoon we sent a message to inform him of our intention to leave that evening, and to ask when we could call for the parting visit. At about 5 p.m. we were conducted to his presence, as before, and with the same ceremonies ; and had another long conversation with him, on general topics. At our departure, he was kind enough to accompany us to our carriage ; and in bidding us good-bye, expressed the hope of soon receiving a longer visit from us. His carriage and a squadron of cavalry took us out of the town, and to the sixth milestone, where we entered our own conveyance ; and another escort saw us to the boundary of the Rajah's territory.

His Highness is a strict Hindu, and orders his life according to the Hindu laws. He has but two wives,—a small number for a man in his position ; nor did he take the second till he had lost all hope of having an heir by his first. Each of them has a separate suite of rooms and a separate establishment in the palace. The Rajah is an early riser—and half an hour before the sun is up, he is engaged in the ceremonial ablutions and devotions prescribed by Hindu custom and law. When these are finished, he begins, after a slight repast, his day's work. His *Diwân*, General, Treasurer and other officials are soon in attendance, with whom he transacts business in their respective departments, attends to reports received through the post, and passes his orders on all matters submitted to him. His territory is not large, and his system excludes mere routine work ; hence, as the people are generally quiet, orderly and law-abiding, the amount of work is never very great. Whatever matters, however, do turn up are quietly and fully discussed by him with his officials, who form a kind of consultive Council of State. This leads well up to midday, when after the customary ablutions, His Highness has his dinner. Men and women do not, among the Hindus, eat together ; hence the Rajah's children only share his meal from which all animal food and all stimulants are excluded. Vegetables, spices, butter and milk are the

sole ingredients of their food ; but genius, skill, and long practice have combined to produce out of even these inadequate materials a great variety of pleasing and wholesome dishes. After dinner he washes his hands ; and adjourning to the balcony above the great arched gateway, he proceeds to indulge in the common but much loved Eastern luxury of the *Hooka*. Reclining on a soft carpet, supported by bolsters, attended by his children, his secretary, and a few officials, he not only enjoys the comfort of "blowing a cloud" to aid the pleasant process of digestion, but he sits, as it were, in state, like the ancient "judges at the gates," to give public audience to all who may wish to recur to him—the ultimate judge of all appeals. This is the real Oriental Durbar,—the opportunity of the poor, the oppressed, the neglected. There is occasionally heard a loud cry of *Rajah sahib ki dohai*—I appeal to the Lord Rajah ; and some miserable wretch rushes into the square on which the balcony looks, and prostrates himself before his sovereign. Never is such an appeal made in vain. An attendant from above calls on the petitioner to rise and state his grievance, which he does, of course, with needless prolixity. A secretary, however, at the Rajah's side carefully takes down the man's name, residence, and occupation, the person complained against, and the leading points of the complaint. A coin is generally thrown to the poor man by the Rajah's children, and he departs with the certainty that his case will be thoroughly investigated. So it is. Punishment is unsparingly dealt out to the appellant if his complaint was false or frivolous, and to the offending officials if it proved to be correct, or to the grinding usurer if he is found to be robbing the poor man. The knowledge of the existence of this safety-valve effectually discourages injustice, oppression, and corruption, to a far greater degree than we, in our Western superciliousness, give Oriental administrations credit for. I can vouch for the fact, that there are less faults to find with the administration of His Highness the Rajah of F——cote than with that of some

States whose chiefs glitter with the Star of India, or even of some parts under our own direct rule.

After a while, when the complaints if any, and the tobacco in the *Hooka* are equally exhausted, His Highness retires to the inner apartments ; takes his afternoon *siesta* of a couple of hours ; and attends to his domestic affairs.

Some time before sunset, according to the season, he goes out for a ride or a drive. Not unfrequently he is then stopped on the road to receive a petition or to hear a complaint ; and he never refuses. On his return home, he again transacts business, should any have arisen ; or he reads ; or he converses with his courtiers ; or he spends the time with his family. A little after sunset he washes again and eats his frugal evening meal ; and then goes to bed at what Europeans would call the impossible hour of 8—9 p.m.

This daily routine is, of course, not unvarying. He is a great sportsman, and devotes his not too many holidays to hunting and shooting. He makes regular tours through all parts of his territory, pays periodical visits of courtesy to the civil and military officers of the neighbouring F——pur, has official conferences with the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of the district, meets occasionally the Lieutenant Governor or even the Governor General during their progresses, and attends formal Durbars. But I have always found him the same simple, upright, dignified, kind-hearted, well-bred gentleman, whether at a private visit or a state ceremonial. His troops though not numerous are well equipped and trained, and he takes much pleasure in drilling them. The taxes on his people are light ; but as his own personal expenses are small, from the simplicity of his life, his treasury is said to be very full. His administration is just, mild and progressive ; his territory flourishing and prosperous ; his people contented and happy ; his officials well chosen, well paid and well supervised, and consequently trustworthy. If all Indian Rajahs were like my friend of F——cote, happy indeed would be the lot of the subjects of native States. Unfortunately,

however, such men are not much noticed by Indian officials; for they merely do their duty quietly and unostentatiously, not blowing trumpets before them, and having no Resident to chronicle their doings for the information of Government and the world at large. Hence such men, few though they are, are unknown to fame; and the periodical showers of Stars which brighten the political firmament of India, never by chance shoot in the direction of such really meritorious men. An Indian Rajah, educated in the Indian style, is supposed by the general public to be a man, proud, haughty and contemptuous in his manner; given to sensuality, gluttony and silly extravagances; inordinately fond of show, grandeur and jewelry; environed, blindfolded and controlled by designing flatterers and cunning favourites; ignorant of the duties attached to his exalted position; unmindful of his people; and utterly indifferent to their welfare, so long as he is kept well supplied with money. Yet I have seen all these defects in some Rajahs who had been educated under European superintendence and European methods; and I have found them conspicuous by their utter and complete absence in other Rajahs, whose education and training had been entirely and thoroughly Indian, who never departed from their ancestral religion, rites, observances and laws, or gave the slightest countenance to the adoption of European manners, customs and dress, and who governed firmly and wisely for the real welfare of their people.

One nearly such as I have tried to sketch was the late Maharajah of Ulwar, who died on the 22nd May last, after a long and prosperous reign. He, however, had been partly educated under European supervision in the Mayo College of Ajmere, and in some points had adopted foreign ways. But my friend the Rajah of F——cote——long may he reign!—is one entirely of the thoroughly native type. Alas! that the type should be fast dying out!

J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.

ORIENTAL CONGRESS NEWS, CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

GENERAL A. KIRÉEFF'S "CREDO" ON ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

IN the actual position occupied by England and Russia in the Central Asian question, it is a matter of no little importance to know, at first hand, what are the real sentiments of influential Russians on the relations that should exist between the two countries. The following correspondence gives the views of one such personage. It enables us to consider the question from the Russian point of view, to see in what they think themselves to be strong, and to know in what they believe that our weakness in India consists. To Englishmen taking an intelligent interest in the important matters of Central Asian politics which our statesmen seem only too apt to allow to drift as either chance or Russian political sagacity directs, instead of guiding into a safe course for the welfare of India and the whole British Empire, the views here laid down cannot fail to be a matter of deep study. *Fas est ab hoste doceri.*—ED.

The Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,—I called yesterday on General Kiréeff* at the Palace, and in the course of our conversation he expressed the opinion that the Buffer system was breaking down and could not last. As his remarks help to explain the accompanying letter which I had already had the honour of receiving from the General, I will endeavour to give what I remember of the conversation between us.

"The best way," continued the General, "to do away with the present difficulty would be for England and Russia to annex the wild tribes located between the two countries. Had these tribes arisen to the consciousness of being properly organized kingdoms or states, he would not advise this step; but as they were mostly nomadic or wild predatory people, without properly defined frontiers, they could not be relied upon. Being a Panslavist, he naturally believed in Ethnographical frontiers; and therefore did not believe in the forcible annexation of territory in order to bring about the union of races. For the same reason, he did not think it was the right policy for Russia to have annexed any territory after the Turkish war; for that war was fundamentally a religious war, *i.e.*, a Crusade. Crusades in Europe are no longer possible; but in Russia, which is Orthodox—not one Crusade, but, if need be, 20 are possible. In Europe individuals perhaps are more capable of making great sacrifices for an idea than they are in Russia; but the sacrifice of a whole nation for an idea is

* General Lieut. Kiréeff, the brother of Madame Olga de Novikoff, not only holds a very high position at Court, as Aide-de-Camp to the Grand Duchess Alexandra Josephna, widow of the Grand Duke Constantine, but is also well known here (St. Petersburg) as a writer and an important Pan-Slavist.

no more a possibility. With Russia it is, simply because she does not belong to the 19th century, but to the 11th. Hence a war for an idea, *i.e.*, a Crusade is possible in Russia. No person who has not lived in Russia can feel how strong the religious sentiment still is in the Russian people, and how it shocks the feelings of all true orthodox Russians to hear that Prince Ferdinand is introducing Jesuits into Bulgaria. The Jesuits are regarded in Russia now as they were in England during the time of Queen Elizabeth. That Prince Ferdinand had passed the night in an Orthodox nunnery was another shock to all of the Orthodox faith. Successive incidents of this nature were having a very ill-effect on the minds of the people and might hereafter lead to mischief."

The General then proceeded to observe that he firmly believed in the idea of the union of races, and had no objection to all the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races also uniting. In fact, he thought this would sooner or later be effected by circumstances. As for the Germanic races, they also had the same right to unite; but he did not think that the Prussians had set a good example by attempting to effect this by force. He thought they had by their action in this direction given other nations a precedent for acting in the same manner.

I then expressed an opinion that the Slavonic States of the Balkans would in all probability put themselves under the wing of Russia, when they could enjoy the same liberty and freedom they now possess under their own rulers; but at present it was quite natural they should prefer remaining as they are. The General, who apparently did not agree with this pointed remark, replied: "As for freedom in Europe, I do not think much of it, and am of opinion it will not be of long duration; for what with your Anarchists and Socialists it looks as if there would soon be a final crash all round." In support of this view, he stated that in 1866, when he was in Saxon Altenburg and other places in Germany, there were no Anarchists, whereas now in some places they number 35 per cent. of the voting population. They were, in fact, growing stronger every day, and would sooner or later, with the Socialists, upset the existing institutions in Europe. General Kiréeff then spoke of the conservatism of the Russian peasantry; and said that if such a thing as a general vote of the whole Russian people were possible, the peasantry who are conservative, democratic and attached to the Czar, would without doubt vote for his Government. It was the Aristocracy in Russia that are liberal and progressive; but they are so few in number that their opinion counts for nought. It is this fact that so puzzles all strangers coming to Russia.

The General also criticized our Parliamentary form of Government which he thought had seen its best days, and was commencing to show many signs of decay. He thought the Parliamentary form of Government with its narrow, selfish, party-spirit was not much to be proud of, in which opinion I thoroughly concurred. In fact, I too held that we had outgrown our present institutions and ought to have an Imperial Senate, representing Great Britain and her Colonies.

I am, etc.,

WM. BARNES-STEVENI.

The following is the letter alluded to :

Pavlosh Castle,

Saturday, 14th May, 1892.

DEAR SIR,—Though I am much pressed for time, I am glad to send through you a few statements which if the Editor finds worthy of the honour he may print : they are “ my Credo ” about our (England’s and Russia’s) relations in Central India. I believe my views are shared by many of my countrymen ; but I must state that I am writing only in my own name, and under my personal responsibility. Now we do not want to quarrel with you about India, we do not grudge you your Indian possessions, and we do not want to conquer India.

Russia in its actual limits can easily feed three times its actual number of inhabitants, even without improving our antiquated system of husbandry.

As we have no right whatever nor is there any possibility of our stopping *your* advance towards the North (and N.W.), so neither have you any right or any possibility of stopping *our* advance towards the South (and S.E.).

I think the idea of a Russian invasion or help can only enter the brains of the Hindus, from your own nervousness about our paying you a visit at Calcutta. It mostly depends on your relations to your Hindu subjects. Can you rely upon them ? I suppose (in 25 years more) we will be able to rely upon our Central Asian possessions : will you be able to rely (25 years hence) on your Hindus ? May I be frank ? We do not forget that a Tartar, a Sart . . . , are men, equal with us *before God*. Therein is the root of our strength. Do you share this idea regarding your Hindu subjects ? Are you not a bit too proud about your being Shakespeare’s Countrymen ?—of course a great glory !

I consider the buffer system is nonsense. Diplomacy will never succeed in creating a solid buffer between Russia and England, in Asia. The idea is not only false in itself, but also *mischievous*. The more the barbarous buffer-tribes between the two frontiers are convinced of the possibility of material aid from England through British India, the sooner will they try to invade our frontiers, stop our caravans, etc. ; and the sooner too will they be beaten and the nearer will we approach your frontier. *Don’t push us in that direction*. The RIGHT of both countries (England and Russia)—if there is any such right ???—to invade and seize territories belonging to barbarians, and to restore “ order,” are equal. I do not know whether the necessity is equal : I do not think there is any necessity for England to go beyond the Hindu Kush.

I think the best way of coming to an understanding would be to join our frontiers on some onographical limit : I think Ethnographical considerations are of no importance in Central Asia.

But the most important point, as I had the honour of telling you before, is this : If we meddle with your Indian affairs, if we attack India, it *most probably will be as a retaliation for your meddling with our Slavonian affairs, for supporting Stamboulof, Coburg and THEIR SUPPORTERS*.^{*} We have not the remotest intention of seizing any Slavonian province, belonging *now* or *formerly* to Turkey ; but if “ the Whale ” lets us feel its tail in Sophia or

^{*} [The under-scoring is given as in the original letter.—ED.]

Constantinople, the Elephant will be strongly tempted to let you feel its tusks in Calcutta or Delhi. Excuse, my dear Sir, my hurried letter, and believe me, etc.,

A. KIRÉEFF.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS
ON THE ADMISSION OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
IN THE HONOURS IN ARTS COURSE
BY THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION.

Our issue of October, 1891, gave the text of the Letter in which Dr. Leitner, the Secretary of the 9th International Oriental Congress of Orientalists, gave effect to a resolution of the Congress regarding the admission of Oriental languages (Semitic and Aryan) in the Honours in Arts Course in Scottish Universities. Professor Adams who took so active a part in this matter wrote on the 12th May 1892 :

‘MY DEAR SIR,—I followed up the letter sent to the Commissioners in the name of the Congress by a letter, of which I enclose a copy ; and I am glad to say that in the final Ordinance the Commissioners gave full effect to our representatives, and added the two groups of ‘Semitic Languages,’ and ‘Indian Languages,’ to the groups of subjects in which the Degree of M.A. can be taken with Honours. I am, etc., D. L. ADAMS.’

The following was Professor ADAMS’ communication, countersigned by SIR W. MUIR, K.C.S.I., Principal of the University.

“To the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889.

“University of Edinburgh, 23rd Oct. 1891.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg most respectfully to direct your attention to what I consider a serious omission in the Draft Ordinance General No. 6—Regulations for Degrees in Arts, etc. While in Section IX. of this Ordinance Semitic Languages are rightly included among the optional subjects for the Ordinary Degree, they do not appear in Section XII. among the groups of subjects in which the degree may be taken with Honours. I humbly submit that this exclusion of Semitic Languages from the Honours Groups, if carried into effect, must necessarily have a very prejudicial influence on the study of these languages in our Universities. This is obvious from the consideration that all the best students will aim at taking the degree with Honours, and will therefore, as a matter of course, concentrate their attention mainly on those subjects in which Honours are given. It will, I think, be generally admitted that the study of Semitic Languages—though hitherto much neglected in this country—is one of great and of continually growing interest and importance. Nor is this to be wondered at when we consider the prominent part played in the world’s history by the Semitic races from the dawn of civilization till the present time ; their venerable, varied, and extensive literature ; the high moral and spiritual truths which their language was the first used as a vehicle to convey ; and the influence which these truths have had on the thinking, acting, progress, and well-being of mankind. It will, I think, hardly be

disputed that Semitic studies, as an important branch of general culture, should be fostered at our seats of learning, as they are at foreign Universities. Indeed, it may with great force be urged that Oriental languages have a strong claim for special recognition and encouragement in a *British* University, on account of our intimate relations with the East, and the millions of Orientals who are among our fellow-subjects. Now, to omit Semitic Languages from the Honours Groups is manifestly, to put them on a lower level than the subjects included in these groups—is thus, in fact, practically to discourage their study. It is also, I venture to submit, very unfair to those students who may prosecute Semitic studies in spite of all discouragement, inasmuch as such men will receive no Academic stamp or recognition in respect of their proficiency in them. I may mention that this has been found to be a hardship under our existing system. I have had several excellent students of Semitic Languages—my present Assistant is an instance in point—who have left the University *without taking a Degree at all*, because they had not the aptitude or inclination—or, perhaps, could not afford the requisite time or money—for the study of the subjects for which alone our Degrees have hitherto been given. I may be allowed to remind you that in the Draft Ordinance submitted by the Court of this University, and approved of by the Senatus and the General Council, Semitic Languages were included among the subjects both for the Ordinary Degree and also for the Degree with Honours. The Senatus also approved generally of a Special Scheme for Honours in Semitic Languages (No. IX., page 8 of the accompanying print), and ordered its transmission to the Universities Commission. I may also be permitted to observe that there is a Professor of Semitic Languages in each of the Scottish Universities; and to mention that in this University I have now for the past eight years had classes—not only for Hebrew—but also for the two other principal Semitic dialects, Aramaic (or Syriac) and Arabic. The attendance at these additional classes, which were voluntarily opened by me, has hitherto been very satisfactory—and still more satisfactory have been the diligence and progress of the students,—looking at the little encouragement given to such studies either within or without the University. The Degree of M.A. with Honours in Semitic Languages would be the natural Academic recognition of such a course of successful study. It would also form the natural avenue to the higher Degree or Doctorate in Semitic Philology already established in this University. As matters at present stand, candidates for this latter Degree must have taken the Degree of M.A., while at the same time no amount of Semitic knowledge—however extensive—aids in the slightest a student to become M.A. I venture to hope, therefore, that you will kindly reconsider Section XII. of Draft Ordinance No. 6, and so amend it that Semitic Languages may be included, not only among the optional subjects for the Ordinary Degree, but also among those in which the Degree in Arts may be taken with Honours. I may add that this is the case in other British Universities, such as Cambridge (where there is a Semitic Languages Tripos), London, and the Royal University of Ireland.—I have, etc.,

D. L. ADAMS, Professor of Oriental Languages.

I concur in the views advocated in this letter.—W. MUIR, Principal.

Since then, the Secretary to the Commission writes officially :

“Scottish Universities Commission,

“18 Duke Street, Edinburgh,

“10 June, 1892.

“SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 5th inst. I beg to direct your attention to the accompanying Ordinance of my Commissioners. You will see that by Section XI., provision is made for graduation with Honours not only in Semitic but also in Indian Languages. I trust the International Congress of Orientalists will consider these provisions sufficient to encourage ‘the study of Philology in general and of these languages in particular.’ I am, etc., ROB. FITZROY BELL, Secretary.

“G. W. Leitner, Esq.,

“Secy. Genl. of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists.”

EXTRACT FROM ORDINANCE NO. 11.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

52 AND 53 VICT. c. 55.

[*General, No. 6.—Regulations for Degrees in Arts.*]

DEGREE WITH HONOURS.

XI. (1) The Degree of Master of Arts may be taken with Honours in any of the following groups, in which Honours Classes shall have been established in at least two subjects :—

(a) Classics (*i.e.* Latin and Greek, with optional subjects, such as Comparative Philology, Ancient Philosophy, and Classical Archæology).—(b) Mental Philosophy.—(c) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.—(d) Semitic Languages.—(e) Indian Languages.—(f) English (Language, Literature, and British History).—(g) Modern Languages and Literature.—(h) History.

(2) Every Candidate shall take up at least four subjects. Two of these subjects, under separate Professors or Lecturers, must be selected from the Candidates' Honours Group; and the four subjects shall include one from each of the Departments of Language and Literature, Mental Philosophy and Science, set forth in Sect. ix. of this Ordinance.*

(3) Every Candidate shall attend 7 classes, taking 2 classes (one of which shall be an Honours Class) in each of his Honours subjects.

* Section ix. The Departments of Study for graduation in Arts in each University shall, if adequate instruction is provided, include the following subjects, with such additions or modifications in any University as may hereafter be made by Ordinance of the University Court :

1. *Language and Literature.*—Latin, Greek, English, French, German, Italian, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Arabic or Syriac, Celtic.

2. *Mental Philosophy.*—Logic and Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Education (Theory, History, and Art of), Philosophy of Law.

3. *Science.*—Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology.

4. *History and Law.*—History, Archæology and Art (History of), Constitutional Law and History, Roman Law, Public Law.

(4) A Candidate who has obtained Honours in any one Group, may, before graduating, present himself again for Examination in a second Honours Group. In such a case, he shall not be required to attend to more than two additional Classes, which shall be Honours Classes, in the Second Group.

(5) The Examination in subjects comprised in the Candidate's Honours Group shall be of a higher standard than that required for the ordinary degree of Master of Arts. In his other subjects the standard shall be that required for the ordinary degree.

* * * *

XII. (1) Every Candidate shall include Latin or Greek, either in his Honours Group or as one of the subjects in which the standard of examination is that required for the ordinary degree of Master of Arts.

* * * *

XV. (1) In each Group there shall be 3 Grades of Honours, to be denominated respectively the First, Second, and Third Class. The names of the Candidates entitled to Honours in each class shall be arranged in alphabetical order.

(2) For the degree of Master of Arts with Honours a Diploma shall be given setting forth the subjects in which he has taken Honours.

* * * *

GENERAL.

XXI. In case of a Student whose native language is other than European, the Senators may, at the Preliminary Examination, accept such language as a substitute for a Modern European Language. The Senators may also in such a case accept as an alternative to Latin or Greek, any other classical language, such as Sanskrit or Arabic.

* * * *

XXII. The Examination in all the Languages in the Curriculum shall, as far as possible, be on the same standard in Examinations for the same degree, and shall in all cases test the Candidate's knowledge of the history and literature of the several countries.

[The cause of Oriental Studies cannot but benefit highly by the admission of these languages into the Honours in Arts Course—one of the many practical results successfully projected and achieved by the IXth International Congress of Orientalists held in London last September.—ED.]

THE BATAK MICROBE MANUSCRIPT.

DEAR SIR,—The discussion in your Review on the Batak text, brought by Mr. Claine from Sumatra, is of great importance altogether apart from its medical or physiological interest. I am quite content to take Dr. Grashuis's explanation, *vis.*, that what he dignifies with the name of the *Codex Sibrajanus* consists of directions for Batak priests and physicians concerning their work. Here one may note the very singularly complete correspondence between the figures in the upper left-hand corner of the plate annexed to the paper of Pandit Janardhan of Lahore with those

which Dr. Grashuis says, are carved on the inner side of the leaden bracelet called *Sibaganding*, worn as a ring on the left arm of the Batak priest. These figures—one pair from Lahore, and the other from the interior of Sumatra—are to all intents and purposes identical. Why may not one pair be an actual representation of living germs, and the other a kind of talisman or charm? The difference is in the people, thousands of miles apart, from whom they come to us. No doubt other erudite pundits could explain the intermediate source whence both proceed; for that both have a common source, no one comparing the two sets will for a moment deny. As to the germ-theory of disease, I remember seeing somewhere a derisive statement that Robespierre, who was, I think, professionally a surgeon, believed in it. This is no more incredible than that Michael Servetus knew the fact of the circulation of the blood. But Robespierre's ideas of organic germs were probably as remote from anything in real existence as these drawings are.

The interest really lies in the script itself. I, for one, should like particularly to see the whole as it stands in the Codex. Marsden ("History of Sumatra," 1784) treats of the Batta script, as he calls it, after the Malay form; the Javanese add a *k*. The remarks are at pp. 162 sqq., and he has a short comparative vocabulary of some of the Sumatra languages, including this one, of which the alphabet is also given. Dr. John Leyden ("Essay on the History of the Indo-Chinese Languages," in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x.) points out that Marsden's alphabet is defective, being written horizontally in his descriptive sheets, whilst the Battas write vertically, and read their scripts, contrary to the Chinese and Japanese, from bottom to top. Crawford ("History of the Indian Archipelago," 3 vols., 1820) gives an alphabet of the Batak language, differing from Marsden's principally in having straight lines for curves. But neither alphabet suffices to elucidate Mr. Claine's Codex, to which he ascribes an antiquity of two centuries. This antiquity might account for some, but not all of its obscurities. We can account almost completely, with the aid of Marsden's and Crawford's alphabets (and I know of no others published), for the consonantal values which Dr. Grashuis gives. But it is otherwise with the vowels. Like many other Asiatic scripts, and like the Ethiopic, now become entirely African, the Batta has a syllabary rather than an alphabet. That is to say, each consonantal form contains within itself a vowel sound, which may be either emphasised by a special character, or altered by the introduction of a special vowel character, or removed by the use of a sign for its suppression. These at least are the characteristics of the Javanese, to which some of the words in Dr. Grashuis's transliterations bear a certain analogy; and all or most of these forms are wanting in the alphabets above-mentioned. As to the vowel forms, of which, however, there is nothing analogous in the portion of Mr. Claine's Codex which you have published. To analyse this text, we must take the only portion which Dr. Grashuis admits as intelligible; viz., that standing in the right-hand upper corner of your plate; and, taking each character as it comes, from the bottom upwards, starting from the flourish in the left at the bottom. The first, a simple upright stroke, represents *pa*; and the next character is a cross (St.

Andrew's in form), which represents throughout the vowel *o*. Then follows the character for *da*, completing Dr. Grashuis's first word *Poda*—which he translates "Instruction." There is no separation between the words ; but there is occasionally something like a dash or hyphen seen, which generally, but not always, occurs at the end of a word, and has the effect of removing the vowel sound of the previous consonant. Thus, *e.g.*, in the words at the end of the first line or column *pogar* and *pan*, these marks (which are little more than dots) take away the vowels inherent in the respective final letters *ra* and *na*. But there are other forms analogous to those described very carefully in Marsden's presentation of the Rejang script, which jointly with the Batta is pre-eminent amongst the native tongues of Sumatra. There are other somewhat puzzling peculiarities in this text, as, *e.g.*, where the privative dot or dash occurs immediately after the St. Andrew's cross or the vowel *o*. Here Dr. Grashuis's transliteration simply throws back that vowel behind the consonant which precedes it, upon which the privative dot then takes effect ; as in the second syllable of the word *dohot* occurring three times in the text. The first syllable takes effect in a natural way, the cross representing *o* following the syllabic character *da*. But in the second syllable the *ta* follows immediately the *ho*, whilst after *ta* comes the cross and afterwards the privative dot.

The Dutch are much further advanced than we in the study of the languages of the Indian archipelago, as is only natural from their closer connexion with the locality. Their colonial regime differs in spirit from the British ; and they go far beyond our dealings with our colonies. Their colonial administration actually concerns itself with the popular speech. Books are printed (most elegantly and correctly in point of typography) for use in schools, and intended to guide the common languages into forms harmonizing with European modes of thought, and to exclude the corruptions arising from the continual intrusion of foreign elements, *e.g.*, the Chinese.

Long ago these languages were of great interest to the English administration, and the untiring energy and intelligence of Sir Stamford Raffles collected valuable materials for their study. But the Congress of Vienna deprived the British of all interest in the island of Java, and our subsequent understanding with the Dutch has prevented our acquiring settlements south of the latitude of Singapore : we have almost no local interests in the archipelago. The recent settlement of North Borneo, however, and the increasing intercourse with the peninsula of Malacca, forced upon us by circumstances, have lately revived interest in these languages. Your publication of Mr. Claine's text carries the matter still farther afield ; and I hope this is not the last specimen of this kind of literature which we may expect at your hands.

I am, dear sir, etc.,

Newcastle-on-Tyne, 31 May, 1892.

WILLIAM SHAND.

EPITAPH AND ENIGMA : THE IDEA OF RE-BIRTH.

A MEDITATION AMONG THE TOMBS.

IN the new lower ground of Highgate Cemetery is a wide grassy space, inclining southward, open to the afternoon sunshine ; but on the western side, when evening draws nigh, the mild radiance of sunset is diffused through the summer foliage of an avenue of trees, bordering Swain's Lane, adjacent to Holly Lodge Park. I have loitered on this pleasant ground for hours ; its verdure was, until the last year or two, almost that of an unbroken meadow ; but now the ranks of mustering tombstones, month after month, in added numbers, descending the fair hill-slope and taking their stand at head or foot of recent graves, threaten to merge the green oasis in the spreading stony Necropolis, which already holds the mortal remains of a hundred thousand human lives. Yet to my own thoughts, pensive and still cheerful, amidst such common tokens of the brief tenure of personal existence on earth, considerations ever arise in a burial-ground, which are sweeter and more soothing than to view the most agreeable scenes of semi-rural or suburban retirement, near my London home. A strange taste, a gloomy, morbid, unnatural taste ! some friends of mine will say ; but it is not so, with my faith and hope in the spiritual faculty and destiny of Man. How desirable it would be to discourse of this high theme without any express reference to one's personal sentiments or convictions, presenting simply abstract ideas and arguments, or appealing to proofs derived from the universal expectancy, if not, as some philosophers say, from the innate consciousness of mankind ! I dread the egotistic disposition, in my own temper as in that of others, which is apt to insist on views which appear to *me* nearest truth, mainly because they are *mine* ; as I dread submission to the authority of any Church, of any Scripture, of any philosophical school, in matters regarding the soul.

Yet men have to converse with each other ; they must, in talking or in writing, sometimes exchange thoughts upon these questions : is there a soul or spirit in the human being ? is it the mere product of the bodily animal organisation ? can it possibly survive the body, which is its temporary, perishing habitation ? can its faculties, under the most favourable conditions, attain their normal destination, their complete harmonious exercise, in a single visible lifetime ? If we think they cannot, and that death is the end, what a failure in the noblest of creatures, supposing all to be the work of a Creator—what an unaccountable anomaly in the order of the Universe, supposing that we ascribe organic, animal, human life, with all the intellectual powers, the affections, the conscience, the aspirations of mankind, to mere physical forces and “ laws ” ! In either case, be there God or no God, the human being has to be explained ; and the question here is, whether the conscious individuality in every human being—that which *aspires*, and which is, therefore, called “ the *spirit* ” ; that which controls and regulates, in a rational mind, the operations of the understanding ; that which discerns a moral obligation, which can check passion, can rebuke sin, can imagine, adore, choose, resolve, and conform its will to an idea of Holiness ; that which can pray to a Divinity and

seek, or long for, eternal union with Supreme Goodness—whether this religious faculty of man has room for its full exercise within the period of threescore years and ten, or, at most, of a hundred years? A further question may be raised, whether the entire development of such a faculty is possible, in any case, without the diverse experience of successive lives, retaining the same conscious individuality, under different outward temporary conditions? Well, there are some content to say, “We do not know”; meaning, “We do not care.” The spiritual, the moral, the rational quest of an ideal perfection, not in ourselves, but in One who is conceived to dwell in Eternity, willing to make us partakers of holiness and blessedness, does not appear to them a practicable pursuit; men are to live, at best, only for the temporal comfort of one another, and, indeed, we ought to do so; but they tell us that we need no faith in any God, and that there is no life beyond the grave. Now, the testimony of the human heart, so far as I can learn, in all ages and in all nations, is generally against this conclusion. For me, who am no Oriental scholar, to be permitted, in the *Asiatic Review*, by the editor's kind favour, to ask its readers, men versed in the religions, philosophies, literature, and traditions of the venerable East from the earliest recorded antiquity, their judgment upon this question of fact, Do men want a religion? may not be censured as presumption. If this want be universal, does not its object exist? Let the answer come from Brahmanism or Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, or any other great prevailing creed, however variously modified by schools and sects; to me its purport will be of the same value, doubting not the sincerity of the authors and many teachers of those systems. Do not they testify of God and of the soul? I return to my quiet thinking-ground in Highgate Cemetery; for I have made a discovery there.

One tombstone, an upright slab of marble, of modest size, at the foot of a grassy mound, which may or may not have already received its silent tenant, bears neither a name nor a date, but the following enigmatic inscription, quaint verse, by an unknown author, perhaps composed for his own future epitaph; speaking of himself as he believed he would be after death, an identical spirit, a surviving individual consciousness, but inhabiting a new-born different personality, the result of a fresh bodily organisation:

I am, I was, one, not the same;
Other, in person, feature, name;
So, the undying spirit strives
Through many mortal human lives;
Then, trained by its forgotten Past,
Finds God, and Heaven, on earth at last.

These lines have a twang of dogmatic assertion, which may seem unciliatory as well as uncompromising; but let us be just to a fellow-man who may have parted from us in charity with all mankind, and may have designed hereby to bequeath a testimony of what he held to be salutary truth. Compared with many other sepulchral inscriptions in that ground, mostly contributed by members of the Established Church of England, or by orthodox Christian Dissenters, I suppose that to analyse the doctrine of this epitaph would be a task puzzling to theologians, who might be intent

on condemning its author for heresy, according to the ecclesiastical standards. This may to him, while living, have been a matter of no concern whatever ; but I am not aware that any positive and authoritative declaration has ever been issued, either by the Papal See or by Protestant creed-makers, precisely defining the mode or place of existence for the soul immediately after parting with the mortal body which it has animated. Fathers of the Catholic Church, it is said, have avowed their readiness to believe in metempsychosis ; Origen, and two or three Bishops of the fourth century, are quoted on its behalf ; and whether it be inconsistent with any express revelation in the New Testament is a point of controversy and free Christian opinion.

Leaving that inquiry to Churchmen and Biblicists, I venture to think, as a rational humanist, and further as one believing in the spiritual origin and destination of the soul, that there is nothing very reprehensible, and no manifest absurdity in the notions which seem to be implied in this epitaph ; nor is there anything offensive in its tone. Some epitaphs, I have observed, probably composed by surviving kindred or friends, say a good deal about the personal merits, virtues, and graces of the deceased, bearing witness to his actual fitness for the heavenly life. Others speak of the "merits" of Jesus Christ, as "imputed" to a large number of people, including the deceased, who are thereby, with no other qualification or progressive spiritual education, assured of instant admission to Heaven. The author of this inscription does neither profess to have any merits of his own in the sight of God, or to be presently fit for Heaven ; nor does he put himself forward as a witness to the merits of Jesus, perhaps being restrained from so doing by a feeling of reverence, consistent with love, trust, and humble discipleship, which he may have entertained as a Christian, for aught we know about him. That believers in other religious systems, in that of Buddha for example, may cherish similar affections towards one from whom, as they deem, they have received the gift of divine truth and the seed of holy and enduring spiritual life, I am equally convinced by their history. Now it is not my purpose to inquire whether the faith expressed in this particular epitaph, if it be reconciled with Christianity, cannot at the same time have some affinity, as well, with those other ancient wide-spread religions. I would rather submit the latter part of the inquiry to your men of special learning, the students of Indian ancient lore, for example ; and it happens, indeed, that a recent German publication, which Sanscrit and Pali scholars must be competent to examine, as I cannot do, has offered itself to notice. This is a treatise by Karl Heckel, entitled "*Die Idee der Wiedergeburt*," the first prize-essay for the institute, founded and endowed at Dresden by August Jenny, specially to promote the study of the doctrine, taking for a motto, as thoughtful, truth-loving Germans may well do, some of the last words of Lessing, who asks this : "But why cannot it be, even, that each individual of mankind may have already existed more than once in this our world ? Is this hypothesis to be deemed ridiculous because it is one of the oldest notions—because it occurred so early to the human intelligence, not yet distracted and enfeebled by scholastic sophistry ?" Lessing, indeed, calls it the most ancient theory ; Karl Heckel, I know not

how correctly, ascribes its earliest recorded expression to passages in the Upanishads, not older than 1,000 years B.C. The date of an opinion is no warranty for its reasonableness; on the other hand, the meditations of a Brahmin, thirty centuries ago, upon such a theme, deriving arguments and evidence from the abiding facts of mental and moral consciousness alone, may be worth just as much as those of a modern philosopher, granting that what we call science, which is cumulative and progressive knowledge, has nothing to say to questions of spiritual life.

The treatise which I have mentioned is not an argumentative discussion, but a short historical review, in seventy pages, of literary instances, from India, from Greece, from Patristic and Mediæval Christendom, and from various European thinkers, some reputed heretical by the Church, some rather pietistic, others frankly rationalist, inclining to one or another form of this doctrine. If an Orientalist scholar would criticise it with a view to the verification or correction of Karl Heckel's citations and interpretations, a few serious-minded readers would be much obliged. There is an English translation by Miss Arundale, accompanied by a separate essay of her own which appears to set forth the psychological opinions of the "Theosophic Society," but for which Karl Heckel and the Dresden Institute are not responsible. I feel desirous only, at present, to be informed, as a topic of literary history and the comparative history of religions, how far there is evidence of the persistence of this course of speculation. A distinction is obviously to be made between ideas of the "transmigration of souls," whether from the defunct human body to bodies of another animal species, or of a higher race; "metempsychosis," which is defined by Heckel as the transference of the entire mind, with its memory of past sensations and cerebral or nervous impressions and operations, to a new body; and "re-incarnation" or "re-birth," in which the spirit, the individual consciousness alone, with its essential faculty of Will, according to Schopenhauer, may be conceived to enter a newly-engendered human organism, beginning life afresh, as a babe, unincumbered with any remembrance of the past. It is manifest that the last-mentioned theory is the one which has found favour with the unknown author of the strange epitaph in Highgate Cemetery; but whoever he was, he could know no more about it than any of his fellow-creatures. I came away from his grave, the other day, quite content to admit that I do not know, but not that I do not care; for if something like this solution of the solemn problem were conceivable, in addition to my faith in the Infinite Wisdom and Love which cannot have designed us to live in vain—if I could but learn to regard humanity, with its capabilities of improvement, as the sole heritage of my spirit, and hope to share, with future generations, the profit of every good work, of every true word, of every just thought and kind feeling, of all now living in the vast and growing community of mankind here on earth—why then, I should be a happy man. I would ask the Christian, then, Is not this, possibly, what Christ meant by "the Kingdom of Heaven"? Forgive my little sermon, which I fear may be out of place in your pages; yet an "Asiatic Review" cannot ignore religion, for Asia has been the birthplace of every true and pure religious idea.

THE NINTH AND TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF ORIENTALISTS.

AMONG the results already obtained by the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which was held in London in September last, is the formation into permanent Societies of some of the successful Sections during that most successful gathering. Thus, for instance, the Japanese Section has given the stimulus to, and become the nucleus of, the already flourishing "Japan Society" of London.

Similarly the Sections on the Semitic languages, especially Hebrew, will find their permanent exponents in a "Semitic Society," which seems likely to gain the support of the learned clergy and laity of various denominations.

The London and Edinburgh Chambers of Commerce have become aware of the importance of "Oriental Linguistics in Commerce," on which subject also the Spanish Congress of Africanists has promised a paper to the Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists that will take place at Lisbon from the 23rd of September to the 1st of October next, and that will be followed by literary excursions to, and extraordinary meetings at, Seville, Cordova and Granada. The practical side of Oriental learning, which has been so emphasized at the last Congress, will receive special attention by the Italian Government that was then so worthily represented by its Ambassador in London, Count Torielli-Brusati, and the Oriental Institute at Naples may adopt some of the features of the Oriental University Institute and Museum at Woking. That Institution has been constituted the custodian of Congress archives and of the dies and plates of the Statutory Diplomas and medals of future Congresses of the Series established in Paris in 1873, the seat of an Oriental Academy, of annual Oriental examinations, and of a periodical National Congress of Orientalists in this country in union with the International Congresses. It has also been entrusted with the task of publishing the numerous papers, memoirs and other literary works of the last Congress. The "Asiatic Quarterly Review," the authorized organ of the Statutory Congresses of Orientalists, has already published several of them and will publish others, so far as space and its other literary demands may permit. The "proceedings" have been issued separately, as also a number of pamphlets and Dr. H. W. Bellew's valuable work on "The Ethnography of Afghanistan." The "Summaries" of Sanscrit Research and on African languages have already been circulated. That on Arabic and Æthiopic, including the discovery of the Harukta and other dialects, by Professor René Basset is in course of publication, to be followed by Summaries of Research up to date in Hebrew and Aramaic, Assyriology, Egyptology including Coptic, Sinology, Palestinology, Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Turkish, Dravidian, Comparative Philology, Oriental Archæology and Indian Numismatics.

It will be remembered that the last Congress passed a Resolution, that the Scottish Universities Commission should be requested to include Oriental Languages (Aryan and Semitic) among the groups of subjects in which

the degree of Master of Arts might be taken with Honours. That Resolution was communicated by Dr. Leitner, the Secretary General of the Congress, in a letter dated the 16th October, 1891, addressed to the Secretary to the Commissioners. On enquiring lately what had been the result, the following letter was received, which shows that the Commissioners, in their final Ordinance have complied with the request of the Congress :—

“ Scottish Universities Commission,
18, Duke Street, Edinburgh,
10th June, 1892.
“ Ordinance No. 11—Regulations for Degrees in Arts.

“ SIR—In reply to your letter of the 5th inst., I beg to direct your attention to the accompanying Ordinance of my Commissioners. You will see that by Sect. XI. provision is made for graduation with Honours not only in Semitic Languages but also in Indian Languages.

“ I trust the International Congress of Orientalists will consider these provisions sufficient to encourage “the study of Philology in general and of these Languages in particular.”—I am, etc., (Sd.) ROBT. FITZROY BELL,
G. W. Leitner, Esq. Secretary.

Secy : Gen : of the IXth International
Congress of Orientalists.”

The Congress is to be congratulated on this important success of its Resolution, and the thanks of all interested in Oriental studies are due to the Commissioners for their liberal and far-reaching decision.

At the solicitation of the Spanish Government, acting in support of the initiative of the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid, Seville was appointed at the final Meeting of the Congress of 1891 as the seat of the next, or the Statutory Tenth International, Congress of Orientalists and Señor Canovas del Castillo, as the President of a “Junta” or Committee to organize the same for Sept.-October 1892. Señor Canovas, however, was not only President of the Academy in question, but also President of the Council of Spanish Ministers. Owing to intrigues, into which it is unnecessary to enter in this place—and without the knowledge or consent of the body that had conferred powers on a Spanish Committee conditional on its preparing a Statutory Congress—the headquarters of the projected Tenth Congress were changed from Seville to Madrid, where there is nothing to interest the Orientalist and where the climate is, perhaps, the worst in Europe ; the Committee was exclusively composed of residents of Madrid, the provincial Spanish Universities and learned bodies not being represented on it ; and a programme was issued in French and Spanish full of contradictions and mistakes and confining the labours of the Congress to the five routine Sections of previous Congresses plus one on the Philippine Islands instead of continuing, as far as possible, the theoretical and practical developments of the London Congress of 1891 as adapted to Spain. The date of this Congress was from the 1st to the 6th October and fell, as a mere episode, among a number of geographical and other Exhibitions and

Congresses between the 12th September and the end of October. In these 6 days, Madrid, Cordova, Seville, Granada, Xerez, Cadiz, Malaga and Huelva were to be visited. 78 hours would have been spent in Railway travelling, leaving 66 hours in 6 days for sleep, meals, Congress work and the sight-seeing of all these places. By the middle of February, 1892, only 2 papers for the Madrid Congress had been received and its principal officeholder did not know where exactly it was to meet. As moreover the promoters of the unauthorized Madrid Congress arrogated to it the right of deciding whether it was the Ninth or the Tenth Congress of the Series founded in Paris in 1873, the French Founders and Members forwarded the following Resolution to Sr. Canovas along with a "Historique" and other documents that had the effect of his relinquishing the Madrid Congress by a royal Edict dated the 6th February 1892.

RÉSOLUTION.

Les membres français du 9^e Congrès international des orientalistes tenu à Londres en Septembre 1891 et des 8 Congrès précédents, protestent contre la proposition personnelle du Dr. Ayuso, tendant à mettre en doute et à soumettre à la décision du Congrès Espagnol le fait accompli que le 9^e Congrès a eu lieu.

En conséquence ils revendiquent avec le numéro de la série inaugurée à Paris en 1873 le titre même des Congrès comme étant leur propriété et font défense absolue à quiconque de prendre la dénomination de ces Congrès, dont le titre est du reste garanti par les lois de tous les pays sur la propriété littéraire.

Paris, 18/1/92.

BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI, *Président de la réunion.*
G. M. OLLIVIER BEAUREGARD } *Secrétaires.*
L. DUTILH DE LA TUQUE }

Almost simultaneously with this Resolution there appeared in the *Athenæum* of the 16th of January a letter signed by Professor R. K. Douglas announcing that another Ninth International Congress of Orientalists would take place in London in Sept. 1892, under the presidency of Prof. Max Müller. This gentleman had, however, already resigned in favour of the Madrid Congress, which, as has been shown above, was given up by the Spanish Government—a somewhat irrelevant proceeding, as the Oriental Congresses not being official gatherings cannot be held by any one Government as such, though the countenance of Governments generally, interested in the East and in Eastern research, is desired for the International, though purely private, Meetings of Oriental Scholars and friends of Oriental studies. The Real Academia de la Historia and not the Spanish Government were, or ought to have been, the organisers of the Congress projected for Spain.

It need scarcely be observed that the Orientalists throughout Spain, especially the Semitic Scholars, were indignant at the failure of Sr. Canovas to hold the Statutory Tenth Oriental Congress in their country and several of them memorialized him on behalf of a non-official Congress of Orientalists, but it was clear that the object of the Ninth Congress of 1891 in

fixing Seville as the headquarters of the next meeting with sittings in the Alhambra at Granada could not be accomplished from Madrid. It became necessary to fix another point in the Iberian Peninsula for the holding of that Congress; and, in virtue of the Statutes, which under such circumstances allow such a change to be made, the permanent Committee of 1891, whose delegate-general, Dr. Leitner, had met with an encouraging reception from the King of Portugal, himself a Hebrew Scholar and accomplished Linguist, made arrangements with the Geographical Society of Lisbon, which is a centre of literary activity in Portugal, to hold the Congress on the basis of the Statutes and on the lines of the London Congress of 1891, adding whatever was specially characteristic of the great Portuguese Oriental achievements whether in the past or present. The outlines of this extremely interesting project will be found in a circular which we publish elsewhere, and which should attract all genuine Orientalists to the Lisbon Congress. It would be vain to hope that the seceders who want to start a No. 2 Ninth Congress in London in 1892, although it is to conclude eleven days before the commencement of the Lisbon Congress, should be satisfied with organizing their own Meeting; "dog-in-the-manger" like, they seem desirous of thwarting the Tenth Congress and of discrediting the *de facto* and *de jure* Congress that was held in 1891, though such conduct can only discredit themselves. Their Circulars, since they seceded from their pledge to support the Congress of 1891, are an interesting study of tortuous ingenuity. They first claimed the right of holding a Congress in 1892 from powers given to them by the Paris Founders, who promptly disavowed them. They then tried to claim powers alike from those Founders and their opponents of the Committee alleged to have been formed at the conclusion of the Bacchanalia of the Stockholm-Christiania Congress of 1889, against which they had pledged themselves to a Congress to be held not later than 1891.* In more recent Circulars they drop the references to either source of "powers," but they still maintain the presidency of Prof. Max Müller, who was elected secretly by nine seceders, and who had been identified with the very encroachments of the Scandinavian Congress on the Statutes and the liberty of science against which they had protested. All Circulars apparently contain the names of men like Professor Léon Cahun and others who have indignantly protested against their being included among the adherents of the anti-statutory Max Müller Congress.

Among the Secretaries however there appears to have been some fluctuation.

Professor Douglas seems to have resigned some time after the receipt by him of Baron T. de Ravisi's letter which is quoted elsewhere—and Dr. Ginsburg who had himself taken a share in the pecuniary guarantee for a Congress to be held not later than 1891 (see Declaration of Orientalists, 10th October 1889) now figures as the General Secretary of an anti-statutory Opposition Congress. Many more names could be adduced to show how the blindness caused by party feeling leads to self-stultification, if not to conduct that would have been deemed impossible among honour-

* See "Scholars on the Rampage," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1890.

able men in any country. Those who wish to study the details of a sad episode in the history of scholarship may refer to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July 1890, and of January and April 1891. The "opinion" which we publish elsewhere, on the subject of the Ninth and Tenth International Congresses of Orientalists by an eminent public man and counsel, Dr. R. M. Pankhurst, may also be read with advantage.

Still, if imitation is the sincerest flattery, then the annexation of the name, number, organization and a portion of the funds belonging to the Congress that has been held in 1891 may be considered a homage to its excellence. Indeed, in original ideas the promoters of the "Ninth *b* Congress" appear to be singularly wanting. *Fas est ab hoste doceri*, and therefore sentences and suggestions may, *inter alia*, be annexed, but they should not be mutilated or misapplied.

We are, accordingly, not surprised to find that, in addition to the unscientific classification of the six Sections in Professor Max Müller's original Circular, there is now "Indian" as well as "Aryan" in the last Circular which we have seen. The eloquent addresses of M. Gennadius at the last Congress have also suggested the addition of a Section on "Archaic Greece and the East" and the prominence of explorers at the 1891 Congress has led to that of a section called "Geographical" in 1892. The 30 remaining Sections of the 1891 Congress, including what is of special British interest, *i.e.*, "Oriental Linguistics in Commerce" and "Relations with Orientals" are still wanting in the pseudo-ninth gathering of 1892, in which "Egypt and Africa" continue to be one Section only, and "China and the Far East" and "Anthropological, Mythological" and "Semitic (*a*) Assyrian, Babylonian (*b*) General" attest that the Schools represented by the seceders can be alike unpractical and unscientific. Compare the slipshod programme of Professor Müller's Congress with that of Lisbon, which is both thorough and extensive. We will say nothing of the discourtesy of the "Ninth *b*" or "Ninth $\frac{1}{2}$ " Congress in already filling up all the Sectional Offices by British Presidents and Secretaries. A supposed international Congress elects its own General and Sectional Officers at the time of Meeting out of the most distinguished Scholars present, whether British or foreign. This irregularity is on a par with the anti-statutory organization of a Congress to be held in England by a President and General Secretary, neither of whom is a native of this country.

OPINION OF R. M. PANKHURST, ESQ., LL.D.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, OF THE NORTHERN CIRCUIT AND THE LANCASHIRE
CHANCERY COURT.

OPINION,

Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1891.

Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, Lisbon, 1892.

I HAVE perused the Statutes, proceedings, documents and papers relative to the constitution and work of the International Congress of Orientalists, and considered the points submitted to me in conference.

It appears that in Paris in Sept., 1873, under the presidency of M. Léon de Rosny, an aggregate body—international body—of Orientalists, in constituent Assembly, formed themselves into "The International Congress of Orientalists." An Administrative Commission was instituted, consisting of Messrs. Léon de Rosny, Madier de Montjau and Le Vallois, with, besides the power after indicated, the *ex officio* right of membership of all subsequent Congresses.

In order to secure for this Congress a character of permanency, and to provide for periodic Sessions and effective action, Statutes were adopted by the constituent Assembly for the future government of the Congress.

By these Statutes it was prescribed amongst other things :

(1) That the Sessions of the Congress should be yearly, and should not be held twice in succession in the same country.

(2) That each Session of the Congress should designate the place of the succeeding Session, and nominate the President thereof, and, if possible, other scholars of the President's nationality, who should constitute in a defined way a Central Committee of organisation for the coming Session, the powers of such Committee continuing until the next Session.

(3) That the time of the opening of the next Session should be notified by the Central Committee of organisation appointed for such Session, and that in default the Central Committee of organisation for the preceding Session should fix another country for such next Session.

(4) That at the close of each Session a Permanent Committee should be formed consisting of the Central Committee of organisation of the Session, and of delegates named by each nationality represented at the Congress, such Permanent Committee to exist until the opening of the next Congress.

(5) That any amendment or alteration of the Statutes should be made in a defined manner.

Accordingly, it seems, the Paris Congress of 1873,—

(1) designated England as the place of the Second Session of the Congress, and nominated as President, Dr. Samuel Birch.

(2) constituted a Permanent Committee of organization.

The Paris Assembly of 1873 in its constituent character as Founder of the Congress, in order to obtain substantial and definite assurance that the Congress would subsist as a permanent organisation with due arrangement for successive Sessions and continuity of work, **RESOLVED** that while practically limiting the duration of the Permanent Committee to the opening of the next Session, the President (Baron Textor de Ravisi) should be authorised, with the consent of the Administrative Commission, to call into action the powers of the Permanent Committee of 1873 whenever the interests of the continuation of the Congress might require.

The object of this Resolution was, it seems, to provide against danger to the life of the Congress or breach in the continuity of its Sessions, whether caused by any Session of the Congress failing to designate the place of the next Session or otherwise. On the basis of the Statutes, and in conformity with the prescribed procedure as to designation of the place of Session and action of each Permanent Committee, were held in due succession the

following Congresses, the President, in each case, being a native of the country in which the Congress was held :—

2nd	International Congress of Orientalists,	London,	1874.
3rd	"	"	St. Petersburg, 1876.
4th	"	"	Florence, 1878.
5th	"	"	Berlin, 1881.
6th	"	"	Leyden, 1883.
7th	"	"	Vienna, 1886.
8th	"	"	Stockholm-Christiania, 1889.

During all this time no occasion arose for putting into force the reserved powers vested in the Paris Permanent Committee of 1873.

No such powers were possessed by any of the Permanent Committees subsequently created for the above Sessions.

At the 8th Congress at Stockholm-Christiania it appears that a series of disturbing events took place. It appears that in violation of the Statutes, a minority appointed a Committee of one German, one Austrian, and one Dutchman with a Swedish Secretary, all residing in different countries, to fix the place of the next Meeting and to control the admission to future Congresses. This attempt to convert an open into a close institution and the elimination of the unrepresented nationalities from the Committee, which had no statutory means for increasing its number, led to great dissatisfaction among the Orientalists of all countries. Of the three members of this Committee two have since died.

This Stockholm-Christiania Congress was initiated and held under the provisions of the Statutes.

It was and could be in the circumstances only in virtue of its being one of the Series under the Statutes that it became the 8th Congress.

Being held under the Statutes it was bound by them.

No amendment or alteration of the Statutes was made before or at this 8th Congress.

Such amendment or alteration could only take place in the manner prescribed by the Statutes.

The duty of designating the place of the next Session of the Congress was imposed by the Statutes on the Stockholm-Christiania Congress.

In default of such designation the right to designate such place devolved (pursuant to the Paris Resolution of 1873 passed by the Assembly of Orientalists as a constituent body) upon the Paris Permanent Committee of 1873 under the specially reserved powers for that express purpose vested in such Committee.

In the absence of these reserved powers the series of Sessions must have ceased and the work and life of the Congress have come to an end.

On the failure of the Stockholm-Christiania Congress to designate the place of the next Session, the Orientalists, members of all the preceding Congresses including the 8th at Stockholm-Christiania, were appealed to, as a preliminary step, as to the place and time of the next, *i.e.* the 9th Session of the Congress.

Their decision was almost unanimously in favour of holding the next Congress in London in 1891.

This decision was communicated to the Paris Administrative Commission and Permanent Committee of 1873.

The Paris Permanent Committee of 1873 having regard to such decision in exercise of its reserved powers designated London in 1891 as the place and time for the holding of the 9th Congress.

In virtue and on the basis of this designation and pursuant to the Statutes an organizing Committee—a Central Committee of organization—was constituted in London for the purpose of this Congress, *i.e.* the 9th Congress.

Accordingly in due course and in conformity with the Statutes was held in London the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists 1891.

Over this Congress was President, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury. 600 Orientalists, representing 37 countries, were members.

This Congress designated Seville in 1892 as the place and time of the 10th Congress, but the nominated President and Central Committee of organisation for this 10th Congress failed to give effect to such designation.

Pursuant, therefore, to the powers of the Statutes the Permanent Committee of the London Congress designated Lisbon as the place for this 10th Congress of 1892.

For the holding of this 10th Congress in Lisbon from the 23rd Sept. to the 1st Oct., 1892, arrangements are, it appears, now in action.

The King of Portugal will preside over the Congress.

Certain persons, it appears, have been and are now representing themselves as organising "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 in disregard of the fact that in the circumstances and under the Statutes as before stated "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" was held in London in 1891.

With this object these persons have issued circulars and papers soliciting subscriptions.

These persons for some time, it seems, were members of the Committee to hold "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1891, and have themselves admitted the binding nature on them of the Statutes and of the decision of the "Commission administrative" and "Comité de Permanence internationale" of 1873 to hold the Ninth Congress in London in 1891.

These persons subsequently, however, by circulars and papers issued by them, represented themselves and they are now representing themselves as intending to hold such "9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 under the presidency of Professor Max Müller, who is not a native of England.

In one of such circulars communications are directed "to be made to the General Secretaries of the Congress :

Professor Douglas, British Museum, London, W.C.

J. F. Hewitt, Esq., Devoke Lodge, Walton-on-Thames.

Dr. Bullinger, Braemgarten, Woking, Surrey.

Professor A. A. Macdonell, 7, Fyfield Road, Oxford."

Another of such circulars is signed "on behalf of the organising Committee, George Birdwood, Chairman."

These persons who so purport to intend to hold "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 as aforesaid by themselves or by others on their behalf have, it is stated, received certain subscriptions, paid or intended for or for the purpose of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" held in London in 1891 as before-mentioned.

Dr. Badenoch by letter, on behalf of the organising Committee of such last-named Congress, addressed to Dr. Bullinger, says: "You have not yet returned the subscriptions which you obtained for the Congress of 1891, and in lieu of which literary and other papers have been sent by us to the subscribers at our expense."

These persons or others on their behalf, it is stated, have applied and are applying these subscriptions and other subscriptions obtained by them in response to the said circulars and papers for or for the purpose of their said intended London Congress of 1892. By reason of such last-mentioned circulars and papers the London Congress of 1891 was, it is stated, deprived of divers subscriptions, much support and many adhesions.

In regard of the action of these persons in purporting to hold "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 under the presidency of Professor Max Müller and in relation thereto, besides the protests of Sir Patrick Colquhoun and Dr. Leitner, the Organising Secretary of the London Congress of 1891, and others, the following protests have been issued on behalf of the Paris Permanent Committee of 1873:—

"(1) The members of the Permanent Committee, and of the Administrative Commission of the First International Congress of Orientalists (Paris, 1873), declare that the circular of the 9th February, signed by Messrs. Douglas, Hewitt, Bullinger, and Macdonell, is, to say the least, very incorrect, especially as concerns the following assertions—to wit: That the Administrative Commission ever gave its powers to the Committee presided over by M. Max Müller, and that the date of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists was ever changed from 1891 to 1892.

The only Committee which has been legally constituted, and to which have been delegated the powers to hold the Ninth Congress (London, 1891), is that which is presided over by Sir P. Colquhoun, and to which Dr. Leitner is, and remains our, Delegate and Organizing Secretary."

(2)

PARIS, 21st January, 1892.

DEAR MR. DOUGLAS,

Permit me, in consideration of our friendly relations, to submit to you the following:

When I was spoken to respecting the article in the *Athenæum* (16th instant), I answered that I could not believe it. It is now before my eyes. It is signed "Robert K. Douglas, Hon. Secretary of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists."

According to you, dear Sir, the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists will be held in London in 1892 under the anti-statutory presidency of Professor Max Müller—in other terms, the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists which was held in London in 1891 under

the presidency of your Lord High Chancellor is regarded by you as null and void (*fuit nul et nonavenu*).

Permit me to remind you (1) that you have signed for the Ninth Congress being held in London in 1891, (2) that you have declared that the Committee of Christiania was illegal, and that its acts were illegal, (3) that this Committee has been reduced to a single member by the death of the others [here a word seems wanting] without taking into account the Statutes which you have signed to maintain.

This Committee is, and remains, illegal; you cannot base yourself on it.

In these circumstances, the French members have adopted the following resolution:

"They insist on their right, not only to the number of the series inaugurated in Paris in 1873, but also to the very title of the Congress, as having been established by them, and they absolutely forbid any person whatever from taking, outside the Statutory offices, the denomination of these Congresses."

You have the right, dear Sir (a right common to all), to call your future Congress by any name you choose, except giving it a name and a number that belong to another.

Permit me, therefore, to hope that you will withdraw your announcement made in the *Athenæum* on the 16th instant by a rectifying notice.

You will force us, to our profound regret by your not doing so, to institute against you a judicial action—yes, dear Sir, judicial proceedings would be instituted, only with the greatest regret, by me; but will you be pleased to consider that it is to you, and not to me, that belongs the rôle of arresting the consequences that will follow from your article in the *Athenæum*.

I end, as I began, by earnestly appealing to our good relations. I therefore hope that you will interpret this letter in the friendly sense that has dictated it, and not otherwise.—I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,
(Signed) BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

In the state of things disclosed by the matters aforesaid, I am of opinion as follows:

(1) That the representations and acts of the persons aforesaid in arranging or attempting to hold, and purporting to hold, "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 constitute an unwarrantable and wrongful usurpation and assumption of the name, style, title, number, rights, and functions of the International Congress of Orientalists founded in Paris in 1873, and of the series of Congresses based thereon, and forming part thereof.

(2) That the holding of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, having regard to the fact that "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" has already been held in London in 1891, besides of necessity involving confusion and leading to absurdity, is wrongful, and a violation of the Statutes by which the holding of the International Congresses of Orientalists is governed.

(3) That any retention by, or on behalf of, these persons of subscriptions paid or intended for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," held in London in 1891, is illegal.

(4) That the receipt and application of subscriptions, and the issue of circulars and papers soliciting subscriptions for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, the holding thereof being wrongful, as aforesaid, are also wrongful.

R. M. PANKHURST.

5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn,
3 June, 1892.

NOTICE OF THE
TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.
(ON THE BASIS OF THE STATUTES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE FIRST CONGRESS
HELD IN PARIS IN 1873.)

LISBON; *September—October*, 1892.

THE Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists will be held at Lisbon from the 23rd September to the 1st October, 1892, under the Presidency of His Majesty Dom Carlos I., King of Portugal and the Algarves. The Organizing Committee has the good fortune of working under the high patronage of a monarch who is himself a student of Oriental languages.

The nine preceding Congresses were held as follows: Paris (1873), London (1874), St. Petersburg (1876), Florence (1878), Berlin (1881), Leyden (1884), Vienna (1886), Stockholm-Christiania (1889), and London (1891).

As the Tenth Congress could not be held in Spain, as proposed, owing to the Circular, dated 6th February, 1892, of the President of the Council of Spanish Ministers, the City of Lisbon was chosen by the *Comité de Permanence* of the London Congress of 1891, acting in concert with the Geographical Society of Lisbon, as the place for the Tenth Congress; and the London Committee has, in accordance with Statute 18, formally made over its powers to the Council of the said Society.

The Chiefs of the various public departments under the Portuguese Government, and all the Ministers and Consuls accredited to Portugal, are *ex-officio* members of this Congress, as are also the heads and staff of all the learned corporations in Portugal, and the Oriental and other scholars of that country. Adhesions, promises of personal attendance, or papers, have also been already received from Orientalists and friends of Oriental studies in various parts of the world.

His Excellency Count de Ficalho is the President of the Executive Committee. The Organizing Secretary is Senhor Luciano Cordeiro, Perpetual Secretary of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, to whom all correspondence for information regarding the Prize translations, medals, etc., to be awarded, the sending in of papers, the subscription for Membership, books for presentation, collections for exhibition, etc., should be addressed. The Portuguese Embassies and Legations, also, in different countries have kindly consented to act as *Bureaux* for the reception of adhesions, Papers, subscriptions, and collections, and for the supplying of all necessary information in co-operation with the Delegates of the Ninth and Tenth Congresses of our countries.

The member's subscription is £1 (25 francs or \$5), which may be paid as above indicated, or also as follows: In France, to M. E. Leroux, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris; in England, to Messrs. Hachette and Co., book-sellers, King William Street, Strand, W.C.; and in other countries to the Delegates of the Ninth and the Tenth Congresses of Orientalists. Those members who express their adhesion to the statutes will receive the Statutory Grand Diploma of Membership, entitling them to vote at all future Statutory Congresses. The others will receive the usual card of membership, entitling them to all privileges of membership at the Tenth Congress.

Public bodies desirous of being represented at the Congress by Delegates or by reports, books, or works illustrative of their operations, are requested to inform the Organizing Secretary.

PROGRAMME OF THE SECTIONS INTO WHICH THE WORK OF THE
CONGRESS HAS BEEN DIVIDED :

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) Summaries of Oriental Research since 1891. | (l) Japanese. |
| (b) 1. Semitic languages, except Arabic. | (m) Dravidian. |
| 2. Arabic and Islám. | (n) Malayan and Polynesian. |
| 3. Assyriology. | (o) Instructions to Explorers, etc. |
| 4. Palestinology. | (p) Ethnographical Philology, including the migrations of races. |
| (c) Aryan: 1. Sanscrit and Hinduism. | (q) Oriental Art, Art - Industry, Archæology and Numismatics. |
| 2. Pali and Buddhism. | (r) Relations with Oriental scholars and peoples. |
| 3. Iranian and Zoroastrianism. | (s) Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, etc., with sub-sections regarding the various modern Oriental languages. |
| (d) Africa, except Egypt. | (t) The Anthropology, Science, and Products, natural and artificial, of the East. |
| (e) Egyptology. | (u) The East and America. |
| (f) Central Asia and Dardistan. | (v) The East and Portugal. |
| (g) Comparative Religion (including Mythology and Folklore), Philosophy, Law, and Oriental Sciences (including Medicine), History, etc. | (w) The Philippine Islands. |
| (h) Comparative Language. | (x) Exhibition and explanations of objects illustrative of these Sections. |
| (i) Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies. | |
| (j) Indo-Chinese. | |
| (k) Sinology. | |

Although the Congress is one of study and not of festivities, there will be several receptions and other acts of hospitality, and literary excursions have also been arranged to Cintra, and other places of interest in Portugal, and to Seville, Cordova, and Granada in Spain, where it is proposed to hold "extraordinary meetings" at the Alhambra in the Arabic Section, and in connection with the Spanish Congress of Africanists in Section "s," "Oriental Linguistics in Commerce." The dates of the Congress and of its excursions have been so arranged as to enable members to attend the opening at Madrid of the Historical and Industrial Exhibitions on the 12th September, 1892, and that of the Fine Arts on the 15th September; the Congress of Americanists at Huelva from the 7th to the 12th October; and the Geographical Congress at Madrid in the latter half

of October. The railways in France, Spain, and Portugal, and steamship companies from England to Lisbon are expected to grant a reduction of 50 per cent., and the hotels in Lisbon and elsewhere will also make the usual concessions to members.

A detailed programme will soon be distributed by the Portuguese Organizing Committee acting in concert with the London *Comité de Permanence* of 1891.

WOKING, June, 1892.

NOTES.

WHEN the Japanese Section of the 9th Oriental Congress unanimously adopted, on 9th Sept., 1891, the proposal of its Hon. Secretary, Mr. Arthur Diosy, for the establishment in London of a *Japan Society*, few of those present on that occasion can have anticipated that the project would be realised with such rapid and astonishing success.

Mr. Diosy and the other Hon. Secretary of the Japanese Section, Mr. Daigoro Goh, Chancellor of the Imperial Consulate General in London, set to work with the energy characteristic of Old England and of New Japan, and the Japan Society, which was definitely constituted on 28th January, 1892, now consists of 226 Members, including most of the celebrated workers in the field of Japanological research in this country and, indeed, throughout the world.

That its members are not merely platonic sympathisers with the Society's objects is proved by the fact that the Inaugural Meeting of the first Session, on 29th April, 1892, brought together 243 persons to hear the Inaugural Address of the President, the Japanese Minister, Viscount Kawasé and the paper on "Ju-jitsu, the Ancient Art of Self Defence by Sleight of Body," by Mr. T. Shidachi, LL.B., M.J.S. of Tokio, whilst 140 attended the Second Ordinary Meeting, on 12th May, when Mr. Charles Holme, F.L.S., Member of the Council of the Japan Society, lectured on "The Uses of the Bamboo in Japan."

Crescat ! floreat ! ! vivat ! ! !

ON Thursday, the 2nd of June, a very interesting lecture was given before the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts by Mr. R. A. Sterndale, F.R.G.S.—Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., D.O.L., in the chair. The subject was Cyclopean Architecture in Polynesia, concerning which Mr. Sterndale has already contributed two papers to this Review, but recent explorations in Easter Island enabled him to give additional information regarding one of the most interesting of the Pacific Islands, the meeting ground of the Eastern and Western civilization of the day. This island has recently been visited and thoroughly explored by Paymaster William J. Thomson of the United States Navy whose exhaustive paper is to be found in the last published report of the Smithsonian Institute. He counted no less than 555 colossal images, the largest of which measured seventy feet. But the most interesting discovery is, that the curved tablets which have hitherto been considered as merely ornamental are true hieroglyphics capable of translation, and a clue having been found several have been deciphered, but as yet nothing of historical value has been found. The lecture was illustrated by enlargements of the drawings made by the late Mr. Handley Sterndale, who discovered the Cyclopean ruins on Upolu, and was listened to with interest by an appreciative audience.

GENERAL TCHENG-KI-TONG, according to our correspondent in Tientsin, has been deprived of all his offices and dignities ; he is not, as stated by the *Times*, actually imprisoned, but is nominally free and continues to be employed in very subordinate positions. It appears that those whom the General had the misfortune to create as enemies in this country, are loud in insisting upon exemplary punishment, but in our opinion, without wishing to estimate lightly the crime of "being found out," or entering into the merits of the charges brought against him, it should always be borne in mind that General Tcheng-

PARIS, 18 Juin, 1892.

Sommaire des résolutions et de l'appel des Comités de permanence de 1873 et de 1891 :

Résolution : Les Membres des Comités de permanence de 1873 et de 1891 protestent contre l'usurpation du nombre et titre du "Neuvième Congrès International des Orientalistes" (qui a déjà été tenu à Londres en Septembre, 1891) par un Comité préparant un Congrès sous la même désignation en 1892 malgré la prohibition absolue des deux Comités susmentionnés. Ces deux Comités revendiquent avec le numéro de la série inaugurée à Paris en 1873 le titre même des Congrès comme étant leur propriété et celle de leurs successeurs légitimes et font défense absolue à quiconque de prendre, en dehors des bureaux statutaires de ces deux Comités et de leurs successeurs légitimes, la denomination de ces Congrès, dont le titre est garanti par les lois de tous les pays sur la propriété littéraire.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1873,

Le Président : BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1891,

G. W. LEITNER,

Délégué-Général des Comités de Permanence de 1873 et de 1891.

Appel proposé par les Membres des bureaux exécutifs des Comités de Permanence de 1873 et de 1891 :

Aux Membres des neuf Congrès Internationaux des Orientalistes.

Les Membres du 9^{me} Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu à Londres en Septembre, 1891, et des huit Congrès précédents protestent contre la circulaire d'un soi-disant neuvième Congrès des Orientalistes qui doit se tenir à Londres en Septembre, 1892.

Les membres s'opposeront de toutes leurs forces à ce que l'on renouvelle la lutte déjà terminée à Londres en Septembre, 1891, en faveur du Congrès alors tenu et reconnu par les Gouvernements de l'Espagne, de l'Angleterre, de la France, de la Russie, de l'Italie, de la Grèce et d'autres pays ainsi que par 38 corporations savantes et 600 Orientalistes représentant 37 pays. Le Comité scissionniste de Londres préparant un Congrès à Londres en 1892 n'a pas le droit d'appeler son Congrès "Congrès International des Orientalistes" ce nom étant distinctif de la série inaugurée à Paris en 1873. Les membres français fondateurs de l'œuvre ainsi que tous les signataires en faveur des Statuts leur interdisent formellement l'usage d'une désignation qui appartient exclusivement à la série sus-indiquée.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1873,

Le Président : BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1891,

Le Délégué-Général : G. W. LEITNER.

Ki-Tong has done far more by word and pen, to remove prejudice against China and to create an admiring interest in that country, than all the present and past Chinese ambassadors or ministers put together.

Mr. Theodore Bent in writing on Palapwe in Bechuanaland very pertinently asks, "Why is it that civilisation is permitted to destroy all that is picturesque? Surely we of the 19th century have much to answer for in this respect. And the missionaries, who teach and insist on clothing amongst races accustomed to nudity by heredity are responsible for three evils: firstly, the appearance of lung diseases amongst them; secondly, the spread of vermin amongst them; and thirdly, the disappearance from amongst them of inherent and natural modesty." It does not seem to have occurred to missionaries that the adoption of their own personal customs, habits, likings and fashions is by no means essential to salvation.

On the occasion of the official public announcement of the forthcoming Xth International Congress of Orientalists at Lisbon, the *Illustrated London News* of May 14, 1892, expresses its satisfaction at the decision and comments on it as follows: . . . "We must certainly think, from ancient historical associations, that Portugal is entitled to the priority, as the nation whose enterprising navigators first sailed eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, settled in Ceylon, India, and among the shores and islands of Farther Asia, and founded, alone of European nations, all the numerous establishments of maritime commerce and colonisation, which long afterwards fell into the dominions of the Spanish monarchy, and some of which, in the chances of prolonged warfare, became Dutch or English possessions. His Majesty Dom Carlos I, in accepting the presidency of the approaching Congress at Lisbon, may remember the noble example of Prince Henry of Portugal, a devoted student of geographical science and patron of the earliest exploring voyages, four centuries and a half ago. The site of Prince Henry's abode at Sagres, near Cape Trafalgar, might be visited with enthusiasm by those interested in oceanic discoveries, or in the researches of ethnology beyond the limits of Europe. That enlightened Prince was partly of English descent, the great-grandson of our John of Gaunt; and his biography has been written by the late Mr. H. R. Major, of our Royal Geographical Society. Our countrymen who may attend the Congress at Lisbon will not refuse to do honour to the ancient Portuguese mariners, explorers, and traders, whose achievements, on the whole, perhaps exceeded in value that of the Genoese Columbus at a later period, and of all the Spanish conquerors in America; for the opening of the Indian Ocean was a task of greater difficulty than crossing the Atlantic, which must soon have been performed by other nations, if not by the memorable expedition from Spain. In the '*Lusiad*' of Camoens, a noble epic poem too much neglected by literary students nowadays, Portugal owns an imaginative work of unique interest, on a topic germane to the investigations of the Oriental Congress."

Those supporters of English missions who have the amiable notion—and their name is legion—that their own personal views with regard to religious matters, must of necessity be the only possible expressions of truth and virtue, and that all whose opinions on the subject differ from their own must surely be desperately wicked, will be bowed down with grief at the liberal and tolerant expressions of the Archbishop of Canterbury who presided at the annual public meeting in connexion with the 191st anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, held on Thursday the 16th of June in the St. James's Hall, Piccadilly.

We quote some of the Archbishop's remarks not as expressing our approval of their ultimate purpose—on this we give no opinion—but in order to show how the, hitherto, blind are commencing to have a glimmering of vision and how the narrow, self-extolling spirit of religious bigotry is gradually passing away, even in this country.

In the course of his observations the Archbishop said: . . . "He was persuaded that no greater mistake could be made than to suspend, diminish, or be content with a small allowance of those studies which opened the mind, in the belief that a small portion of

that education could be selected for a footing and the Gospel of Christ planted upon it. The religious tone in any nation was the upgrowth of many generations, had been gradually formed, and was the offspring of old traditions, conveyed by teaching and by early habits. . . . He therefore said that wherever the society was at work it would do its utmost to promote schools and universities and all manner of teaching that was good for the mind. Again, he believed religious workers in all directions ought to be most careful in destroying the religious tone of any nation, however superstitious, without being ready to replace it; and it followed that they ought to do their utmost to understand the religions with which they had to deal. These religions embodied the best thoughts and feelings and aspirations of men through many ages, and it was not true that they were wicked except by contrast. There were, as they knew, great wickednesses in connexion with all religions, and there had been such things in Christianity. In the Christian Church itself there had been vices and wickednesses which had gone far to make Christianity intolerable to students and observers. Mission workers did undoubtedly undervalue, for instance, the importance to mankind of such a religion as Mahomedanism. Those who knew the religion itself knew that in many directions there were noble characters formed under its influence. These characters were of strength to that, as they were to any other religion, for it was not what was found in books or said in temples which was the true strength of religion, but the characters which it formed. He deprecated very much Christian people setting to work—and he did not believe they would ever succeed if they did set to work—in the belief that all the religions which God had allowed to grow up apart from the Christian Church ministered to pride and lust and cruelty. It would be just as reasonable to impute to the Gospel the sins of London. They knew what the sins of Mahomedanism were, but did they not know what the sins of Europe and the sins of London were, and of other places where the Gospel was professed most earnestly and practised by many most sedulously? As he had said, Mahomedanism formed high characters, and no one could go into a Mahomedan place of worship without being impressed, beyond the impression that would be formed in most other places of worship, with the sincerity, the solemnity, and the devotion of the worshippers. Christians must go to these people acknowledging that God had brought them a long way on the road to Himself."

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.—Although the formal opening of the Institute is postponed until next year, when her Majesty will perform the ceremony in person, and when the building will, it is hoped, be in a much more advanced state of completion than it is now, the Fellows of the Institute and the public have been already admitted to the buildings. On Wednesday (the 22nd of June) the Institute was opened to the Fellows, and the exhibition of Indian art metal-work to the public. In order to mark the opening in some way, Lord Herschell, who is chairman of the governing body, held a reception on Tuesday (the 21st). Each of the newly-elected Fellows was invited, and invitations were also extended to all the distinguished representatives of Greater Britain at present known to be in this country. If it is considered that the Institute building is, or will be, one of the monuments of London, it is surprising that that capital should have done so little (if anything) towards taking a share in the cost of construction. The Indian Rajahs, as is the practice on such occasions, have been thoroughly — interested in the scheme. It is said that the colossal expenditure of money may have some results beyond providing Kensington with another unfinished building.

Philological : We have received the following interesting etymological note from Sardar Jwala Suhaya. Correspondence on the subject is invited.

The Etymology of the name of Faras (Persia).

The ancient designation of the country which is known by the name of Persia is *Ariana*, *Erān* or *Iran*. This name is no doubt derived from the word *Arī* manifestly the same as the Sanskrit word *Arya*. I need not describe here the kinship which exists between

the Persians and the Indians because the probability of the theory of Aryan Migration from the centre of Asia into the several countries of Asia and Europe has been admitted to a great extent. The name Persia has been mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon the ancient historians of Greece, in another form, preserved in the name of its ancient capital Persepolis which was destroyed by Alexander the Great. I have looked into several Persian dictionaries for an etymology of the word but none of the lexicographers has gone beyond saying that *Phars* or *Pharas* is the corruption of *Para* or *Paras*. But a great difficulty arises in explaining *Paras* or *Pars*. When reading Panini's *Astādhyāyi* I found a clue by which the word might be derived from Sanskrit. Panini says: *Pāras Karaprabhritinicha Samjñāyām*, and the author of the *Ganapathas* enumerates *Pāras Karaprabhritini* as follows: *Pāraskaro deçaviçeshah*:—*Kāraskaro vriksha*, and so on. Now if we look to the country of India we do not find that any division of it has got the name *Pāraskara* either in ancient or modern days. But the name was used in the time of Panini who flourished in the 4th century before Christ. If we explain the word according to the rule (VI. i. 157) of Panini given above we find that some hint can be suggested. The compound *Pāraskara* is made by the combination of two words *Para* and *Kara*; and *s* phonetically brought to ease the pronunciation. So Panini states that an *s* is to be brought in the compounds *Pāraskara*, etc., when used as designations.

Now according to the meaning of the words *Para* and *Kara*, *Pāraskara* means the country which makes a boundary or shortly a frontier country. It has been ascertained by the study of history that some Rajas of Ancient India made their conquests so far as Persia. Raghu the great grandfather of Rama the Great has been described by Kalidāsa to have invaded Persia (vide *Raghuvansa* IV. 60 et seq.). Raghu or any of his predecessors who conquered Iran for the first time might have named it as *Pāraskara* or Frontier Country as none of the Hindu Rajas has been described to have gone beyond Persia. For the sake of convenience the part *Kara* most probably was put off and the country was called for several centuries, even by the inhabitants themselves as *Paras* which was again shortened into *Pars*. The latter being corrupted into *Fars* has still been used in the whole world as the name of Persia.

SARDAR JWALA SUHAYA.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA still continues under the deep shadow of a scarcity in some places amounting to actual famine, which the local Governments have actively tried to cope with. The numbers at relief works had risen as high as 87,000 in Madras, 72,000 in Bengal, 42,000 in Rajputana, 18,000 in Bombay, and 13,000 in Mysore. Only slight local showers had just prevented water-famines, and in a few places enabled sowings to be made with some chance of success; but the monsoon, on which so much now depends, has burst on the South-west coast, and is slowly travelling up and inland. Bombay and Bengal have had much rain, and so has Madras, except in Kurnool and Nellore; the Punjab and Rajputana are still dry. There is, however, still room for much anxiety. The well-elaborated Famine Relief Code, and the admirable network of railways have done much to prevent loss of life and to obviate much suffering; yet the death-rate has been unusually high. Some idea may be formed of the permanent struggle that has been, and for years will have to be, constantly waged with famine, from the fact that since 1877 no less than Rs. 123,850,000 have been spent on irrigation works alone by the Government. The Chenab Weir, just completed at great cost, is to irrigate 400,000 acres, and sanction is asked to extend it so as to irrigate up to 1,000,000 acres. Rs. 875,000 have been sanctioned out of Loan funds for the Krishna Canal in the Sattara district; while Lord Wenlock has called upon the Madras Collectors to report on the state and mode of improvement of wells, each for his own district. Large sums judiciously spent on these will do much for obviating future famines: Rs. 2,000,000 have already been spent.

Other public works are in progress. A grand road has been made through Manipur: no less than 21,000 lb. of

dynamite were used in blasting rocks. A bridge is projected over the Indus 4 miles below Dera Ismail Khan. Rs. 6,750,000 have been sanctioned to ease the gradients on the N. State Railways. The Attock-Kushalgarh and the Mari-Attock Railways are being pushed on, as is the East Coast line projected by Lord Connemara, part of which will be completed by the end of this year. The Mushkaf Railway gives a better route to Quettah than that through the Bolan Pass. A short line unites Sultanpur to Bogra, and another is to be made from Durbhunga to the Nepal Terai; while in the Deccan surveys are being made from Warangal to Dino on the Manmad line, and a loop line from Hyderabad to Kamariddapet. There were 17,274 miles of Railway open, and 2,160 under construction, against 16,890 miles and 1,684 miles in 1891.

The gross Railway receipts for 1891-92 exceeded those of 90-91 by Rs. 26,900,000, and 485 miles were opened. Their average dividend is given as $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Nearly all have just given a good half-yearly report, notwithstanding the famine, as also have the leading Banks: the New Oriental failed. The yield of gold has increased and several Gold mines have been looking up.

It is announced that after mature deliberation and with the approval of the various Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Indian Government will neither send an official deputy to the Chicago Fair, nor be there represented by any British Commissioner, nor give any money for the purpose. The Tea planters however intend to make a bid for the American Market, and will be there in force.

The Indian Councils Bill has at last been passed, in spite of the opposition of some because it did not go far enough, and of others because it went too far. It empowers the Councils (1) to discuss the Budget, (2) to make interpellations, and (3) it increases the numbers of non-official members. In the Governor-General's Council the minimum of 6 becomes 10, the maximum of 12 becomes 16; in the Provincial Councils the minimum is to be 8, the

maximum 20 ; in Bengal and the N.W. Provinces they are to be respectively 12—20 and 9—15. The Provincial non-official members are to be half, and in Bengal and the N.W. Provinces one-third of the whole. The Governor-General is empowered to introduce an elective element—details still *in nubibus*—which may have far-reaching consequences. The Indian Officials Leave of Absence Bill we are glad to see is dropped : the Mauritius and Pahang have lately shown that high officials cannot be spared from their posts during tenure of office, no matter how serene the horizon may seem. The Secretary of State has also approved of the employment of 91 more natives in high civil posts—20 for Bengal, 18 for Bombay, 18 for Madras, 20 for the N.W. Provinces, and 12 for the Punjab—at salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to 2,000 a month. The grievance of the Uncovenanted Service in the arbitrary rejection by the Indian Government of some of the chief recommendations of the Commission has not yet been removed, though Sir Roper Lethbridge brought it to the notice of the House. The usual row about opium was also made by the usual set who know nothing really about it.

Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick has taken over the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab from Sir James Lyall. Sir James Dormer, who has submitted a lengthy report on his recent tour of inspection in Burma, is still engaged in his scheme for reorganizing the Madras Army, while an important step has been taken with regard to that of Bengal in the fixing of definite centres for recruiting. These are Peshawur for Pathans, Rawul Pindi for Punjabi Mussulmans, Umritsur for Sikhs, Jalundhur for Dogras, Delhi for Jats and Hindustani Mussulmans, Lucknow for Hindus, and Gorukpur for Gurkhas. Indore and Bhopal are raising cavalry corps, and Kotah a camel corps, for the Imperial Defence. Sir Henry Collet having declined the post, Col. Steadman is transferred from the Andaman Islands to be Quartermaster-General. Peshawur is raised to a 1st Class command, while that of the Presidency

becomes a 2nd Class one. Burma is transferred from the Madras to the Bengal commander-in-chief. Lord Roberts, before beginning a long inspection-tour visited Katmandu by special invitation of the Nepal Durbar, and was exceedingly well received. At the parade, he inspected 18,000 splendidly drilled troops, among which were remarkable Batteries of Artillery carried by Elephants, and by Coolies instead of mules, and others drawn by men. A medal is to be given for the Manipur operations, which, by the way cost much. The following is the little bill for the year's operations and expeditions :

Chin-Lushai Expedition	-	-	-	Rs. 500,000
Manipur operations	.	-	-	„ 3,000,000
Wuntho Expedition	-	-	-	„ 500,000
Hazara and Miranzai	-	-	-	„ 2,000,000
Burma cold weather operations	-	-	-	„ 1,200,000
Additional transport mules	-	-	-	„ 800,000
Remounts and Ordnance	-	-	-	„ 520,100
Total				Rs. 8,520,100

Similar expenses were, in 1888-89, Rs. 3,744,000 ; in 1889-90, Rs. 4,210,000 ; in 1890-91, Rs. 3,520,600.

The Viceroy visited Bombay to open the new water-works with a grand ceremony not unworthy of the great engineering feat which at a cost of Rs. 15,000,000 has constructed a dam two miles long—the largest in the world—and formed a reservoir of 7 sq. miles with a catchment of 52 sq. miles, calculated for 17,000,000 gallons daily, capable of supplying 21,000,000 and of being enlarged to give quite 68,000,000. The details of work include 1 mile of girder-bridging, 4 miles of tunnelling, 27 miles of iron mains, and 55 miles of ducts, bringing the water 61 miles to Bombay from the Tansa Lake. The work has extended over 7 years. The contractors, Messrs. Glover and Co., asked for Rs. 400,000 over the contract, for extra work needed for foundations ; but the claim was reduced to Rs. 125,000. A rainfall of 40 inches suffices to fill the lake. Lord Harris, on his tour, opened other waterworks at Janjira, an Asylum and Hospital at Morvi built and

endowed by the Thakur, and a Museum and Library given to the School at Kutch by the Rana. The Gaekwar, just before leaving for England, opened the Ajwa water-works at Baroda, constructed at a cost of Rs. 300,000 : His Highness's speech was notable for the declaration of his intention to provide similar works for every town and even village in his state. The Maharajah of Bulrampur opened a new Hospital for women ; and a new hospital for Europeans has been opened at Aden.

Among items from the Native States are the yet unexplained flight of the Rajah of Sikkhim, arrested in Nepal, which does not seem to have any political importance ;—the sudden death of the Maharajah of Ulwar, who is succeeded by his son Jai Singh, aged 10 years ;—the assassination by an unknown hand on the day of the Maharajah's death, of his minister, Kunj Behari Lall, while driving to the Railway Station ;—accidents, fortunately of little consequence, to the Maharajah of Patiala at Polo, to the Rana of Dholepore at pig-sticking, and quite a series of mishaps, in carriage and train, to the Maharajah of Mysore ;—the installation as Rajah of Manipur, in the presence of the Naga chiefs, of Chura Chand, grandson of Nur Singh. Sir Asman Jah contributed Rs. 4,000 for the funds of the Afzulgunj Hospital ; and the claim of Mr. T. Palmer for Rs. 350,000 against the heirs of the Amir-i-Kabir was dismissed by the Court. Uzz Khan of Nagyr has been brought to Sirinagar under a guard from Iskardo ; and Safdar Khan of Hunza, asking to be allowed to return, has been told that his life is guaranteed, but no more. In a durbar at Gilgit, Col. Durand announced that Muhammad Nazim Khan, the half brother of Safdar Khan, was appointed to Hunza, and that Jaffir Khan, a previous ruler, was replaced on the throne of Nagyr. All is quiet ; but great difficulty is experienced in provisioning the Gilgit garrison, as supplies have to be carried 200 miles,—227 maunds being taken for every 174 that reach ;—the service employs 3,000 mules and ponies, 2,000 coolies, 200 pack bullocks, besides many asses. *Apropos of Gilgit,*

though the Russian Government censured Col. Yanoff for interfering with Younghusband and Davidson in the Pamir and made him apologize, the Czar has honoured him with the present of a superb ring.

The unprecedented fall in the exchange has caused a panic in India, and led to the formation of an Indian Currency Association, among the members of which are Sir A. Miller, Legal Member of Council, General Walker Director - General of Ordnance, Col. Pritchard of the Military Accounts, Mr. McKay, President of the Calcutta chamber of Commerce, and the Planters' association : branches are being formed in the larger cities. The Bengal Chamber of commerce has suggested that the free coinage of silver should be restricted and an Indian gold currency be established. The Indian Government has written to the Secretary of State urging that steps be taken in time to consider the whole question of Indian exchange and currency. An economic balance of exchange is, however, impossible while Council bills to the tune of £17,000,000 a year handicap purely commercial transactions.

Mr. A. O. Hume on leaving India published a letter full of gross exaggerations, unfounded statements, and seditious innuendoes in wildly inflammatory language. The standing Committees of the Indian National Congress at Bombay and Madras, and in London have disavowed Mr. Hume and his letter ; and it has been generally condemned by the press. None but a very strong Government would have permitted the writer to live in peace. The charge made by him against Lord Harris of persecuting officials who joined the Congress was investigated in a court of justice and proved to be unfounded. The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Commission has not yet reached the report state. A carefully prepared Code, founded on the Indian Penal Code, has come into operation in the Bhow Nagar State, so well known for its excellent administration. Mr. Carl Jost of Bombay and Mr. G. M. de Monte of Bangalore, Electrical Engineers, claim to have invented a system of automatic blocking of

any number of trains wherever danger may exist : a working model is in operation in Bombay and is to be exhibited in Chicago. Should it justify the hopes of its inventors, railway accidents should almost be things of the past.

The Hurdwar fair had this year to be broken up by order of the Government, owing to the occurrence of cholera. Unfortunately the disease has spread, and numerous cases have prevailed in various stations : Kashmir has been fatally distinguished. Smallpox has continued to rage in Bombay. The price of opium has risen by Rs. 113 per chest. Indigo cultivation in the N. W. Provinces has fallen from 321,000 to 252,000 acres ; and, owing to low prices, many factories are closed. The famine has not hindered India from exporting last year 1,500,000 tons of wheat, nor the fall in exchange hindered the Secretary of State in floating a 3 per cent. loan of £1,300,000 for the Oudh-Rohilkhand and the S. Indian Railways. A fire at Peshawur has involved a loss of Rs. 50,000 in Commissariat stores, and another fire at Aligarh fair did damage to property ; but no lives were lost ; and a worse one at Sirinagar.

The Steamer *Deccan* long overdue, with 200 souls on board, is supposed to have sunk in a Cyclone. The singular case of libel against the Bishop of Damaon by two of the Parishioners of Salvaçaõ for excommunication was dismissed by the Court. The Apostolic Delegate who was lately consecrated at Calcutta is engaged in delimiting the dioceses of Madras and Mylapore—the self-styled “Papal” and the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities not being quite on the best of terms in Southern India. Mr. Lewis Rice, Director of Archæology in Mysore, has published a translation of the edicts of Asoka, the discovery of which near Chittaldroog we noted in our last Summary : he finds that they agree with the three previously discovered, which were first translated by Dr. Bühler. The Behar Cadastral Survey under the direction of Colonel Sandeman will be begun in October. The Indian Factories Act continues to work mischief, and is censured by the

Bengal Chamber of Commerce and by that of Upper India at Cawnpore. Dr. Robertson and party from Gilgit have visited Calcutta, Benares, Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, etc., and going from Bombay by steamer to Karachi, have returned home *via* Lahore. Dr. Robertson officiates as Resident at Sirinagar, during Col. Durand's absence on furlough. The new Governor-General of Goa, Admiral Teixeira da Silva arrived at Bombay, and after a stay of 3 days and a cordial official reception by the Governor, left for Goa, where he was quietly installed. The Goa customs show a great fall.

An outbreak in Lushailand arose from the arrest of the Chief of the Chins and Sharkwas for impeding coolie work, and the disobedience to orders by the Chief of Lalbura, resulting in a general rising of the South Lushais, from which Mr. MacCabe, and Captain Shakespear who was sent to aid him, and a convoy party were all at one time in so critical a state that 200 sepoys were ordered up at once and a similar body held in readiness, while the Nwengal Column had to co-operate from Fort White. Mr. MacCabe attacked and destroyed the villages of Lalhai, Lalrhima and Poiboi, besides Lalbura and Bungtaya. This led to the surrender of the Chiefs of Lalbura and Selbung, and other chiefs followed. The country is to be disarmed; but all is not yet quiet. A public meeting at Silchar has protested against the present denuded state of the Cachar and Assam frontiers, where the police are insufficient to oppose the Lushais; they demand from the government a larger body of troops on the frontier, the suppression of dacoity, and the abolition of the present system of occasionally impressing the village boats, carts, and bullocks, which much paralyzes local industry.

The Viceroy during his visit to Bombay inspected the East India Squadron, which now includes the new Torpedo Gunboats *Assaye* and *Plassy*. We notice again that at the State Parade on that occasion, the European Regiment could only muster 446, all told—so much for the strength of the Battalions in India being the cause of the weakness of those at home, as some military authorities pretend.

The list of Birthday honours has been severely criticized in India, both as to nominations and exclusions, especially for the inconsistency of suddenly creating a G.C.S.I. the Maharajah of Kashmir, who was, till but lately, held unfit to have charge of his own State. The nomination of the War Minister of Nepal as a K.C.S.I. is a happy step, which will be appreciated in that warlike and staunch State.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN has long threatened the Bijawar district and especially Umra Khan of Jandol; but the attack, almost begun, has been staved off by a warning from the Indian Government that they lay beyond his sphere of influence. The other movements of his general, Ghulam Haidar, have been of no political importance. The Amir has his hands full; for besides the cholera which has long been raging in Caubul, a rebellion of the Urzaghans of Hazara has called forth 5,000 regular and 5,000 irregular troops, and an outbreak between Herat and Bamian, provoked by the outrages of his soldiers, has needed the despatch of troops from Caubul, Candahar and Herat. On the Russo-Afghan frontier there have been a couple of skirmishes which, though of no importance in themselves, may lead to much.

An important paper has been published giving the views expressed by the Amir in public durbar, regarding the respective value to Afghanistan of the British *versus* the Russian alliance. It is full of shrewd common-sense; and decides on preferring the English as the only safe allies, who do not seek the annexation of the country. The wide circulation of so important a document is of the greatest importance to British India; and it is to be hoped that the Amir and his people will always bear in mind the truths so plainly and pithily expressed.

The CEYLON return of Revenue for 1890-91 was Rs. 16,228,768 and Expenditure Rs. 15,316,223; but for 1891-92 the figures are Rs. 18,107,618 and Rs. 17,158,643.

In BURMA though want is still felt, rain has fallen and lessened the numbers on relief works, which at one time

had reached 28,000. The Imperial Government at one time cut down the wages for famine works to a mere subsistence allowance, but the remonstrance of the local Government soon caused the withdrawal of the order. It is expected that all need of famine works will have ceased by the end of June. The severity of the famine is seen from the fact that 16,000 families left Yamathin, Meiktila, and Yen for Lower Burmah, and between 30,000 and 35,000 families left other districts. The finances continue to improve. The Land Revenue of Lower Burma was Rs. 12,900,000 against Rs. 11,450,000 the year before which again was Rs. 1,300,000 over that of 1889-90. The amounts outstanding were never so small as now. Imports were Rs. 105,700,000, an increase of Rs. 4,700,000, and the exports Rs. 126,700,000, an increase of Rs. 3,100,000,—the imports and exports of Rangoon alone being Rs. 91,000,000 and Rs. 90,000,000. In the quinquennial contract with the Imperial Government, Burma gets Rs. 4,250,000, in place of the 3,100,000 offered and the 4,750,000 originally asked. This seems rather niggardly treatment ; as hitherto the surplus of Burma, about 1,800,000 Rs., has gone to India instead of being locally used, and money is urgently needed for public works, especially in Upper Burma for irrigation works. The Mogung Railway is being extended by a branch to Myitkyina, and the Mu Valley Railway is to be pushed on to Wuntho, which after the last rout of the Tswabwa is so far pacified that Government has offered an amnesty to all, except him and a few others. The operations of the various columns in opening out the districts have closed with success ; the country is quiet and the chiefs everywhere submitting. One European and two Bengal regiments and a garrison Battery are to be withdrawn from Burma. Dr. Griesbach of the geological survey has discovered in Bhamo great alluvial deposits of gold, and much lead ; and as capital has begun to come in from the Straits, there seems a good prospect for mineral and mining industries. Mr. Oertel and Major Temple have discovered

in the caves of Kawgun, Damathal and Bingi in Teneserim, a valuable series of artistic remains extending from the earliest Buddhist to our own times. Sir Alexander Mackenzie having come home on furlough, Mr. Donald Smeaton officiated for him till the arrival of Mr. F. W. R. Fry, who holds the place till Sir Alexander's return to the scene of his valuable labours. A serious fire has occurred in Rangoon; another in Prome burning down one-fourth of the city; and a succession of fires in Mandalay, destroying two miles of streets, 4,109 houses, and several valuable monasteries, with a loss of thirty lives. The Burma-Chinese delimitation is at last agreed upon, and the relations of the two countries are all that could be wished.

The Orang Kaya still keeps the Pahang State in turmoil, in the STRAITS' SETTLEMENTS. He has been joined by several chiefs; two Europeans were murdered; and at Pakan eight Europeans and twenty-five Sikhs had to entrench themselves in the jail. Sir C. Clementi Smith, the Governor, was absent at Singapore, and at first declined to send aid though three war vessels were at hand. The aspect of affairs is serious, as there seems to be a real grievance at bottom. When the Governor of Singapore asked the Legislative Council for \$175,000 for the Pahang administration, only \$100,000 were voted after a brisk debate in which the Governor of Pahang was severely censured, and it was stated that faith had not been kept with the Sultan, who had asked only for a European to advise him, whereupon we had taken over the administration of his territory against his will. An investigation seems much needed. The reports for the last quarter of 1891 showed a falling off in exports of 10 and in imports of 12 per cent.

Raja Brook of SARAWAK has returned to BORNEO from his visit to Europe. The Coffee crop of JAVA is estimated at 90,860 sacks, equal to 495,430 piculs = 19,063 tons.

The French port of Yen Long was surprised by Chinese and Annamite pirates and the troops driven out with loss.

The Sikh regiment raised for HONG KONG has arrived under the command of Col. Barrow ; but the barracks, owing to some bungling, not being ready, the men are living uncomfortably in tents.

In JAPAN the elections, conducted amid much disorder and loss of life, have given 140 Rikento (Ministralist) and 150 Minto (Popular) members. The Mikado has appointed a commission of seven, including Counts Ito, Shojiro, Soyi-jima, Terashima Munenori, and Viscount Gomoth Takishi, to report on a draft revision of the treaties with the Western Powers. A great fire in Tokio destroyed twenty streets with 5,000 houses and a loss of forty-three lives.

In CHINA, the annual audience granted to ambassadors by the Emperor has not taken place owing to their own absurd disunion, and want of *savoir faire*. It was discovered that last year's audience did not take place *in* the palace—as it should. The German Minister, who is the *Doyen*, thought it a matter of little importance, but the French and Russian held out for the palace. The English proposed a compromise which the others accepted, that this year it might take place anywhere, provided that next year it took place *in* the Palace. The Prince Tsing asked them to send in a written memorial ; but the President of the Tsung-li-Yamen finding it headed with the words “whereas the Sovereigns of the Western States are the equals of His Majesty the Emperor,” threw back the memorial and refused all discussion.

The Protestant Missions at Chinho and Kien-ning have been attacked and plundered, but no lives were lost. The Tsung-li-Yamen issued orders for the arrest of Chauhan, the chief plotter in circulating the Anti-Christian proclamations ; and the Viceroy's deputy actually went to Hunan, for this purpose, but returned without accomplishing it. The Imperial troops have again routed the rebels with great slaughter. The report of the first year's trade at Chung King, the port 1,500 miles up the Yangtse River opened to foreign traffic March 1891, shows a great increase, which

however is counterbalanced by losses from diversion of traffic from Ichang and Hankow. The customs' receipts were Taels 23,518,021 against the previous year's Tls. 1,521,715; the exports (chiefly tea, silk and cotton) were Tls. 100,947,000 against Tls. 13,800,000; the imports were Tls. 134,000,000, among which American Drills were more by 263,000 pieces, and shirtings by 807,000 pieces, than last year; while Indian yarns rose to 1,138,000 piculs and English to 73,000. China is said to have sent troops to the Pamir to maintain its rights but withdrawn them on the remonstrance of Russia.

The Garrison of MERV is increased by two Regiments.

In PERSIA a heavy snowstorm did much damage in April to the telegraphs, which are now being worked on the Duplex system. Cholera has appeared at Mashed and extended to Sabzawar and Nishapur. The Tobacco monopoly has been compromised for the payment of £500,000 by the Shah, who takes over all the company's assets, except cash and exportable tobacco—the sum to be paid in four months. Russia at once offered to supply the money, but the Shah had the good sense to decline, and he has sought a loan in London, through the Imperial Bank of Persia, guaranteed by the customs of Southern Persia.

In TURKEY Sir F. Clare Ford has been well received on succeeding the lamented Sir William White. A Tobacco Monopoly has been quietly and successfully carried out; the Ottoman Railway Company has given a dividend of 5 per cent. while carrying forward £12,000; and a line, 12½ miles long, has been opened between Broussa and Moudania on the Sea of Marmora, whence a daily steamer runs to Constantinople. The revenue for last year is stated to be £780,000 and the expenditure £660,000, leaving a surplus of £120,000. The rebellion in Yemen has at length been quelled—all the towns being retaken, and only the mountain tribes remaining unsubdued. Of these the Erdjib (numbering 60,000) have submitted, each chief giving one son as a hostage. All active opposition has

ceased ; and reforms are being carried out in the administration. The Armenian Patriarch, having resigned, in order to call the Sultan's attention to the alleged grievances of the Armenians, he was ordered to draw up and present a memorial. We regret to hear that Wassa Pasha, Governor of the Lebanon, is in a dying condition.

In EGYPT, the Khedive has been decorated with the G.C.B. ; and the tardy delivery of the Sultan's firman completes the formality of the accession of Abbas Pasha. His brother, Prince Mehemet Ali, proceeds to Vienna to complete his education, though the late Khedive intended him for Oxford. The ill-advised attempt to remove the Sinai Peninsula from Egyptian rule was frustrated by the firmness of the young Khedive, and the vigilance of Sir Evelyn Baring, deservedly raised to a well earned peerage, as Lord Cromer, for long and great services both in India and Egypt. The hitch caused by this event has not increased the Sultan's authority in Egypt ; and Mukhtar Pasha, who used the occasion for trying to interfere in the administration, was sharply rebuked by the Khedive in public and reported to Constantinople. The Sultan gave a conciliatory reply, and ordered Mukhtar in future to be careful. A new bridge has been opened over the Nile at Cairo. The judicial reforms have been completed ; and there are native Judges of appeal all over Egypt, dependent only on the Minister of justice : the legal College is giving great satisfaction. As the prizes recently offered for English in schools excited the jealousy of France, Artin Pasha has decided on not allowing any private prizes for English or French. Dr. Milton chief of the Kasr Elein Hospital is prosecuting the *Bosphore* for £10,000, damages, for scurrilous attacks on surgical practice in that hospital. French obstinacy blocks the way for reducing, by 25 per cent., the Port and Lighting dues of Alexandria, of which shippers complain much. The proposal for investing surplus General Funds (now nearly £2,000,000) in European Stocks, so as to have investments divided equally between

foreign and local stocks, is favourably entertained by the *Caisse de la Dette*. Col. Kitchener succeeded General Grenfells as Sirdar, Col. Settle replacing the former as Inspector General of Police. One hundred Dervishes, on camels, from Suarda in the Soudan, plundered Serra, 30 miles N. of Wadi Halfa, and got off safe, though pursued hotly. Mahdism is said now to be extinct as a religious movement in the Soudan, though the Khālifa is enabled to maintain a military tyranny with the aid of the Baggara tribe.

Mr. J. de Morgan has already done much at Boulak. He is securing the Museum against fire, enlarging it to nearly double its present size, and setting out the additional rooms with objects too long packed away by his predecessor. Among these are 163 mummies of priests of Ammon, a collection of bronze idols found at Sakarah, and a number of stone slabs with sketches in black and colours; and he is arranging for the safe transport from Sakarah of 12 large stelae of the Vth and VIth dynasties. The great temple at Memphis is being excavated. Among recent finds are several inscriptions at the 1st cataract by Prof. Sayce belonging to the Xth Dynasty, which is thus shown to have ruled also in the South; and of fragments of a Dictionary of 3 if not 5 languages, which promises to be of great utility to Philology: it is of course on brick.

The Protocol of the Suez Canal Sanitary Conference held at Venice has been signed by 12 of the 14 countries represented by it. Its main features are that ships with clean bills of health pass freely; ships suspected will be detained at Moses' Wells, and after disinfection will proceed; while infected ships must land their passengers, be thoroughly disinfected and have a longer detention. The rules will not cause much delay, as statistics show that in the past 7 years only 50 ships would have come under their operation.

In CYPRUS there is much discontent, because the heavy tribute of £92,000 a year to Turkey prevents anything being spent on works for the improvement and prosperity of the island. The Imperial Government is asked to aid.

A plague of locusts has fallen on both ALGIERS and MOROCCO. Sir C. Euan-Smith's Mission Extraordinary to the Sultan of Morocco after being detained by heavy rains reach Fez safely and was well received by the people, the Sultan himself watching its entry from a tower on the walls. Sir Charles had two audiences, and the Sultan on receiving the Queen's letter said he would do his best to further friendship with England and to encourage trade. He has named 2 commissioners to discuss the proposed treaty, and a committee of merchants to help ; but an attack of Dengue fever has prostrated the mission for a time. The French legation showed its hostility by not sending a representative to see Sir Charles start, as is the custom ; but with the advent of a new French Minister the feeling is more cordial. The Sherif of Wazan—under French protection—is intriguing with the rebel Sheikh of Angera, against whom troops are being despatched by the Sultan.

IN WEST AFRICA we have had successful expeditions, against Carimoo who in 1891 repulsed an attack with loss ;—against Tambi which was captured ;—against raiders near Bathurst ;—and finally against the Jebus and Egbas, who had completely impeded trade and were threatening Lagos. They in fact anticipated our attack, but were repulsed and lost Pobo from which, as our base of operations, we occupied Magushin, and, after a 4 days' stubborn fight, Jebuode, killing 400, including 20 chiefs, with a loss of 4 killed, and 3 officers and 42 men wounded. The king, whose forces had mustered 7,000 strong, was captured by Captain Gordon : this has resulted in the submission of the whole tribe, and the trade route is open through their territory though still blocked in that of the Egbas. The French and English Delimitation Commission unfortunately fell out at Dahar, and have since continued their labours apart, on parallel lines, each for himself. In the Congo State, Captain Ponthier destroyed two strongholds of slave-raiding Arabs, freeing 250 slaves. France has voted 860,000 frcs. for the Soudan and 3,000,000 frcs. for

Dahomey, the king of which after sending an impudent challenge seized 6 merchants, 2 missionaries and 3 nuns as hostages, and threatened to attack Porto Novo. The French forces, raised to over 5,000, have occupied Whydah the chief port of Dahomey and the whole coast is blockaded : fighting is expected.

From CENTRAL AFRICA, *viâ* Tripoli, we learn that Commandant Monteil has explored the country from Say on the Niger to Baraoua on Lake Chad—a line, north of which is French and South English “influence.” He is now over a year away,—in May, 1891, he was at Ogaduku, capital of Massi, going to Sokoto, and in January last was at Kano making for Konka, capital of Bornou. Another explorer, Lieut. Mizon, met M. Brazza in April at Comasa on a branch of the Sanga River. He traversed 434 miles in an unknown country between Yobu and Comasa, with only 8 natives ! He claims to have solved several geographical problems about the Niger and Congo rivers. The French are naturally very jubilant, and declare that soon Algiers, Congo and Senegal shall meet at Lake Chad.

ST. HELENA seems to lose ground since it ceased to be a coaling station and a naval yard. Its revenue for 1890 was only £8,728 and its expenditure £9,032—a deficit of £304, which there is no chance of meeting, as there are no local means for improving the receipts.

From S. AFRICA, Mr. Rhodes the premier has paid England a second visit ; and Natal has sent Sir John Robinson and Mr. G. M. Sutton to confer with Lord Knutsford on the objections against the granting of Representative Government. On the other hand, Mr. Simon has been delegated by the party opposed to such a grant. Applications for 300 farms in Mashonaland show that it is making its way. A temporary bridge over the Vaal river at Bethulia now enables trains to run from Cape Town *viâ* East London to 35 miles of Johannesburg.

In EAST AFRICA, the disaster on the Nyassa Lake was succeeded by the surprise of an outlying post of Fort

Johnson and the capture of a 7-pounder gun. The Missionaries and Mr. Johnson do not seem to agree very well. The Commissioners' hands will be strengthened by the placing of 2 steamers on the Lake. The rebel Witus were attacked by Captain Rogers; but having no guns he could not take their stockades and had to retreat after inflicting heavy loss. Mr. Portal then went up with 2 Companies of Marines, and seized the ringleaders whom he now has imprisoned at Mombasa. An expedition against the Wabura was also successful. From Mombasa, Captain Macdonald reports that from the coast the first 70 miles of the new Railway present no difficulty at all, and the rest he thinks will show no serious ones. The Hindu residents of Zanzibar have indignantly refuted the assertion of the Anti-Slavery Society that they lend money to slave raiding Arabs. The German East Africa Company has just declared a dividend of 5 per cent. on preferential shares. Baron Soden has expelled another of Wissman's partizans. Dr. Peters, having recovered from a bad fever, has joined the Anglo-German Delimitation Commission; but disagreeing with the Baron, he threatened to resign, and now awaits the coming thorough investigation into the whole system of administration by Dr. Kayser, chief of the Colonial Section of the Berlin Foreign Office. Baron von Bulow, Civil governor of Kilimanjaro, having warned all Missionaries to quit the territories of the Moschi tribe whom he was preparing to exterminate, Mr. Portal protested on behalf of the Missionaries. The Moschi however have routed the Baron, who lost one out of his five Europeans, his one gun and 100 of his 150 Soudanese, and was himself wounded: they retreated to Gongu, evacuating Fort Marang. The Missionaries are safe. The Italians at Massowah have been engaged in successfully repulsing 500 Dervishes who made a raid on Baria; two Amirs were killed and the plunder recovered. The Portuguese are still troubled with insurgents on the East coast. Regarding the state of affairs at Uganda we are unwilling, in the absence

of direct news from Captain Lugard, to accept all that is said in the papers ; but we cannot avoid expressing our disgust at the now well known and only too long continued opposition of the two rival missionary bodies, in flagrant violation of our Great Master's direct command.

The flourishing island of MAURITIUS was visited on the 29th April by a terrible hurricane, which demolished many public buildings, besides 24 churches, nearly all the houses of Port Louis, and half of the sugar crop. The loss of life has been immense. A relief loan of £60,000 is asked for from the Imperial Government, repayable in 25 years. The island is fortunately provisioned for 4 months. The Governor was absent in England when this catastrophe occurred. A Mansion-house fund has been raised and remitted ; but the Imperial Government has, up to date, done nothing—not even remitting the heavy quota of £260,000 which Mauritius pays as its military contribution to the Empire.

The FIJI Islands' report for the past year shows a great advance in prosperity. The revenue was £71,000, exceeding that of 1890 by £4,000. The total trade return was £727,000, of which £500,000 were exports, against £364,000 in 1890.

In AUSTRALIA, the most important event of this quarter is the new regulation for the introduction of Kanaka labour into Queensland, for 10 years. That it formerly was accompanied by some abuses and evils is undeniable, though these have been grossly exaggerated ; and others doubtless may occur, in spite of the provisions and precautions of the Government. Yet the introduction of more labourers is a necessity in Queensland, as in the rest of Australia. Parts are unsuited to European labour, and in others Europeans will not work, or find no work—at Sydney no less than 7,000 were unemployed. The Indian Government does not see its way to allow coolie immigration, probably owing to insufficient guarantees ; and the Hon. Mr. Playford, after visiting India for this purpose, has returned with

the conviction that sour grapes are not good. Except the rapidly dying out Polynesian, no other is available. The worst feature of the matter is that the other colonies of the group have taken Queensland to task and censured its Government for passing the act, and declared that the introduction of Asiatic and other coloured labour in Australia is inadmissible. A conference on the subject is projected for July, in which, needless to say, Queensland will take no part. If the colonies begin to snub and criticise each other, there is an end to all chance of Federation. Some of the statesmen still talk about it, and Tasmania is trying to reopen negotiations, but the idea seems at best absolutely dormant. Lord Knutsford has however got the colonies to formulate their statistics in future on a uniform plan. The long continued drought, which had caused great inconvenience and loss, has terminated with an abundant rainfall. A cyclone has swept over part of the country causing much damage. Sir Thomas Elder's exploring expedition is about to be reconstructed. The new office of Military adviser and Inspector of Stores for Australia has been given to Lt. Col. Harman, R.A. The local Easter manœuvres had to be generally abandoned, for economical reasons.

The following returns show the state of finances for the quarter ending 31 March :—

VICTORIA.—Revenue £2,016,000, less by £98,000 than in 1891; customs less by £27,000; returns from public works by £108,000, including £70,000 less for railways. The excise however increased by £45,000.

SYDNEY.—Revenue £2,410,000, an increase of £214,500 over 1891: customs were greater by £300,000; Railways by £20,000.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA (Adelaide).—Revenue £773,600; Expenditure £664,100—the credit balance being £107,500. A decrease of £8,000 in the customs was counterbalanced by a large increase in Railways, Land and Income taxes.

QUEENSLAND (Brisbane) shows an increase of £27,000

over the revenue of 1891; and WEST AUSTRALIA (Perth) shows an excess of Revenue over Expenditure of £48,065, leaving a credit balance of £166,000.

At Sydney 9 new members were added to the Legislative Council, raising the number to 76; and in future the prerogative of mercy, as in Canada, will be exercised not by the Governor but by the Executive. The premier, the Hon. Mr. Dibbs, has come on a visit to England. At Melbourne a dissolution in April ended in the return of 46 ministerialists, 25 opposition, 13 independent, and 11 labour candidates. Of this total of 95, there are 52 for, and 43 against the "one man one vote" cry. The Hon. Mr. Shiels continues as Premier, with a reconstructed ministry which includes Sir Graham Berry. A committee of 3 is investigating the charges made against Mr. Eddy, late head of the Railway Department. The Hon. Mr. Playford was defeated on a vote of want of confidence by 21 against 24 votes, and has been replaced by Mr. Holder as Premier and Treasurer.

NEW ZEALAND is flourishing. The treasurer's estimate of customs (£1,625,000, which was £98,000 over the customs of 1891) was exceeded in actual receipts by £90,000. Railway receipts were £8,000 over the estimate; and the revenue £295,000 over the expenditure. Of this £100,000 goes to pay off floating debt, £30,000 will be used in roadmaking, etc., and £165,000 will be carried forward. The Earl of Glasgow has succeeded Lord Onslow as Governor. The Government of TASMANIA has found it necessary to order an inquiry into the failure of the Van Diemen's Land Bank. At the NEW HEBRIDES the dual Anglo-French control is interfering with British Trade. Sir Thomas McIlwraith in admitting it to be unfair to British interests, recommended the importation of more British settlers as an alternative to simple annexation.

In CANADA accusations continue to be made in the interests of party strife: some Ministers of New Brunswick are now added to those formerly accused at Ottawa and

Quebec ; and Mr. Mercer has been put on trial with others. England refused to abrogate her free-trade principles, declining the proposal that she should denounce the "most favoured nation" clause in her treaties, especially with Belgium and Germany, in return for which Canada offered a preferential tariff with the United Kingdom, of which all parties are beginning to see the importance as the great customer for all kinds of Canadian produce. The attempt to make a reasonable commercial treaty with the United States failed signally. Mr. Blaine insisted on a Commercial League between the two, with common tariffs against England : this of course could not even be discussed. In Parliament, the Liberal motion, that as England admitted all Canadian produce free, Canada should reduce its duties on British goods and give preferential rates was defeated by the Conservatives polling 98 votes against the Liberal 64 ; but the toll on grain passing the St. Lawrence has been lowered for wheat coming to the United Kingdom only, which we hail as a first step towards a real commercial union between the two countries.

Meanwhile Canada thrives apace. The Census returns for 1891 give 75,765 Industrial establishments against 49,923 in 1881 ; the numbers employed as 367,496 against 254,935 ; and the capital invested in machinery and tools as \$80,000,000. The Revenue was \$36,655,000, the decrease of \$3,000,000 being for sugar duties remitted ; and the Exports exceeded those of 1890-91 by \$12,000,000. There was a surplus of \$2,235,000. Canada has 7,015 vessels, with a total tonnage of 1,005,475. The total mineral products, including bricks and stone for building, are returned at £4,000,000. Among these the principal metallic returns were : Nickel, £555,195 ; copper, £247,756 ; gold, £185,097 ; silver, £81,436 ; iron, £30,407 ; lead, £5,121 ; platinum, £2,000 ; and antimony, £12. Coal gave £1,558,431 ; petroleum, £200,909 ; and asbestos, £200,000. The official census of the Indian population gives 121,638, with 13,420 children of age for school, of

whom 7,574 attend, and are well taught. Progress is being made in teaching habits of settled life and industry.

The Government Railways show a deficit which it is proposed to meet by economy in the number of trains and employés. A serious strike on the Pacific Railway, which had extended to 3,000 miles of the line, was fortunately ended soon by arbitration. The Postmaster-General's annual report states receipts at \$3,374,000, and expenditure at \$4,020,000; and that the Japan and China mail traffic *viâ* Canada is increasing.

The Behring Sea Seal Fisheries difficulty is happily in a fair way to settlement by Arbitration. Each party prepares immediately a statement of its case, giving a copy to the Arbitrators and to the other side, who within 3 months may submit, if they choose, a counter statement; and 3 months after that, the Arbitrators must give their award: damages for losses in the interim are to follow the award. Both parties undertake to forbid, and as far as possible to prevent sealing, except the number fixed as needed for the natives. The arrangement is to last till October, 1893, or to expire after 2 months' notice. The United States have named as Commissioners Mr. Justice Harlan of the U.S. Supreme Court and Senator Morgan of Alabama; as Agent for preparing their case Mr. Foster; and as Counsel to help in so doing Mr. Phelps, Mr. James C. Carter of New York, and Judge Henry Blodgett of the U.S. District Court. The British Commissioners are Lord Hannen, and Sir John Thompson, K.C.M.G., Canadian Minister of Justice; the Hon. C. H. Tupper is Agent for preparing the case, with Mr. Christopher Robinson and the Hon. W. H. Cross, M.P., as Counsel. The Canadian Sealers sent in claims for compensation for not having been allowed to catch seal, amounting to \$650,000: they have been reduced to \$385,000. An idea of the wholesale destruction of seals may be got from the figure—400,000—caught in the Seas north of Newfoundland alone.

General Herbert, who has presented a flattering report

on the Militia, is preparing a scheme for Canadian defence, including the frontiers, 4,000 miles, and several points on the Pacific shore. At present there is not one large modern gun in the Dominion !

A tornado has just passed over Quebec and Montreal doing great damage, destroying houses with much loss of life.

NEWFOUNDLAND at first rejected the offer of Canada to return to the *status* of 1889, but finally accepted it, as the refusal failed to move England to recognize the Newfoundland reciprocity Treaty with the United States. A committee of both Houses is discussing the French Shore question, the bill for settling which was rejected by the House of Assembly as having been altered by the Premier after the delegates had arranged its points. The actual temporary act was renewed for 2 years, and the *modus vivendi* with France till the end of 1892. Returns show the Revenue as being in 1889, \$1,362,843 ; 1890, \$1,454,336 ; in 1891, \$1,554,000 ; the last 10 months' revenue exceeded the expenditure by \$4,350,000 ; and both exports and imports are increasing, especially as regards the United Kingdom. The debt is \$6,100,000. An interesting report has been drawn up showing the great mineral and forest resources of the Island, as yet quite untouched. The diminished price of Cod has prevented a greater development of revenue.

WEST INDIES.—The state of public feeling in JAMAICA is strongly agitated for a more extensive popular representation in the Government. The intense excitement is extremely pronounced ; and as much dissatisfaction prevails, a political concession seems quite called for. At the BAHAMAS an outburst of public sympathy was shown towards the Editor of the *Nassau Guardian*, imprisoned by the Judge for criticising his judicial conduct. The people sent a deputation to the Governor, protesting against the high-handed exercise of power ; and after hearing them the Governor ordered the prisoner's immediate release. The Chief justice, who at first protested against the Governor's

warrant, is said to have resigned and to intend appealing to the Home Government. A return from the **LEEWARD ISLANDS** gives Revenue at £119,359, Expenditure at £114,199, Imports at £451,760, and Exports at £513,557. **BRITISH GUIANA** seems likely to rise in favour as one of the gold-producing districts of the world. The finds are increasing annually, and are situated in the one locality. In 1884 it gave 250 oz.; in 1885—939 oz.; in 1886—6,518 oz.; in 1887—11,906 oz.; in 1888—14,570 oz.; in 1889—28,282 oz.; in 1890—62,575 oz.; in 1891—101,297 oz. : this year's yield already exceeds the total for 1891.

OBITUARY : We note, with regret, the deaths during the quarter, of Col. G. R. Goodfellow, C.I.E., of the Political Department ;—the Hon. Framji Nussirwanji Patel, one of the first native members of the Bombay Legislative Council, distinguished for his charities and his efforts for female education, and called the “Nestor of the Parsees” ;—Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bahadur, Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, sometime Political Agent with Cavagnari in Caubul, and Member of the Kashmir Council of State ;—Sir H. L. Harrison, Member of the Revenue Board, and Commissioner of the Police and Chairman of the Corporation of Calcutta ;—Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.S.I., M.P., late of the Political Department, who did good service in Persia, Zanzibar and India ;—Genl. Sir W. Russell, Bart., C.B., who served in the Mutiny ;—Miss Amelia B. Edwards, the well-known Lady-Egyptologist, who left her fortune—about £400 a year—to found a chair for her favourite study ;—Genl. Sir Francis Morley, K.C.B., who served under Napier in Scindh and Gough in the Punjab ;—Genl. Sir Thomas Hooke Pearson, C.B., whose services extended from the days of Runjit Sing in India to the Crimean War ;—Genl. Sir W. H. Noble, R.A., who took part in the Afghan war ;—Sir Alexander Campbell, Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, and a distinguished Canadian Statesman ;—His Highness the Maharajah of Ulwar, an enlightened Indian Prince, whose early and sudden death is a great loss to his State.

and to the distinguished body of Indian Administrators ;—Stephen Austin, the celebrated Oriental Printer ;—M. Joseph Martin the French Explorer who after traversing Mongolia last year, died lately at Khokand ;—the Hon. Mitchell Solomon, C.M.G., of Kingston, Jamaica, Member of the Legislative Council and Custos of St. Ann ;—John Douglas Sandford, sometime Judicial Commissioner of Burma and then of Mysore ;—General Thomas Augustus Carey, who served in the Indian Mutiny ;—the eminent Semitic scholar Isidore Loeb, and Prof. Joseph Budenz, the well-known Philologist of Buda Pesth ; Nursing Rao, a learned native astronomer of Vizianagram ;—G. P. Sander-son of the Mysore Elephant Kheddass ;—Captain W. Grant Stairs, one of Stanley's school, who had just reached the Zambezi with the remains of the Katanga expedition, after a year's exploration ;—and General Albert Fytche, C.S.I., late Chief Commissioner of Burma, whose services in India date from 1841.

Emin Pasha is reported to be dead ; but we are happy to say that the report still lacks authenticity.

June 21st, 1892.

V.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *The Land Systems of British India*, by B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E. (Oxford : Clarendon Press.) 3 vols. This is a truly monumental compilation of vast research, great labour, and painstaking accuracy. It is a standard book, and the name of its author alone is a guarantee of excellence. The first part of the work consists of a chapter devoted to certain general facts and features about the land, the climate, harvests, irrigation of rivers, which are likely to need explaining to English readers. After that a general sketch of the Land-Tenures is given, in which the main features of landholding—the aggregation of cultivating groups called “villages” is first of all dealt with. The mistakes of many of the earlier writers about villages are explained, and especially the important difference between villages held in shares (as in the Panjāb) and villages held (as in Southern, Western, and Central India) by isolated landholders, is pointed out ; these forms are distinct in origin, and it is explained how the “co-shared” villages grew up ; sometimes owing to the custom of the agricultural tribes who founded them (as with Jats in the N. West), sometimes by the acquisition of a village by ancient grant of some Raja, or by the disruption of a larger estate, or often by a revenue-farmer getting the headship. In time these persons are succeeded by a numerous body of descendants, who jointly inherit and form a co-sharing community laying claim to the whole. If this occurred in a village already occupied, the old landholding class become their tenants. Very frequently, however, the village has a new foundation ; joint villages are also frequently due to curious co-operative colonies. According to the origin, so does the constitution of the village vary ; *i.e.*, the *methods* of sharing, some of which are curious. Thus, in some cases, the sharers take according to the fractional share of the pedigree table ; in others there is a curious plan of making lots of equal value, by selecting little bits of each class and kind of land to make up the holding (real Bhaīáchará). Sometimes there is no real sharing at all, but each takes the plot that pleases him ; sometimes they divide by the number of wells sunk to irrigate, sometimes by the number of *ploughs*, and so on. The effect of Government grants to hold free of revenue is also discussed as giving rise to landlord tenures ; the same effect is also produced by the arrangements for *farming* the revenues resorted to by the later Mughal sovereigns partly to save trouble, partly to give employment to the old Rájás and chiefs who were reduced ; from this system grew up the Zaméndár Landlords of Bengal and the Táluqdárs of Oudh. A section follows giving a history of the relations of Landlord and Tenant in India, and then one discussing the ideas of Hindus and Muhammadans as to “property” in land and what sort of right it was ; also the question how far the Government was or is the supreme landlord or ultimate owner of all land.

A chapter is then devoted to the account of ancient and modern methods of assessing and collecting the revenue from land ; how the old plan of taking a share of the grain in kind gave way to the form of taking a money payment.

All the modern systems of Land-Revenue Settlement are described—they consist of four main classes—(1) The Permanent Settlement with great Landlords in Bengal. (2) Settlement with village estates—treating the village (or some similar group) as a whole in the N. W. Province, Panjāb, and Central Province. (3) The Taluqdārī Settlement of Oudh. (4) Raiyatwārī Settlements, etc., where there is no landlord or middleman, but each separate holding is assessed. The Madras and Bombay systems are typical of this ; but in *principle* the Settlements of Burma and Assam are the same.

After the general portion come the “Books”—devoted to some details about the Provinces, Bengal, N. W. Provinces and Oudh, Central Provinces, Panjāb, Ajmēr, Berar, Bombay, Madras, Assam and Burma and Coorg.

Under each, after a general introduction, a chapter describes the form of settlement and the work of assigning the revenue and valuing the land ; a chapter on the Land-Tenures and the Tenant-Laws, and one on the duties of the Revenue Officers and their powers and mode of procedure.

Two maps are novel, one gives British India coloured to show how the provinces were gradually acquired by conquest, treaty, etc. Another shows the prevalence of the different systems of settlement (Permanent, Temporary, Village, Rayatwari, etc.)

2. The English translation of the second volume of the 1st Part of Mirkhond's general History called *The Rauzat-us-Safa* or *Garden of Purity* has just appeared. Like the first volume, it reflects much deserved credit on the translator, Mr. E. Rehatsek and the editor, Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, as also much undeserved credit on the Royal Asiatic Society which figures as the patron of this admirable work, without, apparently, doing anything whatever to merit that title. We have already pointed out in our Review of the first volume in our issue of Oct. 1891, what the Society should do if its defunct “Oriental translation fund” is to be revived under its living auspices, as it is now in the mere shadow of a name. It is a great pity that Mr. Rehatsek should have died just as he was working at the translation of the third part of Mirkhond's voluminous history. However, the three volumes of the II Part containing the lives of the apostle Muhammad and of his four immediate successors had been translated by the indefatigable Hungarian scholar, whose 44 years' devotion in India to Oriental research has been so little requited.

The value of the present volume consists in the numerous sidelights and half lights which it throws on Bible history from the Muhammadan standpoint. The stories are so like and yet so unlike those of our Scriptures that their suggestiveness as regards the nature of their source cannot be over-estimated. Indeed, Mr. Arbuthnot seems to hold with Mr. Edwin Johnston that the religious literature of the Jews and Christians is based upon the Koran and the chronicles of Tabari, and that the teachings of the Synagogue and the Church follow the traditions of the Mosque. Without

going the same length or contending on behalf of the priority, in purity or corruption of Jewish, Christian, and Mahommedan legends, we should certainly have preferred, as material in such discussion, a really complete and scholarly translation of Tabari's Arabic chronicles to the much later growth of Mirkhond's Persian "Garden." No scriptural reader, however, should be without the two volumes that we have noticed, which contain a mass of historical information regarding Prophets, Kings, and Philosophers. Curious details are given, concerning the death of Socrates who, it appears, married Xanthippe for the following reason: "If there be no escape from matrimony, I shall take a woman notorious for her stupidity and remarkable for her domineering spirit, so that by patiently schooling myself to suffer her tyranny, I may accustom myself to bear with the follies of high and low people."

The book abounds in similar anecdotes and incidentally throws light on the use of such titles as "Qaisar" or "Kaisar" whose first application is naturally connected with the Cæsar of Western, and then of Eastern, Rome (Rûm) before it became a title of the present Queen-Empress of India. Many details are also given in this volume about the death of Moses, the life of Jesus, and the biographies of Alexander the Great and of the kings of the Persian four dynasties.

3. *Persia and the Persian Question*, by the HON. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P. 2 vols. (Longmans & Co.) Mr. Curzon has set himself so great a task in producing his work on Persia that it is not a matter for surprise if the result does not altogether come up to the author's high ideal. Curzon's 'Persia' is not so much a standard work of reference on that country as a book of great present political importance. The author has added much general and special information, rather as an immediate compilation from numerous sources, than as the result of his own elaboration of material. Yet, for many years, Curzon's 'Persia' will occupy the first rank amongst books dealing with Iran.

We propose in our next issue to devote some pages to 'Persia and the Persian Question' and our remarks are therefore to be taken as merely a brief reference to one of the most important publications of the quarter.

4. *The Ainu of Japan*, by the REV. JOHN BATCHELOR. (London: The Religious Tract Society.) This is an unassuming but well written and interesting record of personal experiences among the Ainu or "the hairy aborigines of Japan." These Ainu are a peculiar race altogether though they hardly merit the epithet "hairy" as most, or many, of them have apparently not much more hair than Europeans. To judge by the illustrations, they seem quite an intelligent race, indeed the frontispiece, representing an Ainu, reminds us very strongly of a well-known and eminent Orientalist whose name is only withheld as the comparison might be considered offensive either to the Ainu or the Orientalist. According to the author the Ainu in common with most Aborigines of the world are gradually decreasing; the relentless persecution and the extermination of whole villages practised by the Japanese of old, as well as the supply of alcoholic poisons are its causes. The Japanese were and are, it appears, conversant with the approved methods of civilized nations for instilling

culture in primitive people ; only the missionaries seem wanting to complete the system.

It is a pleasure to read Mr. Batchelor's carefully elaborated, scholarly chapters which show a thorough grasp of the whole subject, a deal of research and above all a kind, Christian-like sympathy with the poor, out-cast, despised Ainu and their beliefs and customs, that other missionaries might with advantage endeavour to follow.

5. *To the Snows of Tibet through China.* By A. E. PRATT, F.R.G.S. (Longmans & Co.) is an interesting description of a journey to these regions by a naturalist in search of birds, insects and reptiles as also for specimens of the vegetable kingdom. The charm of the book lies in the unaffected simplicity of style and narrative ; it will not only be appreciated by men of science but by the ordinary reader as well ; the author besides being an entomologist and botanist is also quite an artist, for like him he has the gift to portray to us so vividly, with a few strokes of his pen—instead of the pencil and brush—the scenery he passes through, that we fancy ourselves with him in the boat on the river, passing the rapids and beautiful gorges, and ascending the snowy mountains through jungles and precipitous paths to the summit of several of the Tibetan plateaux.

Mr. Pratt does not speak highly of the Chinese at whose hands he suffered much persecution. The Catholic missionaries, who treated him well are much praised for their Christian charity and lives of self-denial. We owe the author thanks for a delightful book enhanced in value by well-executed illustrations.

6. *Hur-Moad, or the Mountain of the Assembly*, by O. D. MILLER, D.D. (New Adams, Mass., U.S.A. : S. M. Whipple.)

Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah, by J. WELLHAUSEN. 3rd Ed. (London and Edinburgh : A. and C. Black.)

The Foundations of the Bible, by CANON R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A. (London : Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, by PROFESSOR J. ROBERTSON SMITH ; 2nd Ed. (London and Edinburgh : A. and C. Black.)

Here is a quartet of cognate yet very different books—touching the Bible. The first serves to show that a man may be very erudite and well-read and yet waste the stores, which could have been utilized for a good purpose, in building up fanciful and vague theories, groundless, vain and useless. Neither the spot whence the human race first proceeded, nor the writing of the history of man's fall and other Biblical matters in the heavenly constellations, nor the 12 stars of Phœnicia, nor Babylonian chronology, can help one iota to prove the inspiration and truth of scripture, or to solve even one of the numerous difficulties which it confessedly contains. This book is made out of a confused mass of valuable information, which in the hands of a scholar who had well digested its details, might be utilized for partly proving the authenticity and authority of Scripture. Prolix and without method or legitimate conclusions, the author's own comments on the monuments and works he cites partake greatly of the nature of Scotch Metaphysics. Professor Wellhausen is one of the mainstays of disbelievers in the Bible ; yet we welcome his work

as one of the best antidotes to the poison he—doubtless in good faith—administers to the public. To read this book is sufficient to show the astounding amount of baseless suppositions in which the new school deals. The real sources of Hebrew History are three: the Bible, Jewish tradition and contemporary monuments. In opposition to all three, this school sets up its own *ipse dixit*: thus it should have been, thus it must have been, thus it *was*. And underlying the entire system of this supercilious sophistry is that absurd begging of the whole question, involved in the first principle of this school—there is no supernatural, and miracles are impossible. We invite all Biblical students to read in this book the condemnation of the entire system of which it is a part; for here, better than elsewhere, becomes evident to any intelligent reader how suppositions are for a purpose treated as realities and prejudged assertions dignified with the title of History. Like Balaam, the book gives a blessing where it meant to curse. It lessens one's confidence in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to find so important an article as Hebrew History entrusted to so prejudiced, onesided and therefore unreliable an author.

Our third book is of the usual orthodox type, admitting that difficulties do exist in the Bible and trying to solve them out of the Bible itself. Canon Girdlestone's book shows much loving study and careful analysis of the scripture, coupled with much skill, wide reading, great erudition and reverent handling. It indicates useful lines of Biblical defence, develops strong arguments, with convincing reasoning and many authorities; and while admitting many conclusions of the new School, very rightly limits them to what is really proved by something more than mere dogmatic assertions. A deep study of Semitic Languages, manners and customs and history, helps to establish most of the author's conclusions; yet many are far from being demonstrated by his system, and fail to go beyond the region of verisimilitude; for this defence is not, and cannot be extended to all the points of attack, and it cannot therefore be truly said that the attack is foiled. The foundations of the Bible are not and cannot be their own support; they must rest ultimately on the principle of authority. Still we welcome Canon Girdlestone's learned work as a strong ally in defending the truth and authenticity of Scripture. Professor Robertson Smith gives us a work worthy of his great reputation. It contains a truthful statement of the last word, up to date, of the so-called Higher Criticism—methodically arranged, fully illustrated and plainly stated. It is absolutely necessary that the Biblical student should have such a book, to learn what are the nature and the arms of the attack. The professor seems merely to state the case; and he does not draw conclusions as to the authority and inspiration of the Bible. He states it in detail, and states it perfectly. These four books, in the hands of learned controversialists will be of immense value in the warfare now being waged for upholding the Word of God. The Bible, as the revelation of God for the Salvation of mankind, can bear and defeat all assaults, when properly defended, though much of the groundless veneration, not to say indiscriminate book-worship, that, as a reaction, has been given to it from the XVIth Century, must be abandoned. It consists of a human and a divine

element mingled together ; it was written under divine guidance, at various times, by various persons, from various documents, and has suffered like other books from interpolations, errors of copyists and loss of portions. How far that guidance extended, which are the divine and which the human influences in it, how far the one controlled the other, form the great question of the nature of inspiration,—the great question of the day so far as the Bible is concerned—which must sooner or later be faced manfully ; and it can only be decided, after long discussion, with the aid of books on both sides, like those we have the pleasure of introducing to our readers.

7. *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1891. 'Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God as illustrated by Anthropology and History,' by COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA. (Williams and Norgate.) The book before us is of absorbing interest to us, and none the less so because the conclusions arrived at by the learned author seem to us unwarranted and his views one-sided. The writer evidently belongs to the accepted orthodox school of savants who start with the assumption that the foundation and source of religion is to be found amongst past and present savage races. Why then do we find in ancient religious systems, truths which only the most developed philosophical minds of the present age can grasp ? Why too, amongst most barbarous and ignorant people do we frequently or occasionally discover glimpses of deep sentiment and abstract thought which those same savages could never have evolved of themselves ? Does this not show that we have to deal with religious truths which, as always must be, were first adapted to the comprehension of a people who, degenerating themselves have dragged their religion with them until, save for those occasional flashes pointing to pristine purity, it has become quite unrecognisable.

Count D'Alviella is fond of disporting himself about the outskirts of the various religio-philosophical systems ; he prefers treating of superstitions and obvious outgrowths rather than attempt to penetrate into the inner sanctum to search for essentials and to offer a solution of apparent contradictions ; learned and deeply read, as the author no doubt is, he is incapable of freeing himself from entirely preconceived notions ; in accordance with the practice obtaining nowadays, a theory is first conceived ; subsequently a search for facts is made, and those that fit in tolerably with the theory are accepted, the others are rejected. Pearls upon pearls are strung together in this necklace with which the author presents us ; yet the string of a previously determined length supplied by the author, is ever conspicuous. Count D'Alviella's admiration for his illustrious predecessors in the chair of the Hibbert Lectures, and especially for Prof. Max Müller is great ; perhaps this accounts for what we consider his shortcomings and the standpoint he occupies, of regarding the best thoughts and noblest aspirations of the past as childish attempts compared with the lofty intellectual standard of the school of which he is so distinguished an exponent.

The comparative method is of the utmost value, yet judgment must be exercised in its application. An examination of Christianity based upon the

facts that the red Indian of America blows a whiff of tobacco-smoke heavenward in order to give pleasure to the Great Spirit and that this custom finds its analogue (?) in the incense burning of the Catholic Church, would surely only result in worthless conclusions regarding the great religion founded by Jesus Christ. We have not actually discovered this application of Count D'Alviella's method in his book, but it would not have surprised us if we had, and the author may perhaps thank us for the suggestive hint.

We conclude our remarks, regretting that the exigencies of space have only allowed adverse criticism; the merits of the work are great, the information conveyed is vast, and its suggestiveness in reasoning is worthy of the brilliant genius of the author. All thinking men should read the book.

8. *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland.* By the REV. J. LANGTRY, M.A., D.C.L. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892.) If we except a few expressions calculated to give needless pain to Dissenters and Catholics, this book presents an excellent history of the Anglican Church in the East of our North American possessions. Its origin and progress, the gradual establishment, and extension of its episcopate and institutions, its system of government, its means of support, and its educational establishments are all detailed. In the part devoted to the Bishopric of Newfoundland are some details of the early history of the Colony, which, read by the light of recent complications, show unpleasantly how England with regard to that island has acted always rather for the benefit of France than of our own people. The book contains careful biographies of Bishops and other distinguished churchmen, and presents many an edifying sketch of lives faithfully spent and labour heroically endured by the clergy who naturally followed in the wake of the Anglo-Saxon Colonizers of those parts. We find the words "Mission" and "Missionaries" often used; but they seem rather misapplied to the generally too tardy arrival of the clergy to look after their only too long neglected fellow countrymen. The author admits failure among the Indians. We find also little or nothing of the establishment and progress of the Catholic Church, strong as it notoriously is in Canada. If Mr. Langtry intended to confine himself to the History of one Communion only, he should have prefixed in his title, the word "Anglican" to Church: as such his book is both very complete, detailed, and interesting.

9. *Games Ancient and Oriental, and how to play them.* By ED. FALKENER. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892.) Wide reading, long study, persevering research, and acute ingenuity combine to make this book of not less interest to the general reader than of utility, not to say necessity, to the specialists who delight in tracing how mankind amuse themselves. Of ancient games, the author has most ingeniously recovered and reconstructed the rules and mode of playing of three Egyptian games, till now quite unintelligible, though noticed and played subsequently by Greeks and Romans. The modern Italian *Mora* too is traced up to its Egyptian source. Then come some very interesting chapters on Chess, with its variations, among which that here called the "Maharajah and the Sepoys" is oftener in North India, called "The Mad King," and is an excellent though

little known variation for teaching beginners to be careful in leaving no piece unsupported. The next two divisions treat of the varieties of Draughts and Backgammon, including the Indian *Pachisi*, which we saw last Christmas played with as much eagerness in London by four Europeans as the author describes to be the case with Bengalis. There is a treatise on Magic Squares, very thorough and comprehensive; and another on the very fascinating solitary practice called the Knights' Tour, of which numerous entertaining specimens are given. Of all the varieties of games treated in the book, amounting to over 30, not only are the rules stated, to enable any one to play them, but specimen games, on an easy system of notation, are given to exemplify the working of the rules. The book is sure to be a favourite.

10. *The Philosophy of Religion*. By HERMAN LOTZE, edited by F. C. Conybeare, M.A. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.) It is relief to find a Philosophy of Religion which does not degrade the divine existence to a merely subjective concept of the human mind, gradually creating for itself its own Creator, who is different in each mind, and has no objective existence. Lotze has more sense. Admitting and upholding the existence of God and that it can be proved, the substantive reality and immortality of the human soul, and the necessity of religion, our author in eight chapters discusses, with reverent freedom, a great number of spiritual and religious subjects, with the aid of reason alone. Yet he by no means denies, what other writers on the subject often forget, that but for revelation and Christianity many of these questions would never have become known to man, much less have been flooded with that amount of light which those twin sources of knowledge, rightly understood, have so beneficently shed on the nature of God, His relation with man, and man's final end. Lotze examines several arguments for the existence of God, some of which he rejects as insufficient, and others he upholds as helping to establish it: this point, however, of religious belief is not to be built up with reasoning alone. The creation and maintenance and government of the world, the nature of good and evil, are discussed; and though we do not agree on all points with the author, it is a pleasure to find reason put to its right use in establishing such matters of religious belief as are the fair objects of purely human knowledge. We cannot accept his explanation of the words "Son of God"; but he is quite orthodox in maintaining the fundamental points of religion which are demonstrable by human reason alone, and as such should be common to all mankind, and would be, if adequately put forward more generally in the lucid way that our author does.

11. *Hebrew Tenses, and some other Syntactical questions*. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 3rd. Edition.) Canon Driver's well known, justly appreciated and scholarly work is again presented with several emendations, modifications and additions, increasing greatly its value to the student of Hebrew and of Scripture. Its admitted utility dispenses us from the detailed notice, which we should wish to give it, but which our space forbids; and we content ourselves with emphasizing its absolute necessity for those who wish to master the Hebrew language and to relish the

beauty of the original of God's word, often lost or but imperfectly expressed in even the best of translations.

12. *Among the Mongols.* By JAMES GILMOUR, M.A. (London: The Religious Tract Society.) This small volume is full of information at first hand, of a not much known people. It is simple in style though the author attempts at times, not very successfully, to do some word-painting. The connection also between the chapters is conspicuous by its absence; and there is the strong bias against local religions and customs, inseparable from the work of any foreigner especially a Missionary: altering the poet's couplet, he is

"Nor to their virtues over kind,
Nor to their vices at all blind."

Yet the book is not only pleasant reading; it is absolutely fascinating, both as to what the author expressly tells us of the manners and customs of the people, and as to what he almost unconsciously shows regarding them in the course of his narrative. A delightful collection of local tales and proverbs concludes this excellent volume, which is further enriched with a number of illustrations from sketches by native artists.

13. *Mashonaland.* By G. W. H. KNIGHT-BRUCE, Bishop of Mashonaland. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.) This book represents the journals of the Mashonaland Mission from 1888 to 1892. Those who are deeply interested in the vicissitudes undergone by Mashonaland's bishop should read the book, as it is full of the bishop and his trials.

14. *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, by A. J. MACLEAN, M.A., and M. H. BROWNE, LL.M. (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1892.) This is a very welcome work, the model of what such works should be—simple, precise, detailed, methodical, and utterly free from the common fault of sectarian cavillings and bigoted diatribes. If you want to know about the Syrian Christians, go to this book, where, better than in any others we have, you will find all that there is to tell, well told, in a friendly way, and with perfect accuracy, except perhaps in the rather exaggerated importance attributed to their former missionary efforts. Persons and places, manners and customs, faults and virtues are all faithfully described, with, as should always be the case, a friendly word to whatever is good even in those with whom the authors "agree to differ." The interest of the book is very great; and we note with pleasure, that in the Schools of the Mission, which is laudably trying to improve the present rather degraded condition of the people, every effort is made to check the aping of European manners, customs and dress, and that the difficult task is being tried of giving a high standard education, and yet keeping the educated scholars content to till their soil and do their domestic duties. Well may we ask, after our Indian experience, if the two are quite compatible? and what is likely to be the result with the people of the Catholicos? Our authors themselves note, that already too many leave their own country, to beg or do worse in Russia and Europe.

15. *Round the Empire.* By G. R. PARKIN, M.A., with a preface by the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.T. (London: Cassell and Company, Limited.)

16. *Imperial Federation.* By G. R. PARKIN, M.A., with map. (London and New York : Macmillan and Co., 1892.)

While a daily increasing number of British subjects think and at times even speak of the great and important yet still by no means sufficiently appreciated problem of Imperial Federation, for the success of which all who love their country cannot but be anxiously wishful, there are a few who manfully set the shoulder to the wheel to aid the gradual accomplishment of that vast, difficult and comprehensive scheme : chief among them is the author of these two works, which we welcome with delight and on the merits of which we congratulate Mr. Parkin. The first is one of a school series, well written, well illustrated, and got up in the specially beautiful style for which Cassell and Co. are so well known. It is meant to form the rising generation to a just appreciation of the great inheritance, which the energy of their forefathers has left them, in the present British empire, and to a serious realization of the duties incumbent on them for its maintenance in their own time and the transmission, undiminished and untarnished, of its glories to their posterity. The other and larger work deals directly with the subject of Imperial Federation in a series of excellent essays on each constituent part of the Empire. Clear and plain and terse in style, he points out the natural dependence of all on each other, and mercilessly exposes the fallacies of its opponents, the pessimist prophets who decry the great work, or think it unachievable. The chapter on India is a very good specimen ; and though it is by no means thorough, he points out, what we said in our Review of Sir Charles Dilke's book on this same subject, that India alone takes already its right place in Imperial Federation. But it is not so much those in the mother country who need to be taught the necessity for Federation. The ignorance, which he justly thinks is the most to be dreaded cause of possible future dissolution, is greatest in the Colonies, which with their inexperience in self-defence, their narrow-minded, touchy and jealous self-assertion, and their utter ignorance of the amount of their indebtedness for commercial, financial and political importance to the mother country require to be taught by such works as these ; and the best way to build up an Imperial Federation is to flood the colonies with cheap publications to prove to them this rather self-evident fact. We cordially wish Mr. Parkin's books the success they so well deserve.

17. *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, by J. S. COTTON, M.A. (Oxford : The Clarendon Press.) Another volume of these popular and well written biographies of *the Rulers of India* presents us with the graphically executed portrait of one of the most distinguished of the class of British statesmen in India, who helped to form that Empire, in spite of all that we now look down on as evil. Nominated, without competitive examination, while still a lad and knowing less than many a girl of 17 does nowadays, Elphinstone showed himself a man of diligence, activity, good sense, resolution, bravery and talent, and by continual study acquired not only the languages he was supposed to, but had not as a fact learned at his school, and others, needed in his duties and became a good ruler and administrator. His failure in Afghanistan was due to circumstances rather than to his fault ; but it effect-

ally quenched his ambition. He was a success in all he undertook, in study, in authorship, in fighting, in civil administration. Yet we honour him more for the wise and liberal policy of his Educational system, which, improved and extended in after years, has done so much for indigenous education in the Bombay Presidency. There is not much in this biography that is new, though the author had access to numerous private papers ; but it is an excellent volume of an excellent series.

18. *Through Famine-stricken Russia*. By W. BARNES STEVENI. (London : Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1892). This is a graphic and therefore gruesome detail of the horrors of the Russian famine by an acute observer and a good writer, whom previous knowledge of the language and country had well qualified for his task. If there is a blemish at all, it is that there is too much Tolstoi for our taste. Next to the kindly pity which all must feel for a sturdy, patient and good-natured, if somewhat slothful peasantry, that is slowly but surely being dimidiated rather than decimated by an awful calamity, there rise in the mind of the reader two questions : Why has not Russia, on which no one wishes to encroach, disbanded three-quarters of its army ? and is this the nation and this the Government to prate about its mission for *civilizing* Asia ?

19. *Russian Characteristics*. By E. B. LANIN. (Chapman and Hall.) In the words of one of the Government organs speaking the truth for once : " The main evil of Russian society is that it suffers from complete, absolute dissoluteness, recognises no moral discipline and has practically emancipated itself from duty." This and much more will be the conviction of all who peruse the pages of this admirable book (reprinted with revisions from the *Fortnightly*) on which its able author, who writes under the name of E. B. Lanin, has lavished the charm of his style and the wealth of his great personal experience, knowledge and acute powers of observation. The barest reference to the leading points in this work would occupy pages ; we must content ourselves in recording our appreciation of the book and in recommending all to read it. It ought to be translated for the benefit of the inhabitants of India ; in Turkey too, and in Persia much good would result by its circulation. A more hopeless state of complete barbarism than is represented by the Russian colossus, according to Lanin, cannot be conceived.

20. *A Grammar of the Old Persian Language*. By HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Ph.D. (Boston : Ginn & Co. London : Ed. Arnold.) This is but a small book, and half of it is taken up with a transliteration of the " Behistan " inscriptions. The remainder is only confusing and useless to beginners, and utterly worthless for scholars. Why, or wherefore, or for whom the book was written, is a mystery. There is not a single cuneiform letter from beginning to end ; and the author seems to wish to teach languages without their alphabets : how would Greek look in a transliterated Grammar ? What the book contains is without order or method, lucidity or depth, and is full of printer's errors.

21. A suggestive and highly interesting pamphlet by PROF. VAMBÉRY has reached us ; it is entitled, *Aus dem Geistesleben persisches Frauen*, i.e., " The intellectual life of Persian women." Prof. Vambéry has

become possessed of a manuscript by a court poet of the early part of this century, by name Mahmud Kajar, and one of its sections deals with the subject of contemporary, and past Persian poetesses of distinction. The much misunderstood and misstated seclusion of the harem, in the East, does not apparently affect disadvantageously the mental development of its (so-called) victims. Prof. Vambéry refers to, and quotes extracts from, at least twenty poetesses ; several are of the royal family.

22. *Guzerati Grammar*. By W. ST. C. TISDALL, M.A. (London : C. Kegan Paul & Co.) We have had occasion to notice, with due praise, several grammars of this admirable series, (Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars) ; and the present is one of the best we have yet seen. Clear, terse, concise, it is a good guide to the study of an interesting and useful though by no means difficult language. Half the book consists of a series of reading lessons, selected with an eye to the usefulness of variety. A copious and carefully compiled vocabulary completes the excellent work, in which the student will find all that is needed, without being confused with unnecessary details and excursus.

23. *The History of the Jews*. By H. GRAETZ, translated by Bella Löwey. Vols. iii., iv., and v. (London : David Nutt.) We had the pleasure of reviewing vols. i. and ii. in our January, 1892 issue ; and the three volumes now to hand continue the history in the same satisfactory style down to the present day, concluding with a good index to the whole work. There are the same defects—an absence of interesting and important details on some points, as *e.g.*, the Kabala,—a slight tinge of prejudice, which after all cannot be absent from any history,—a little harshness in judging Christian men and things, not unnatural considering what the Jews have suffered,—and of course the absence of citation of authorities, deliberately but we think not wisely adopted in this edition : all these we noticed in our first review. Notwithstanding these defects, these three vols. complete an excellent and reliable history of God's chosen people, which gives without undue prolixity a detailed account of all that is needed by the general and even the more advanced reader. It should find a welcome place in every library.

24. *The Book of Joseph and Zuleikha*, by MULLANA ABDUL-RAHMAN JAMI ; translated into English Verse by ALEXANDER ROGERS. (London : David Nutt.) This favourite love-poem of the East has hitherto been practically unknown in the west, because no one ventured on the translation of a work whose entire spirit and letter, in spite of many beauties, are essentially alien to the European mind. As a study however of oriental thought, sentiment and diction, it is of surpassing value ; and we therefore welcome this translation by so thorough a Persian scholar as Mr. Rogers, already well known for previous similar works. It was certainly no easy task to reproduce in good English over 7,000 couplets of a literal translation from a foreign language and idiosyncrasy ; and we heartily congratulate Mr. Rogers on having achieved a success, not unusual indeed in him, but quite phenomenal among ordinary translators. There are defects no doubt, in occasional inaccuracy of version and faultiness in style. Some of the verses halt a good deal and others are rough not to say uncouth, — solely

because sufficient time and pains were not taken for producing a better result. Still on the whole he presents the learner of Persian with a great help to understanding the original, and the student of the East with a vivid and clear picture of Oriental love and the modes of its expression. V.

The Law Magazine and Review for May 1892 had an important article on *The Fusion of Executive and Judicial Powers in India* by John Dacosta.

It deals with a constitutional question, which has attracted the attention of the administrators of our government in India as far back as 1793. Mr. Dacosta gives some very remarkable details, which, on the unimpeachable authority of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, go far to prove that the blot brought to light by Lord Cornwallis is a blot to this day,—as nearly as possible a century later. Lord Cornwallis said it was obvious that if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public Revenue were infringed, the Revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals, who have been wronged by them in one capacity never can hope to obtain redress from them in another. It therefore followed, in the view of this distinguished Governor General, that the Revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. That Lord Cornwallis was perfectly right can well be gathered from the various cases adduced by Mr. Dacosta. The delays of the Law are, we know, proverbial; but when a Government intervenes on the side of delay, the result is an almost hopeless position for one who, *ex hypothesi*, is simply seeking a declaration of the Law applicable in his case; thus, in a suit for recovery of property seized by Government, commenced in 1862, the stage of a decree for recovery of the property was only reached in 1870. In 1883 Government again claimed the same property, and this is one of the cases only *now* at length decided in favour of the native proprietor (in November of 1891, and February of 1892). Mr. Dacosta has a strong case, and lets it speak for itself. The facts are in themselves enough for most people.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following publications, some of which arrived too late for notice in this issue, or were excluded for want of space, and are accordingly to be reviewed in our next: 1. *Pahlavi Texts*, translated by E. W. West (Sacred Books of the East, Clarendon Press, 2 vols.). 2. *Jātaka Mālā*, edited by Dr. Hendrik Kern (Edward Arnold). 3. *Arakan, Past, Present, Future*, by J. Ogilvie Hay (W. Blackwood). 4. *Studies in South American Native Languages*, by Dr. D. G. Brinton (Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co.). 5. *Lerghundi y Simonet, Crestomatia Árábico-Española* (Granada: Ventura Sabatol). 6. *The Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (Fortunet). 7. *La Revue des Revues*. 8. *La Revue Générale*. 9. *Bulletin des Sommaires*. 10. *The Contemporary Review*. 11. *The Review of Reviews*. 12. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Journal*. 13. *The Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*. 14. *The Society of Arts Journal*. 15. *Lucifer*. 16. *La Civiltà Catholica*. 17. *The Allahabad Review*. 18. *Gesellschaft*. 19. *The Rajah's Heir* (Smith, Elder and Co.), which has reached another edition.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1892.

BAM-I-DUNIA;
OR, THE ROOF OF THE WORLD.

BY ROBERT MICHELL.

THE general public has not sufficiently noted the many geographical and other discoveries of Russian explorers in Central Asia, since the year 1871. This is the more to be regretted because our own boasted discoveries have mostly been sealed up in secrecy by the India Government. Excepting the accounts rendered by Shaw, Hayward and Johnson, the Journals of the Royal Geographical Society cannot boast of having helped to give the public any light on the improvement of our maps of Central Asia.

The Report of Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission to Kashgar in 1873 was, indeed, the creditable result of a great endeavour by the India Government to explain some of the most enigmatical points of Central Asian Geography, and to open up relations with Kashgar; but it was not followed up. Kashmir and Ladakh have been jealously guarded by our Indian officials, and doubtless for very cogent reasons no one unconnected with government could pass north out of India. There was a strict limit, even, as to the number of officers allowed to penetrate into or through Kashmir, whether for sport or for scientific research.

Our Geographical Society has thus had no part in the revelations which have now shown us all the errors of

former Central Asian Cartography. It has, indeed, taken note of the labours of the Great Trigonometrical Survey in India and waited on the map-making process of General Sir John Walker, but this itself has waited on the Topographical Department of the Russian War Ministry, and our Geographical Society has lagged far behind its sister Institution in St. Petersburg.

Only a very few of its members, as, for instance, the late Colonel Yule and our distinguished Nestor of Central Asian Historical Geography, Sir Henry Rawlinson, have kept a steady eye on the Russian proceedings, incorporating in their writings and works the materials which from time to time, and however late, became accessible to them from Russian sources. Rawlinson's learned researches and Yule's "Cathay and the Way Thither" and "Marco Polo," as well as numerous other recondite papers, are monuments of learning, wisdom and authority which all admire and to which all defer. In respect of such erudition we have kept above the level of Russian geographical science and maintained a superiority. But while we have been subjecting items of Russian geography to the test of ancient and mediæval light, Russians have practically unravelled the mystery. The Russian and British surveys were linked in the year 1873 at Chatyr-kul above Kashgar; but since that date the India Government has kept us in ignorance of its information concerning the Bam-i-Dunia, or Roof of the World. We have been kept so much in the dark, that but lately we were astounded on learning from the press that one British officer had been arrested within a measurable distance of Wood's own, or Victoria Lake, while others were challenged to produce Russian passports, and not being provided with such permits, were politely requested to quit the ground.

Our Government has not even yet published the account of the journey performed by the *Pir* M.S. in the year of grace 1879, and in the brief allusion to this journey in the official "Memoir of the Indian Surveys," 1891

(pp. 142-143) General Walker's primitive notions of the hydrography of the Pamirs are perpetuated. These might have been rectified if only by the aid of the map attached to the Report of Sir D. Forsyth's Yarkund Mission, let alone the numerous circumstantial accounts rendered since the year 1880 by Russian explorers. But in the light of the information which we have received from St. Petersburg the value of the journal of "M.S." has been greatly depreciated by its relegation to official pigeon-holes, except in its politico-historical part.

Had the observations of "M.S." been communicated to the outside world of geographers, we should not have done as the *Pir* said, "what we like with rivers and mountains," while he pointed out that his evidence showed the Aksu to flow "towards Marghilan." "*Its*" banks were erroneously interpreted for him as the banks of the Suchan Ghund in one. Trotter's notions had been perfectly correct, and it is much to be regretted that his evidence and that of Abdul Subhan were discredited, to be ultimately adopted by Russian explorers.

It is intolerable that the public should be misled on the geography of Central Asia, and of the Bam-i-Dunia in particular, or be left with an impression about that region tending to incline the British public to accede without any demur to its appropriation by Russia.

The Geographical Society does wrong in creating geographical obfuscation. I allude to the observations made by General Strachey and by Sir M. E. Grant Duff after Mr. Littledale had read his paper on the Pamirs at the meeting of the 23rd November last,*—and to the subject of the paper read by Captain Younghusband at a meeting of the same Society held on the 8th of February.†

Mr. Littledale gave a very graphic account of the ease and comfort with which he and Mrs. Littledale with a numerous retinue and a caravan of baggage animals crossed from

* Vide Proceedings R.G.S., Jan. 7, 1892.

† Vide *Times*, Feb. 18, 1892.

Russian Kokan to Kashmir and into British India. The difficulties of the journey, he showed, began only when, having crossed the Darkot pass (15,000 feet), they had to surmount the superior rugged and glacial elevation of the Karakorum Mustagh, on their way to Leh.

By way of neutralising the effect of the introductory remarks made by Mr. Douglas Freshfield, General Strachey led off by comparing the region in question with the Tibetan tableland.* He accepted Mr. Seeböhm's reminiscences of a conversation at St. Petersburg with the Russian zoologist Severtsof reflecting on the *prodigious*† elevation of the Bam-i-Dunia and on its "ultra-arctic" climate. He concluded: "It is a wonderful thing that rational people should talk about a region of this sort as something to be coveted and something even possibly to be fought over, and one might really almost as rationally talk of fighting for the possession of, shall I say, a square mile of the moon, or of Sirius. This would be just as wise, really, just as rational, as possibly you will be able to judge for yourselves from Mr. Littledale's account of his journey. *With a very small number of horses,—ten, twelve or fourteen—gradually dwindling away as they perished, (?)* obliged to carry his food with him, nothing in the shape of fodder available, having to carry fuel to cook their dinner. The possibility of anything like military operations being carried on over a country of that sort is so perfectly ridiculous that to my mind it is perfectly astounding that it should appear to be seriously discussed.‡ The

* Severtsof and later Russian travellers say that the Bam-i-Dunia is in every respect totally different from the plateaux of Tibet, Severtsof saying that the Pamirs are a region not of tablelands but of steppe country. And *Pamir* is not to be taken literally as meaning according to Dauvergne "plateau aride balayé par les vents." (*Bulletin*, Paris.)

† A characteristic erroneously applied to the Pamir elevations by the late Col. Yule.

‡ I do not know who has discussed this ; nor would I contemplate any other than an amicable process for adjusting a question of limitation in that quarter. Late events have, however, shown that the possibility of military operations on the Pamirs is not perfectly ridiculous.

way in which the question of the occupation of this region, either by Russia, Afghanistan, China, or Britain, occupies some people's minds, I can only regard as an illustration of the folly of humanity."

This was strong enough for a politician of the school which in the time of Sir Roderick Impey Murchison set its face severely against Sir Henry Rawlinson's ardour in battling over the field of Russian military encroachments. Sir Henry Rawlinson had to deal with the matter when a Russian Chancellor was systematically volunteering plausible and "mendacious" statements, tendering empty assurances and perverting the sense of international engagements. It was then next to impossible to refrain from reflecting on Russian duplicity in the process of annexation. The ground which the Russians were covering had but recently been the arena of rival political and commercial views. The Geographical discoveries then made were made by conquests under various pretexts. *Autres temps autres mœurs.* Why follow now the habit of talking politics in the sense of beckoning the Russians on by disclaiming any interests whatsoever on the Upper Oxus? It is enough to have lost all share in the glory of elucidating geography, without smoothing the way for a power which seeks to make its weight felt on the Indian frontier. If General Strachey and others anticipate an unmixed blessing from a closer connexion, then it is high time they demonstrated, before inviting it, the advantage to humanity from such propinquity.

The President endorsed General Strachey's words. "It appears," he said, "to be an extremely horrible country; if its name does not mean desert, it certainly ought to do so; and I think that the moral that was drawn so well by General Strachey, from all we have heard this evening, commanded the general approval of all who listened to it." (We trust not.) "It is extremely agreeable to me," Sir M. E. Grant Duff concluded, "knowing that there are present two gentlemen from the Russian Embassy, to acknowledge,

and it is by no means the first time that a President of the Geographical Society has had to acknowledge, the extreme courtesy shown by the Russian Government to an English traveller." To acknowledge the courtesy was right ; for the kindness shown to Mr. and Mrs. Littledale by the Russian authorities throughout the journey was so great that the Russian Government must undoubtedly receive the credit of it. But our Government is not behindhand in such amenities ; for Prince Galitzin with his servants was surely treated in British India with marked attention and passed on from the north frontier with the kindest solicitude. Then again why should the Russians object to any simple traveller exploring the way from their possessions to those of Great Britain ? They need all the information they can get, and they have no cause to hide any light under a bushel. But our own Government systematically conceals every scrap of information which it picks up, and prohibits all from venturing forth from India through Kashmir. It is not so very long since no Englishman was allowed to pass from Orenburg, or from Siberia, into Russian Turkestan, while "O. K." and Mr. Lessar were craning their necks over the Herat entrance into India, and studying every confidential detail of the British railway extension to Quettah.

I join issue with these two exponents of the prevailing opinions of the Council of the Geographical Society on the points of their observations ; and I adduce the evidence of English as well as of Russian travellers on the Pamirs, to show that this region is habitable, inhabited, traversable at all times, well watered and much less near the heavens than they wish the public to believe. We are now authentically informed of a large body of Russian cavalry and artillery operating all over the Pamirs and not far from the Kashmir frontier, and of reinforcements proceeding thither.

Mr. Severtsof was a professor of Zoology, a man of learning, and an eminent Scientist. His writings and experiences are well known to me, as they ought to be to

the Geographical Society ; but he was no authority on the Climatology, or for that matter on the Orography, of the Bam-i-Dunia. When he spoke of a perpetual snowline at 15,000 feet and of slopes of 18,000 feet he did not mean that the broad face of that region was at those elevations. Perhaps, too, Mr. Seebohm may not have brought away a clear recollection of Mr. Severtsof's characteristics of the Pamirs. He said, "Among his" (Severtsof's) "remarks about this country—the Pamirs—he describes it as being four-fifths composed of huge mountain ranges, with comparatively no valleys between, the lowest valley being twice the height of the Engadine, or 6,000 feet above the sea, and the ridges many of them rising 1,000 feet higher than Mont Blanc."

Mr. Severtsof made only a very rapid excursion as far as the Alichur river which feeds the lake Yashil-Kul and is the headwater of the Ghund affluent of the Oxus in Shighnan ; his only traverse was meridional from the Kizyl-Art to the Ak-Baital river. Neither his opinion nor that of Dr. Regel the botanist, can be set against those of Mr. Ivanof, Col. Grombchefski and others. These are the primary authorities ; and the Royal Geographical Society ought to be well acquainted with their papers in the Russian Proceedings since April, 1884.

I shall presently give a short description of the Bam-i-Dunia as pictured by Mr. Ivanof, Colonel Grombchefski and Mr. Kosiakof, which will meet these points, and which, I think, will show that if the Russian Military Authorities are labouring to develop communications with the Sunny South they are on at least as good a track as any across the terrible sandy wastes of the Aralo-Caspian depression. On this ground the President of the Geographical Society is perhaps as disposed now as he was in the past to argue in justification of the Russian necessities for outlets.*

I come now to another point. On the 22nd November last, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, at a meeting of the Historical Society,

* Vide *Times*, August, and *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 25, 1875.

dwelt on the necessity of acquiring a proper knowledge of geography. The diffusion of such a knowledge rests in so large a measure with the Geographical Society that, on the strength of this, I am disposed to charge him with not practising what he preaches. In the matter of Central Asian Geography, if the Government withholds or suppresses "the mass of knowledge, general and scientific, acquired by the servants of the State in our frontier and transfrontier lands," as it was aptly put by Mr. Douglas Freshfield, "and sparingly gives only expurgated copies of official reports of public interest" (I have known it to give expurgated copies even of very ordinary translations from the Russian), then it behoves the Geographical Society to do as Berlin and Paris do: keep the student informed up to date of Russian discoveries by publishing the interesting and important Russian accounts of travel.

I find the President and Council of the R.G.S. responsible, as already said, of obfuscation by neglect of Russian publications, by implication, and by complicity with our Government system of keeping dark. The translation of the papers of Severtsof, Ivanof, Kosiakof, and Grombchefschi might have fully enlightened the British public on the nature of the region within the limits of the Roof of the World.

The implication consists in the confusion of the tablelands of Tibet with the Pamirs in question. The idea conveyed in the summing up on Mr. Littledale's paper was not strictly in accord with Beattie's principle of the immutability of Truth, but rather with Hume's metaphysical doctrine. Truth and Sincerity appear to have been treated as convertible terms, equally under the empire of circumstance and association. The Truth here, as defined in Brown's "Philosophy of the Human Mind," was based on circumstance fitted, "like the dispatches of the late Prince Gortchakof, to excite the feeling of Truth."

That Mr. Littledale "had to carry his food with him," does not disprove the fact that a Russian expedition of 75

men with 69 beasts of burden has traversed the entire region in many directions without receiving anywhere relays of supplies from their Northern base, and dropping down into Ceres only to seek a tinker to reshoe their horses. Mr. Littledale did not set out with any idea of living by the chase, and though there are no *Rabats* or station houses on the Pamirs, all the Kirghiz whom he hired for the journey accepted the condition of finding themselves in food. Mr. Littledale did not say that his horses dwindled away and perished from want of fodder. He started with 25, not "10 or 12 or 15," horses, purchasing more as he advanced. Neither he nor Mrs. Littledale suffered the slightest discomfort on the greatest height (over 15,000 feet), which is not the height of the best pass from the Alichur to the basin of Victoria Lake. The only "prodigious" height or serious difficulty of those travellers occurred within the limits of Ladakh, for from the Baroghil pass and along the Mastuj river they had, if they had chosen to follow it, an easy route to Chitral, which in 1873 Colonel Matveyef was instructed hastily to explore as the proper route to the Khyber by Jelalabad.

The Society keeps in countenance our Government system of hiding away knowledge. Thus it rather effusively accepted without any expression of disappointment, Captain Younghusband's paper on his journey in 1889 to study the peculiar ways of robbers: this, too, when we all expected to hear an account of his interesting discoveries and experiences in the summer of 1891! Yet more remarkable was it that the paper had no reference to the Pamirs. Captain Younghusband likewise travelled, taking his food with him, from Leh to Shahidula; and he recounted simply an adventurous journey over the Karakorum Muztagh between 75° and 76° of West Longitude and not much farther than 37° North Latitude. He made, towards the end, a passing allusion to a short and rapid visit to the North Eastern confine of the Taghdum-Bash where he encountered Colonel Grombchefschi and enjoyed that officer's kindly hospitality;

but he nowhere touched in that year on any of the Pamirs. So was the mind of the entire meeting diverted, that no one seemed conscious of the absence of Hamlet from the play. The entertainment was a cheap one, for the proverbial red herring was the only *hors d'œuvre*.

In the face of the very rapid progress which the Russians are making towards Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet, it is much to be lamented that the veteran and dauntless champion for all geographical truth, the great Sir Henry Rawlinson, is now so conspicuously absent from the Council, and from the ordinary meetings of the Society. I must here also express my grief at the great loss recently sustained by the death of the distinguished Assistant Secretary, Mr. W. H. Bates, to whom I owe obligations for a friendly disposition and for many acts of kindness.

With the exclusion, then, of the Sarikol district, described by Marco Polo, and of the Taghdum-Bash,* the Bam-i-Dunia, as we now commonly understand it, embraces the basins of the Kara-Kul, Rang-Kul, Yashil-Kul and Victoria lakes ;—also the whole of the Aksu-Murghab-Bartang river, the Alichur river, and the Ghund river down to Sardym village at $72^{\circ} 20'$;—also the Pamir river ascended by Wood ;—and the Wakhan river. Its limits may be said to be : On the North, the trans-Alai Mountains and the Muztagh-taú ; on the East, the Kashgar meridional range ; on the South East corner, the Taghdum-Bash ; and on the South the Hindu-Kush which forms the great water-parting of the Indus from the river systems of the Western half of Inner Asia. The Western limits remain to be defined ; for here arises the question of where the line is to be drawn between the mountain valleys and the plateaux above them,—of the small Afghan dependencies of Shighnan and Roshan.

In the Hindu-Kush, immediately south of Wood's lake, is a remarkable depression with an easy, almost imperceptible, pass into the Valley of the Mastuj. We are to comprehend

* The *Taghdum-Bash* implies by its name that it caps the region of the Pamirs.

thus in the Bam-i-Dunia an area varying from circa 34,000 to circa 37,000 square miles. The drainage of this tableland is to the West, and the courses of the rivers show that whatever ridges surmount it run latitudinally or N.W.—S.E. The Kashgar chain alone stretches North and South, connecting the Thian Shan system, through the Muztagh-tau mass on the North with the Tsung-Ling (Kuen-Lun) and Himalayas through the Kashgar Muztagh mass above Chinese Tash Kurgan and through the Karakorum Muztagh on the South.

The Aksu river alone runs a circular course of about 217 miles from a source in the Little Pamir almost common with that of the Wakhan river, first along the Eastern watershed of the Bam-i-Dunia, and then winding North-West and West until it pours its accumulated waters into the Oxus at Kila Wamar in Roshan. From the centre of this region the Chinese many hundred years before the time of Hwen Tsang (A.D. 629-645) drew in a circular form the courses of the four great rivers of their Cosmogony: the Tarim, the Oxus, the Indus, and the Ganges.* Nor were they so very far wrong in their idea. Here was *Imaus* of the ancient Greeks who have left only a vague tracing of an overland route to "Serica" which they imagined to be China, the silk-yielding country.† Marco Polo traversed the Great Pamir in the XIIIth Century; and Benedict Goetz, following in his footsteps in 1603, passed by Victoria Lake to Kashgar. Mongol troops have penetrated into Badakhshan by the same route, and the Chinese have pursued fugitives to Yashil-Kul where is actually the extreme Western limit of their dominions. On the North human streams avoided the Bam-i-Dunia, following easier tracks

* Vide "Voyages de Hiouen-Tsang."

† I am inclined to believe that this name did not correctly apply to any part south of Manchuria, then a home of the Silk Industry, and an independent kingdom, in relations and alliance with the "outer barbarians" against China. So perfect were they in this branch of industry that in 650 A.D. the ruling Sovereign sent to China a laudatory ode woven in silk texture.

connecting "Turkestan" and "Mongolistan" through the lower ranges of the Thian Shan Mountains.

From the West, colonies of agriculturists have pushed far up into the valleys to elevations of from 6,000 to 9,000 feet, at which altitude agriculture flourishes; apricots, plums, grapes being in their season in abundance at the height of 6,000 feet.

The characteristic physical features of the Bam-i-Dunia are its wide flat valleys—"flat as the palm of your hand,"—flanked north and south by buttresses in the shape of mountains and hills some 3 to 4 thousand, in some instances 5 thousand feet high. There are passes in every direction, and you may travel, my authorities say,* wherever you choose, so long as you hold to the direction of the mountains. The altitude of these pamirs or flat valleys varies from 7 to 9 and 10† thousand feet above sea-level. The passes are all practicable and are from 2,000 to 4,500 feet above the plateaux. Eternal snow lies only on the marginal ranges of this region. On the North are the Fedchenko Glacier and Kaufmann peak (23,000 feet), the frozen Muztagh-taù (over 20,000 feet); on the East the Kashgar Muztagh soaring to 24 or 25,000 feet; and on the S.E., and also outside the radius of the Bam-i-Dunia, the culminating heights of the Tsung-Ling and Himalayan mountain systems.

Geographers have subdivided this region by name into so many pamirs: the Little, the Great, the Alichur, the Khargosh, Khurd, and other Pamirs. Mr. Ivanof has

* Messrs. Ivanof, Grombchefski, Regel and others in Proceedings of Imp. Russian Geogr. Society, 1875 to 1891, also Severtsof's Orograph. Survey, and *Turkestan Gazette*, April, 1879.

† It has been erroneously stated that the elevation of these tablelands is 14,000 feet. M. Tillo, the president of the mathematical section of the Imp. R. Geogr. Society, has worked out all the tables of measurements of Col. Grombchefski, and the result is a marked reduction of nearly all the altitudes even on the latest maps, or, to put it more correctly, of all those determined by the distinguished and intrepid Russian Colonel. So that the late Mr. Severtsof was as wrong in his estimates of the altitudes of the Pamirs and of the passes as he was entirely wrong in saying that "It is not open to doubt that the Alichur falls into the Aksu at Basik" (Orogr. Survey of the Pamir Mt. System, p. 341). On this last point he altered his opinion 'Anciens itinéraires.'

objected to this system, because the word pamir (frequently pronounced even now as it was written by Hwen Tsang, Pamilo) is a generic term. This however seems but hair-splitting, and in the absence of any other characterization, this is a sufficiently good one for the different sections of the region. The natives will easily guide the traveller to the particular Pamir on which he bestows the name of the lake, the river or pass, etc., which may belong to it ; *and many a pass is a pamir in itself.*

I will not venture an explanation of the word Pamir, which may be derived from *Bam*—top or crown (as of the head). The Russian, Father Hyacinth, observed that the word was not known to the Chinese before Hwen-Tsang's return from his travels.

But few complaints have been made by even Russian exploring parties, of any lack of grass at their encamping grounds, though they have almost invariably travelled in large numbers. So, on the Alichur, Captain Younghusband found a large Russian cavalry force (one hundred horse!) under Colonel Ionof.* Messrs. Ivanof, Putiata and Benderski, in 1884, had a very large retinue. Even Colonel Grombchevski lost only one horse in a solitary scramble over a wild bit on the Raskem river. All these and other parties have scoured every nook and corner of the Pamirs, crossing nearly every pass. They have naturally taken barley for their cattle ; fuel they have taken up with them from the depressions to the high grounds, and food for themselves they have brought all the way from Ferghana. This is what travellers, far from railway stations and from houses of plenty, usually do in wild uncultivated countries ; and the Instructions to Travellers given by our Geographical Society prescribe such a course, but they have also ; as did Mr. and Mrs. Littledale, provided themselves all along their lines of march with "flocks of sheep" which accompanied them on their journeys.

Wood in 1837, and others subsequently, have recorded

* Corrupted in all recent telegrams into Yanof.

more fair weather than foul on the Pamirs. The Kirghiz pasture their flocks on many of the passes. On the succulent grasses of the great Pamir in the South a man may feed his horses and flocks into an over fat condition in less than 10 days, Wood observed :* the Kirghiz now say in 3. It is the same in the Alai Valley. Colonel Gordon states the same regarding the North East, and at Yashil Kul the conditions are even far better. Judging by the soil in the vicinity of Victoria Lake, Lieut. Wood " did not see why it should not be cultivated to raise crops." This district, with the region of the Baroghil pass similar to that of the Kizyl-Art, is the Northumberland of the Bam-i-Dunia.

The climate is indeed cold, and the exposure on the Pamirs to the prevailing westerly blasts great ; but as a traversable region, this circumstance is no impediment to any moving body ; and Russian authorities state that there is a leeward side to most valleys, where no snow lies and where passage is always practicable. Also it must be noted that there are in all directions positions which afford very tenable and excellent sites for posts and other establishments. It is in many parts a region well suited for sanatoriums, and it was one of the mediæval travellers, I believe, who mentioned the salubrity of the climate.

On any selected line of march there is, I observe, forest growth in the deeper and more sheltered valleys, and in many directions, gloomy and inhospitable-looking haunts of the wild goat and of the *ovis poli* mercilessly followed by the voracious wolf which, in piles of horns of that noble beast, leaves monuments of its depredation. Some say, however, that the piles are erected by Kirghiz as beacons.†

The length of the journey from the Taldyk pass on the Kokan side to the Baroghil in the Hindu-Kush is something over 200 miles ; and it is counted in days, not in months. Instead of the howling wilderness, as there are some who wish to represent this region, we read of the gay

* Benedict Goetz had made the same observation.

† These piles are alluded to even in the annals of the Han dynasty of China.

valley of the Igrikiak River, which flows into the Little Kara-Kul lake in the Sarikol Pamir. The entire valley is a "moist verdant meadow bedecked with the blue-forget-me-not."* After picturing the Alai valley, of which an oleograph may be seen in the late Mr. Fedchenko's Travels, Mr. Ivanof proceeds to say: "I have intentionally lingered over this subject because in advancing from the Alai straight to the Pamir, and passing farther and farther to the South, we moved in time and distance gradually up to greater altitudes. It was this ratio of our progress to the South and to the higher lands which enabled us to traverse the whole of the distance, accompanied along the way by the same spring vegetation which we had found in the Alai valley. We beheld the blossoming of the same spring flowers, and the same kind of meadows, which we had seen and studied in the Alai, spread before us as we went. If there is anything new to be learned from the flora of the Pamirs, it is in its less diversified and complex nature. Its character is more easily studied over smaller areas, for there are not on the Pamirs such immensely wide expanses of meadow as in the Alai. There on the Pamirs, in the basins of the lakes and in the river valleys, the schistous soil produces blade grass, and where mixed with sand gives the pod, clover, etc., where the earth is drier and more mixed with stone we find a kind of brush called "tersken" which Gordon has identified as a species of lavender. On nearing moist meadows, we at once fall in with that particular sedge grass which has given so many proper names to the Pamirs; as for example: *Rang-kul*, *Rang* river, *Rang* locality, etc. Ascending the drier slopes of the mountain foregrounds we find the clay and turfy soil yielding expanses of silver tufted prairie grass; next comes a lumpy bog with moss which in some places makes a turf. At greater heights in the defiles we find immense patches of wild onion; of all the flowering kind the small star petaled one attains the greatest altitude."

* Ivanof, Proceedings, Russ. G. S., April, 1884.

Mr. Severtsof wrote on all this himself, showing that the forms of vegetable life on the Pamirs are those of a Cold Zone, mixed with alpine forms and with those of the *steppe*. But he prided himself on the Botanical results of his expedition to the Pamirs where, including the Alpine districts of Ferghana the Botanist Kushakevitch enriched the herbarium with one thousand various species, or more than 20,000 different specimens. And this was quite independent of M. Skorniakof's herbalizing on the same occasion in the Alai Valley at the head of the Kashgar Daria and on the Pamir. But the late Mr. Severtsof exulted still more over his Zoological trophies, and it is best to quote his own words on the subject, since his works have not been translated for English benefit: he says. "The remarkably full collections brought home by the Pamir expedition constitutes a matter of thrilling interest. As regards natural history, the Pamir, before my visit to that region, was a *terra incognita*. Hwen Tsang and Marco Polo had long wakened the lively curiosity of the scientific world by the scraps of information which they gave of its biological peculiarities. The labours of our expedition will satisfy that curiosity. As regards its *fauna* and *flora*, the Pamir at once emerges from total darkness and becomes one of the most thoroughly explored regions of Asia. The open nature of the country which facilitated the process of collection, coupled with a favourable season, of course, conduced to this end."*

A region, stated off-hand by geographers to be as sterile as the moon or Sirius, could not have produced the numerous zoological specimens collected by Messrs. Severtsof and company. To believe otherwise bespeaks either a disinclination to be informed or a studied incredulity. But we need not wait a year or two longer to learn what the life-giving properties of the Pamirs actually are, for on this question Mr. Severtsof has said enough.

The late Mr. Fedchenko, likewise a distinguished

* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

naturalist and a most indefatigable and keen observer, discovered 110 species of birds in the Alai; but Mr. Severtsof found that the Pamirs yielded a still greater variety and made up the number to 350. Rapid as his journey was, with but two slight divergences from his direct course there and back, he accumulated on the Pamir 112 varieties. Corresponding situations in the Alps yield only 12 species, and in the Thian Shan 60:—a comparison greatly in favour of the region which has been compared with the moon. Out of this number no less than 62 species of birds' nest on the Pamirs*; and if no more varieties were discoverable there, these suffice to show that the conditions of life on the Pamirs are many, and that the climate is more favourable than adverse to life. Whereas the late Mr. Fedchenko found 3 or 4 varieties of fish in Ferghana, Mr. Severtsof brought back 20, of which 6 belonged to the Pamir; and Fedchenko's collection was from the Zarafshan and from the Jaxartes near Chinaz. We have also the evidence of Col. Grombchewski and others as to the abundance of trout in the rivers of the Pamirs.

"As we advance westwards across the Pamirs," continues Mr. Ivanof, "descending say from a height of 9,000 feet on the north and from one of 12,000 feet on the south, we at once enter the region of forest growth, beginning with the creeper. With this we find the reed, the *Lasiagrostis splendens*, and a little lower the rose, willow, birch, mountain poplar and the bramble which here attains the dimensions of a tree, invariably decorated with clematis; the licorice root, honey-suckle, spurge, black currant and *Juniperus pseudosabina*, etc., are there also. Side by side with this forest growth we find the cultivation of corn; first barley, next wheat."†

The valley of the upper Aksu, though bearing a desert appearance, owing to the bare surfaces of the sandy and stony terrace-shaped elevations confining it, has its emerald setting of alpine verdure, yielding grass and roots. On the

* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

† Ibid.

South Eastern skirts of this region there are some dreary waterless tracts, which are yet so smooth that, as Colonel Grombchefski said, they may be traversed in a *calèche* from the Istyk river. As for the region of the Sources of the Aksu, "it is a verdant valley containing a series of lakes presenting a lovely picture from the Urtabel pass (15,040 feet), a pass which descends in an abrupt terrace to the Aksu, but which rises imperceptibly from the North."*

Messrs. Ivanof, Putiata and Benderski acquired on the Bam-i-Dunia in 1884 the necessary experience for pronouncing authoritatively on all the parts of the region. They penetrated to almost the very source of the Almayan feeder of the Wakhan river, visiting in this extreme S.E. corner the wildest part of the whole tract under review : and in order merely to acquaint themselves with the character of the mountains between the Pamir river and the Alichur in a N.W. direction, they ascended a pass called the Bash-Gumbaz. "This was the highest pass we had experienced on the Pamirs, most of them having been 14,500 to 15,500 feet ; the Kara-art alone exceeding 16,000 feet ; but the Bash-Gumbaz attains 17,000."† But even this pass is said by the natives to be sometimes used by caravans.

Mr. Ivanof details the difficulties of the Bash-Gumbaz only in order to depict the character of the traverse across the rocky ridge of the mountains of the Little Pamir which fall away towards the East. He continues : "But on descending from the rocky upper portion of this defile, we find ourselves at once in better circumstances : here is fodder, and brushwood for fuel, a tolerably good path leading presently into the wide valley of the Alichur, which is of a pure *pamir* character. I have no occasion to describe this valley, because it has been explored and depicted before by Mr. Severtsof ; I will only say in a couple of words that the advantages of this valley consist mainly in its extensive irrigation and consequently in its rich pasturage."‡

* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

The road from Yashil Kul passes through a gorge. One of its sections requires improvement to make it perfectly easy ; and then : " On entering the Valley of the Ghund the traveller over the Pamir *Steppe-lands* involuntarily gives way to feelings of gladness under the influence of the bright landscape which opens upon him, . . . such as his eye had not been accustomed to above . . . ; the whole of the valley is beautifully green with the foliage of trees which are picturesquely grouped on the surrounding hills and eminences, and around and about are numberless umbrageous and inviting nooks along the banks of the beautiful river."*

We are here in Shighnan, where Afghans have opened an excellent road from Faizabad to Kila-Bar-Panj at the mouth of the Ghund affluent of the Oxus.

And is all this of the nature of a novelty to the president and council of the Geographical Society ?

A word more, before closing a subject which to do it full justice requires more pages than I dare monopolise.

The Report of the Yarkund Mission and Colonel Gordon's " Roof of the World " may be referred to, among other works, for further information as to the character of the Pamirs. I must satisfy myself here with the evidence mainly of Mr. Ivanof, whose literary productions of various kinds are, by their excellence, the pride and admiration of all Russians, Orientalists and educated people.

Snow does not lie everywhere on the Pamirs, nor are the passes invariably covered with it even in winter. This is certainly a sign of the dryness and severity of the winter months. The phenomenon is accounted for by the action of the wind which occasions an unequal distribution of the drift as of atmospheric deposit generally. It has, however, been observed by every traveller that on the majority of the passes the Kirghiz find excellent pasture for their flocks in winter. This on the Pamirs lasts seven months ; how many out of the twelve may be considered summer months,

* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

Mr. Ivanof found it difficult to determine. "If," he says, "we are to consider as the summer season the period when slight frosts do not set in, then we could not count more than one month of summer. Night frosts are experienced in June, July and August, but this occurs at elevations of from 14,500 feet" (therefore only on the passes). The frosts he speaks of are 2°, 3° and sometimes even 6° Centigrade. "In the early morning," he says, "you may see a fringe of ice and icicles along the river banks, which when the sun begins to mount give place to variegated flowers." At the same time the southern sun is so powerful that even in the winter the snow melts rapidly on the more open levels.*

Every part of the Bam-i-Dunia is peopled by Kirghiz of their four different tribes. Their headquarters are in the Rang-Kul district, on the Ak Baital, on the Aksu, on the Alichur, and in the basin of the Kokui-bel river. There is an encampment of Kirghiz near the Urta-Bel pass, also on the Upper Tagharma river. The Kudara Valley is a recognised portion of Shighnan.

The head and chief of the Kirghiz of the Alai Valley is a certain Sahib Nazar,—in his palmier days a noted plunderer of caravans. He is now old, and his occupation is gone. He derived his power from the control which the brethren of the Kipchak tribe ever had over affairs in the Khanat of Kokand. Another Kirghiz Bek camps at Muji on the Southern Gez, at the head of the Sarikol Pamir. He has always been a subject of China.

The Russians trumping up a claim to the Pamirs through Kokand and a pretended allegiance of these nomads to the Khans of Kokand, have found themselves "at home," they would make it appear, with another Kirghiz Chief seated at Bazai-i-Gumbaz near the sources of the Wakhan river.† Thus the Kirghiz, who are really Chinese subjects, command on the Roof of the World all the points of vantage. They

* Colonel Gordon's "Roof of the World."

† The particulars given by M. Dauvergne concerning this quarter are interesting, but they conflict with Russian statements.—*Vide Bulletin*, ris, 7^{me} Serie, Tome III., 1^r Trimestre, 1892.

number, within the radius of this sketch, some 3,000 individuals. This population is more dense as we near the large centres of sedentary, agricultural and commercial life on the East. Three times as many may be said to be *en congé* in and about Kashgaria.

With this brief and superficial sketch I will leave my readers to draw their own conclusion as to the character of the steppes and valleys of the Pamirs.

We may, indeed, not want or covet this region ; but it is my design to show its strategical value. There are some among us who would encourage the Russians to seize it, blinding themselves to its importance and misleading their countrymen also. I feel bound to add, lest I be mistaken for a violent and unreasonable Russophobe, that I would not advocate any opposition on our part to an absorption of the Pamirs up to certain and definite limits by the Russians,—provided they do not entirely sever our relations with Kashgar. My only contention is that, whether it be this or any other territory the possession of which we would not dispute with them, it behoves us, before it fall into a rival's hands, to study and to know it while we may, and more than that, to realise the value at which that rival estimates it as a *pied à terre*. It may be that the Russians are actuated in their present pursuit on the Pamirs, as in Tibet and Mongolia, mainly by a greater knowledge than we possess of the mineral wealth of that part of the world. It would appear that they have discovered, in the mountains of Northern Tibet, sources of immense riches in badly worked gold diggings. We know that nearly all the Pamir waters bring down gold dust. M. Dauvergne informs us that there is a *Zarafshan* or gold-bearing tributary of the Yarkand river, and alludes to beds of copper. The Russians are touching now on the jade quarries of China, and such places as Marjanai, between the Alichur and Murghab, suggest in name similar storehouses of precious stones.

Pending a settlement of the Afghan and Kashmir frontiers, it might be well understood between our Government and

that of Russia that no rights of possession or of ejection shall be claimed or exercised by any of those two powers, south and west of the Aksu-Murghab-Bartang and east of a line drawn from the farthest inhabited point of the Wakhan and Pamir river valleys, crossing the head of the Suchan, following the Toghuz Bulak affluent of the Ghund river below Yashil Kul Lake, and passing to Ceres by the Langar pass.

In after ages railways may bring to this world's centre the materials for the erection of a monument of civilization in the shape of another city of Quito, in which the East may finally unite in brotherhood and peace with the West ; but in the meanwhile I see no reason why international outposts or pickets should not be established to insure security and perfect neutrality, where a desire for appropriation on the part of an encroaching ambitious military power cannot possibly be prompted by purity of motive.

Castle Horneck Cottage, Penzance.

P.S.—In respect of the various Russian contentions I would add a few more lines.

The great Russian authorities Khoroshkhin and Arendarenko, among many others, may be cited in proof of the fact that no Kirghiz Bek on the Pamirs ever recognised the authority of a Khan of Kokand ; on the contrary, it was the Kara-Kirghiz of the Alai Valley who invariably gave support to the Kipchak party in Kokand which governed the throne in that Khanate without acknowledging any allegiance under it. The Chinese, on the other hand, when masters in Kashgaria invariably exercised a sovereign power on the Pamirs. As regards the rightful claims and possessions of the Ameer of Afghanistan, we have abundant proof,—both English and Russian,—that they extend to the extreme Eastern limits of cultivation in the valleys penetrating into the Pamirs from the West. The population of the Ghund Valley with Bar-Panj is estimated at 5,000 individuals, that of the Shahdara 4,000, and Roshan, along the Panj, 4,000. The population of Shighnan is however alone calculated by Mr. Ivanof at 13,000, or Shighnan and Roshan together 25 to 30 thousand. It was on the Toghuz-Bulak affluent of the Ghund, where evidences of cultivation exist, that Mr. Ivanof was challenged in 1883 by the Afghan authorities.

"Here on this pass"—the Koi-tesek, at the source of the Toghuz-Bulak,—"is the Afghan limit" Mr. Ivanof declared to the Afghan Emissary from Bar-Panj—and to the assembled Aksakals of Sardym and other places : "beyond this is God's own Pamir whereon he is master who is first comer.

I am first here, and this Pamir is mine. Since you have not allowed me to pass through Shighnan, I forbid you to go farther. You must go back. I am possessor of this Pamir." And under protest, the Afghan soldier and the official bevy withdrew, taking however a note in pencil from the Russian claimant.

As regards the Bartang-Murghab Valley, the road up that river extends some 73 miles beyond Ceres.

Although there was no mention of Shighnan in the Clarendon-Granville-Gortchakof Correspondence to 1873, yet Prince Gortchakof acknowledged the right of the Ameer of Afghanistan to bring under subjection those Khanates, which were considered by Russia to be quite independent, so long as in doing so he did not attack Bokhara. And it must be noted that subsequently, viz. in January 1873, the Russian Government finally accepted the Afghan frontier in this direction as broadly designated by our Government, *i.e.* including the whole of Badakhshan, with its dependencies not then specifically mentioned, and with Wakhan which was distinctly named.

In my humble opinion we are now touching on the settlement in one way or another of the most intricate and vital question of the whole of the Central Asia Correspondence. I do not myself think that any satisfactory result can be arrived at diplomatically. In spite of all the Russians will advance to the Hindu Kush, and as they were at Merv and even at Pendjeh before we could bring ourselves to believe that they could or that they intended to proceed so far, so we shall find them over the passes of the Hindu Kush while it still remains the popular belief that those passes are all blocked with snow, that they are "prodigious" and quite impracticable. I see only one course of action which we can and ought to adopt, and that course should run parallel with the marches which are being stolen in that remote corner of Central Asia by Russia, viz., to occupy Chitral and forestall the Russians on the passes alluded to.

The question of keeping open our relations with Kashgar by way of the Kara Korum or by way of the little Pamir and through Tash Kurgan should be at the same time very carefully considered, for we must either secure this line of communication or be prepared to see ourselves entirely intercepted in that direction. In the spring of next year we shall doubtless see the accomplishment of a Russian design to which we are even yet, it seems, too much inclined to shut our eyes. With the Russians on the Kashmir border we shall have very great trouble indeed unless we are there to confront them ourselves. And it is of the utmost importance to us in every respect to protect with a jealous care all the rights of Afghanistan in its extreme North Eastern dependencies.

R. M.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF HOSPITALS IN INDIA.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL SIR W. J. MOORE, K.C.I.E.,

Hon. Physician to Her Majesty the Queen.

THE institution of hospitals in India must be regarded as one of the beneficial results of British supremacy in that country. In ancient times, excepting during the comparatively short period of Bhuddist ascendancy (as afterwards referred to), there does not appear to have been anything of the nature of a public hospital, nor any means by which the poor, suffering from disease or injury, could obtain care and relief. The ancient Dravidians, Kolarians, or Aryans of the remote past, on descending through the Himalayas and entering the plains of Hindustan, found the task an easy one of driving before them the *Dasyus* or aborigines of the land. These Aryan conquerors of India are described as sober, industrious, courageous, and virtuous. They lived a pastoral life, and knew not the toil and turmoil of cities. Therefore on their invasion of the plains of Hindustan they required no other physic than that "drawn from the fields." This was perhaps supplied by each father of a family, whom we know to have been not only warrior and husbandman, but also priest, and probably physician, in his own household. It was the more energetic and learned of these "fathers," who composed the "Vedic Hymns," or "Sacred Books of the Hindus;" who committed their productions to memory (thus handing them down to posterity, until the Hymns were written in Sanskrit); and who by virtue of this superior knowledge arrogated to themselves priestly supremacy, and so became a class above all others under the name of Brahmin, signifying the "Offerer of Potent Prayer." But we do not find in the "Shastras" or Vedic Hymns any reference to public Hospitals or Dispensaries. As these Vedic Hymns enter minutely into the social life of the ancient Aryans, it is certain that had

hospitals been in existence they would have found mention among the multitudinous subjects referred to. One of these subjects is a "funeral dirge" or farewell to the dead and dying; and had public care of the sick been practised it seems improbable that the association of ideas would not have led to some reference thereto. A similar silence prevails in the *Brahmanas*, which were compiled some centuries after the *Vedas*, when, to a great extent, nomadic pastoral life had been abandoned. Something, however, of medicine and surgery appears to have been known; for the *Rig Veda* mentions physicians and contains passages in praise of the healing virtue of herbs, and the *Atharva Veda* contains an invocation against the demon of fever. It has been remarked that as observations of the firmament were necessary to fix the date of recurring and continually increasing festivals, so anatomical knowledge was required for the dissection of the sacrifice, in order that its different parts might be appropriated to the proper deities and the jealous priests. But the anatomy of the human frame was not studied. Yet as the Aryans, having driven the aborigines into the distant hills, became organized into village communities, built cities, and eventually formed kingdoms, the want of medical aid seems to have been more felt; for we have Brahminical medicine developing as an *Upa Vedas* or supplementary revelation, about 350 B.C. Still there were no public hospitals. The Brahmins were too busy degrading the pristine purity of their faith and deluding the ignorant, by evolving new gods and schools of philosophy, to pay much attention to the requirements of sick people;—too much occupied in upholding and perfecting the system of caste, in elevating themselves above all others, in monopolizing to themselves all knowledge, that of medicine included,—to trouble themselves about public institutions for the sick. They, moreover, abhorred contact with the lower castes, and especially shrank from pollution from the morbid materials of diseased persons of the lower caste. By the Institutes of Menu a physician was classed as an unclean

person to be excluded from feasts. The early Brahmins, indeed, sought to establish for themselves the most elevated holiness and sanctity. It has been stated that the predominance of the priesthood was the chief cause of the failure of early Egyptian medicine. And so it was in India ; for the Brahmins neglected among other duties that of care of the sick. It was not until Buddhism had attained both a social and a political ascendancy over Brahmanism (from about 250 B.C. to 600 A.D.) that public hospitals for man and beast were established in the large cities by the Buddhist Princes. Buddhism differed from Brahmanism in scrupulously reverencing the vital principle in man and beast, in proclaiming the spiritual equality of all, thereby dethroning those who had arrogated to themselves the privileges of a priestly Brahminical class. Buddhism announced salvation to all men, not through the intermediacy of Priests and Brahmins, but through men's own works. What a man sows he must reap, was a fundamental axiom of Buddhism. Knowledge of medicine, as of other sciences, was to be attained by study and penance only, and not by virtue of being born a Brahmin. Thus when Buddhism temporarily replaced Brahminism, no Brahminical feeling of superiority or Brahminical shrinking from lower castes, or even from morbid matter was admitted as pertaining to the new religion—for all were proclaimed equal. In place of Brahminical rites and sacrifices, a code of practical morality was inculcated—one outcome of this great change being the establishment of public hospitals.

One of the principal seats of Buddhist medical learning was Benares ; and Asoka the King of Behar or Putra, as we learn from rock inscriptions, published fourteen Edicts for the conduct of his Government, one of which devised a system of medical aid for man and beast. At this time, too, at Benares, flourished Charaka, probably B.C. 320—a rival in reputation if not contemporary in date of Hippocrates—whose name is yet revered among native practitioners as the principal of ancient Hindu physicians. The study of

medicine now became separated from occult science, astronomy, and religion, with which it had been the policy of the ancient Brahmins to confound it. And although distance and absence of communication prevented any influence from medicine as then practised in the west by the Greeks, or even by the nearer Arabians, still great advances were made by the Buddhists. They treated disease by the hot and cold system with medicines manufactured chiefly from herbs and trees, and they performed in a rough manner many of the surgical operations, so comparatively *cito, tuto, et jucunde* accomplished in the present day. But Buddhism rolled away to the countries East of India—to Burmah, Ceylon, China and Japan. Brahminism again became ascendant. The Brahmins, again asserting their superior holiness, re-instituted the barriers of caste; and, as before, shrinking from the contact of the lower orders, and from diseased matter, left the practice of medicine to the *Vaids*, a class supposed to spring from a Brahmin (or priestly) father, and a *Vasiya* (or cultivator) mother. In this the Brahmins would appear to have in some measure adapted themselves to the popular desire; for finding themselves unable again to confuse medicine with occult science, astronomy, and religion, they ignored its practice as beneath their holiness, but allowed a *quasi* Brahmin to pursue it. The *Vaids*, however, had neither the *status* nor the inclination to continue the hospitals which had been established, for all social power remained with the Brahmins; and the *Vaids*, priding themselves on their one-sided Brahminical descent, ignored the duty of attention to the sick poor, and chiefly confined their ministrations to those who could pay. Hence followed the abolition of the Hospitals which had been established by the Buddhist princes; with the natural result that medical knowledge declined, until sinking into the hands of the village "*Kabiraj*," it became, much as it is now, a compound of Sanskrit texts, spells, fasts, and herb-quackery. The only remains of the Buddhist Hospitals are those institutions for beasts found in various cities and

principally supported by the Jains—a comparatively small but wealthy class, who have been described as the Protestants of the once prevailing Buddhism of Hindustan.

The different Muhammadan invasions of India, from 977 to the commencement of British supremacy, placed the country more or less under the domination of Turki, Afghan, and Mogul dynasties. But although about A.D. 1000 a new class of medical practitioners known as “hukeems” was introduced, whose lines of practice were derived from Arabian and Grecian sources, no establishment of public hospitals proceeded from Muhammadan supremacy. The whole of the lengthened period mentioned above was indeed one of intermittent turmoil, the constant wars of the Muhammadan Princes with the semi-conquered Hindus or with their own rebellious chiefs denying the element of stability, and affording little opportunity for the pursuits of peace, in which the establishment of public hospitals might take a place. As a rule the Muhammadan hukeems were attached to, and employed in attending on nobles and chiefs. It does not even appear that the Muhammadan invaders supplied their own troops with medical aid. Coming from the uncivilized north, and imbued with the fatalism of Muhammadanism, they failed to appreciate the fact, hailed by the Greeks long before, that

“A wise physician skilled our wounds to heal,
Is more than armies to the public weal.”

Neither need this indifference on the part of the Muhammadan invaders create surprise, considering their savage nature as represented in history. For instance, the Emperor Muhammad Tuglack in 1324, as an amusement, enclosed a large circle of country by a cordon of troops which gradually narrowed to a centre, when every living thing,—men and animals,—was slaughtered by the hunters! Even the greatest of Muhammadan Emperors, Akbar, whose liberality of mind is demonstrated by the encouragement he accorded to the free discussion of other religions, founded no public hospitals. He certainly *attempted* to put down

various inhuman rites of the Hindus, such as human and animal sacrifices, and trial by ordeal; he endeavoured to prevent child marriage, and to legalize the re-marriage of Hindu widows; and he had *hukeems* in attendance on his forts and forces. But he did not attempt to abolish *suttee*, or widow-burning, or stop female infanticide, or establish public hospitals. It remained for the British Government to *perform* what Akbar only *attempted*, and also to achieve that which Akbar shrank from even attempting.

The condition of the whole of India in former days in the matter of medical relief was doubtless such as prevailed a few years since in most of the Native States; so that we are able to judge very correctly what must have been the general aspect previous to the institution of medical relief and sanitation in British districts. Recently, in the Native States, there might be witnessed disease proceeding unchecked and uninterfered with, to a degree which certainly would not be allowed at present in civilized Europe. And especially was this evident in surgical disease, as illustrated by the following extract from an official document:*

“In former reports I have mentioned the extreme ignorance displayed by native ‘hukeems’ or ‘vaid’s’ of surgical principles. As a rule, all surgical disease is either wrongly treated, or let alone until treatment is unavailable by these uneducated practitioners. Their errors of omission and commission are not so easily ascertained in their medical, as in their surgical, practice. But in the latter, there is a glaring ignorance not only from things requisite not being attempted, but from things unnecessary being performed, leading to the serious injury and often to the death of the patient. Thus, during my last tour, I saw at one village, an open scrofulous sore of the neck with the carotid artery isolated, and apparently on the point of giving way. At another village I witnessed an advanced cancer rapidly

* Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Foreign Department. No. cviii. Rajputana Dispensary, Vaccination, Jail, and Sanitary Report for 1872-73. By Surgeon-Major (now Surgeon-General Sir W.) Moore, C.I.E., Honorary Surgeon to the Viceroy of India.

killing a man. In another place a woman had remained for days with a dislocated jaw, which was easily put *in situ*. Other forms of dislocation and fracture neglected are almost daily sights. At Bikaner I amputated the leg of a man, who eight months before fell from a camel : the bones of the leg protruding through the skin of the heel, and the foot being driven half-way up the front of the leg, *in which position it had been permitted to heal !* At the same place a woman was rapidly sinking from the results of extensive sinus of the breast, following abscess, and which only required free incisions for the restoration of health. I also saw a man dying of strangulated hernia, without the slightest idea of or attempt at relief on the part of the native practitioners. And so on, throughout almost the whole range of surgery, I have from time to time witnessed the most lamentable results from the malpractices, or from the absence of practice on the part of the Native Doctors."

As mentioned in the above extract, the errors of omission and commission are not so easily ascertained in medical as in surgical cases. But the great majority of those stricken by disease, such as inflammations and fevers, derived as little benefit from medicine as did the Romans, when according to Pliny, physicians were banished from the Imperial City during many years. For few indeed of the higher class and comparatively better educated "hukeems" or "vaids" would minister to the poor who were unable to pay their fees ; and of the populations of India the great majority are and always were poor. Steeped in continually augmenting superstition and ignorance, if the poor received medical aid at all, it was from the hands of the equally ignorant and superstitious village "Kabiraj," who, unlike their more noble Aryan predecessors, did not even "draw physic from the fields," although they may have used a charm, such as a peacock's feather tied round the affected part ! If the poor got well, they got well ; and as most diseases have a tendency to terminate in health, many did recover. If a fatal termination resulted, it was attributed to *nusseeb* or destiny,

or the gods were blamed. Insane persons, if harmless, were allowed to ramble about the streets; if violent, they were chained in the most convenient place. The jails of the Native States were also in an unparalleled unsanitary condition, for no medical aid whatever was provided: as Coleridge said of Coldbath Fields, these jails might have given His Satanic Majesty a hint for improving Hades. Fatalism combined with ignorance, and a consequent utter unbelief in any measures of sanitation resulted in the absence of all measures of precaution during epidemics of contagious disease. Small-pox was supposed to be under the peculiar protection of the goddess "*Mata*," whose shrines were, and still are, to be seen near the majority of the villages. Interference with the progress of small-pox was regarded as an offence which the goddess would punish. It was permissible to pray to "*Mata*" for a mild attack, but nothing further was allowable. During the prevalence of small-pox, children might be seen by scores, in every stage of the disease, playing or lying about the streets. During an epidemic of cholera, not one precautionary measure was ever adopted—except by the wild Bheels, who invariably moved, leaving their villages for a time for the open jungle; thus forestalling the most approved method of preventing cholera adopted for British troops, viz., marching away from the infected area.

Not only were there no hospitals proper, or contagious hospitals, or asylums for the insane, but neither were there any asylums for lepers. Regarding the latter, difference of opinion would appear to have existed, among scientific investigators, then as now, as to whether leprosy is a contagious disease or not. Then, as now, in some parts of the country, lepers were permitted to live among the people; in other localities they were thrust out from the towns or villages, generally forming a little colony on the adjoining plain. This expulsion of lepers from the towns and villages, then as now, was not so much the result of fear of contagion, as the Brahminical dread of contact

with impurity. Then as now, these outcasts lived miserably in mud or grass huts, obtaining food by begging. When tired of life, or when being old or disabled their relatives were tired of keeping them, they often submitted to "sumajh" or burial alive. But they more frequently threatened to perform "sumajh" with the view of extracting alms from the charitable, who were induced to believe that the death of the leper would be credited to them, unless they bought off the sacrifice. "Sumajh," or leper burial alive, has been practised comparatively recently in more than one of the Native States.

The Native Principalities are now much more advanced in most respects than they were only a few years back. By coming into contact with the progressive civilization of adjoining British districts, the Governments of Native States were forced to advance; for they felt their existence would be imperilled. And this advance was most materially assisted by the successful endeavours made by the Indian Government to secure the better education of the young Indian princes and nobles. The Imperial Government also, and especially under Lord Mayo, enunciated care for the sick as one of the most urgent duties of the feudatory rulers of India. Owing to such measures, aided by the personal influence of the Political, and the assistance of the Medical Officers attached to the Native Courts, a hospital or dispensary has, amongst other features of civilization, been established at every large capital; while in some States ramifications of such central establishments have rendered the people almost as well off, in the matter of medical relief, as those in British territory. As it will not be necessary to refer again, except incidentally, to the Native States, I may here remark that all the medical institutions are supported at the cost of the Durbar or Government of each State. They are, as a rule, superintended by the European Medical Officer attached to the Political Residency, aided by native assistants.

Although the recent condition of the Native States

represents what formerly prevailed all over Hindustan, it must not be understood that the people were devoid of charity ; only the charity of the well-to-do classes did not take the form of medical relief. In the absence of a qualified medical profession recognised by the State, the confidence felt in the physic of the "Vaid" and "Hukeems" was something akin to the faith of Byron, who without any such excuse designated medicine as "the destructive art of healing." Moreover the organization of hospitals was not understood, and the necessary discipline of such establishments was foreign to the habits and ideas of the people. The poor (who now throng the Hospitals of India), having had no experience of the advantages of such institutions, would probably not have resorted thereto had hospitals and dispensaries been opened under native control. So suspicious were the people on the first opening of a hospital in one of the Native States, that sweetmeats, of which they are very fond, were ordered to be given daily to each patient, as an encouragement to attend ! So in former times the charitable preferred spending their money in sinking wells, in constructing *serais* or rest-houses for travellers, in endowing temples, and in feeding the poor, particularly Brahmins. In this manner, enormous sums have been disbursed and are still expended, especially in food for the destitute. This laudable charity of the Indians, although often confined to their own caste people, and to occasions of family festival, is one of the reasons why it has never been thought necessary to establish any system of poor-law relief in British India. Of late years native charity has been often directed towards building and endowing medical institutions, and many Indian gentlemen have given most liberally for such purposes.

It was said at the commencement, that the institution of Hospitals in India must be regarded as one of the beneficial results of British supremacy. And in this wise. It may perhaps be recollected that when in 1879, the British occupied Cabul, almost one of the first things established was a

hospital for the treatment of natives of the city, in which nothing of the kind existed. This was done both as a matter of humanity and of policy :—of humanity towards the vast number of sick and suffering, who had never previously had a chance of obtaining the benefits derivable from European medicine and surgery ;—of policy, as a means of gaining the sympathies and obtaining the confidence of the people. As it was thus nearer the end, so it had been in the beginning. It is not forgotten that some of the earlier more important concessions to the Hon. East India Company were obtained by Surgeon Gabriel Broughton, in 1645, for professional services rendered to the Mogul Emperor Shah Jehan. Throughout British advance and domination in India, it is certain, that the services of medical officers have silently, unostentatiously, yet surely proved, *par excellence*, a bond of union between the conquerors and the conquered. When, after the Sepoy mutinies of 1857 the Sepoys began to discover the mistake they had made, one of the lamentations was, that if they were sick no care was taken of them, whereas when “ true to their salt ” they were well looked after in a comfortable hospital, and attended by a qualified surgeon. The hospitals, which, as more recently in Cabul, were roughly and tentatively established as a matter of policy and humanity in almost every large city coming under British supremacy, formed, as a rule, the nucleus of the Civil Hospitals as they stand to-day. Some of the larger Hospitals date from the period of the governorship of Warren Hastings, when, in 1772, the whole service was reorganized. At first such hospitals were, as recently in Cabul, conducted and worked by the military medical officers attached to the Army of occupation. But as matters settled down, and civil officials with their establishments appeared on the scene, the need of providing special medical attendance for civilians became apparent. Then medical officers were selected from the Army Medical Department, and under the name of “ Civil Surgeons ” were required to attend to the civil service

generally, to medico-legal cases, and also to take charge of the civil hospitals for natives. As these posts were more lucrative than military employment, and as less camp life was involved, civil surgeoncies were eagerly sought after by the military doctors of the period. Thus the annexation of a province or district led to the establishment tentatively of a hospital for the natives, while the after influx of the Civil Service, or in the non-regulation provinces of officers performing civil duties, led to the permanency of such hospitals, and to the entertainment of a special medical officer. It may be added that so great was the amount of practice at various of these hospitals, that numerous Indian Medical Officers have attained a skill in various branches of their profession, rendering them second to no practitioners in the world.

At first the whole cost of the Civil Hospitals was necessarily borne by Government ; but as time passed on, and Municipalities were established, a portion of the cost, varying in different localities, was defrayed from Municipal Sources.

The successful working of civil hospitals in the large towns and stations, soon led to the formation of branch hospitals or dispensaries in the neighbouring towns and villages. In most instances, especially at the outset, these subsidiary institutions were originated through the influence, or at the mandate, of the district civil authorities. As the benefits to be derived became clear to the people, numerous applications were made for the establishment of dispensaries. Some of them, doubtless, originated in the desire of interested persons to curry favour with the civil authorities ; but most applications were *bonâ fide* expressions of the desire of the people. Government, therefore, instead of defraying the whole cost determined to institute a system of "Grant-in-aid Rules," by which about one-half of the cost is defrayed by Government, the other moiety being found by Municipalities if existing, or from "Local Funds" where there was no Municipality. Government very wisely

decided to supply, as their contribution, the medical officer, and some of the servants,—thus securing a certain qualification, as the medical officers are usually sub-assistant surgeons, native doctors, or hospital assistants, who have been educated at the Government medical schools. Recently it has been proposed to curtail, or to even withdraw all aid from institutions in large and wealthy localities, as it is considered that the advantages of the institutions have been sufficiently demonstrated to induce the people to undertake the whole burden of support. It may be mentioned that most of the dispensaries are built on a standard plan affording every convenience.

Although so much work is accomplished at the dispensaries and therefore much good is doubtless effected, the benefit afforded by the dispensaries is small compared with that derived from the civil hospitals. This arises from the latter taking in large numbers of in-door patients, who are fed, clothed, and medically treated ; whereas most of the dispensaries do not take in-door patients, or their capacity is limited to a very small number. Also while the large hospitals are under direct European supervision and control, the dispensaries are remotely situated, and are conducted by a class, whose education does not, as a rule, fit them to treat surgical cases of importance. Still the dispensaries are generally popular, and are of great service to the people.

In 1859-60, there were not, I believe, more than 181 recognized hospitals and dispensaries in British India, treating 111,116 patients. From the reports for 1889-90 I find the number had increased to 1,641 institutions, treating 265,000 in-door patients, and 11,978,000 out-door : total 12,243,000. There were also 25 lunatic asylums containing 4,976 insanes, and 23 leper hospitals. In connection with this subject it should not be forgotten, that by the exertions of the Marchioness of Dufferin, aided by Lady Reay, Lady Lyall, and others, women's hospitals have been established at many places, and lady doctors, midwives, and female nurses have been supplied. From the last report of the "National

Association for supplying medical aid to the women of India," it appears there are 48 female hospitals or dispensaries in operation, nine being in the Native States. In 1891 there were treated, 412,591 females, including 51,973 in the hospitals of the Native States. It must not, however, be understood that formerly no women were treated in Indian hospitals; for the number of females in most hospitals was only limited by the number of beds available. But the lady doctors and female hospitals reach a class of Indian women, who were by social mandate, unable to avail themselves of previously existing means of relief in sickness.

Although the record is so good, the relief afforded by the hospitals and dispensaries does not reach 5 per cent. of the population. Neither is this a matter of surprise, when the vast population and extent of India are recollected. Among its teeming millions are many remotely situated populations, and many semi-wild tribes; as Bheels, Meenas, Gonds, Santals, Khands, etc. While there is, in the large cities, a civilization in many respects scarcely inferior to that of Europe, there are still among the Indian hills and mountains, tribes scarcely more advanced than those who used agate knives and flint weapons, erected Druidical stones, and formed mounds, at a period even antecedent to that remote age when the Aryans, as previously referred to, conquered the aboriginal people. It was only in 1871 that the women of the Juangs, or leaf wearers of Orissa, were induced to use any kind of clothing.

There is, therefore, much call for the extension of the hospital system in India; and we may be sure that, as in the past so in the future, such extension will be made.

SEA-VOYAGES BY HINDUS:

II.

IS SEA-TRAVEL PROHIBITED TO BRAHMINS?

BY PUNDIT S. E. GOPALACHARLU.

UNDER this head we propose to settle from the orthodox stand-point the most important of the issues in connexion with our all-absorbing topic ; and we hope to be able to show that the Sástras are not opposed to it. But before so doing, a few remarks relative to Indian methods of legal interpretation will have to be made in order to enable the reader to grasp the methods employed by Hindu exegetical writers in the settlement of Indian legal questions.

There was a stage in the advancement of the Indian mind when such questions as "What is law?" "What is right?" "What is wrong?" were seriously discussed and settled once for all, from the stand-point of the Indo-Aryan mind. That was the period of the *Mimámsa Sūtras*, or rather of Jaimini, the author of a set of *Sūtras* or aphorisms on the "inquiry into Vedic ordinances," as the term "*Mimámsa*" may be explained. Now, Jaimini's work is the only one of its kind that has reached us.

The belief in the infallibility of the Vedas was handed down by tradition long before the time of Jaimini ; and this article of Hindu faith found a great supporter in him. His work itself was called forth by the adverse criticisms of Bouddhas, Nayáyikas and other "heretics" relative to the infallibility and interpretation of the Vedas ; and these objections have been grouped under 999 *adhikaranas* (propositions) and replied to categorically then and there. His arguments, more especially those relating to Sástraic interpretation, and the priority of the Vedas to all other Indian writings, were considered so very conclusive, that subsequent Indian writers on whatever subject

they wrote, or whatever school of Indian thought they belonged to, readily introduced them into their own writings. We see, at the present day, the Vedāntin referring to the arguments of the Mimāṃsa writers for a settlement of some of the questions relating to the import of Vedic passages; while according to the orthodox Pundit no one is well versed in Dharma Śāstras (law) who has not properly studied the Mimāṃsa.* For instance, take the definition of "Śāstra," which every Hindu should obey. It is derived from the root *Śās*, and means the same as *Śāsana* (law); and it is defined to be "a command prescribing a course of right action, and of forbearance from doing wrong." The definition of Śāstra as given by a most famous writer on Mimāṃsa, Bhatta Kumārila, or Kumārila as he is more generally known to Western Sanskrit scholars, includes the Mantras and Brahmanas, both going together to form the Veda; and also those writings which explain the ideas and commands therein contained such, for instance, as the Smrities or Dharma Śāstras (law, canon, and civil), the reason being that they teach what is good and right, and distinguish therefrom what is bad, and, therefore, wrong.

Jaimini† defines "Dharma" to mean "that which is commanded to be performed," and also "what is taught by the Vedas to be conducive to the good (of mankind)." Similarly Manu says (I. 108): "The rule of conduct is transcendent law whether taught in the revealed texts or in sacred tradition; hence the twice-born who possesses regard for himself should always be careful to follow it."

Thus the only way we have to judge of right and wrong is by the sayings or rather the commands contained in the Vedas and Smrities. This statement is in strict accordance with the Sayings of Manu and Goutama that "the origin of

* The word "Mimāṃsa" is employed in the course of this paper to signify the "Purvamimāṃsa" of the Jaimini School.

† I. 1-2. I must here add that I have been greatly indebted to the labours of Oriental Scholars for the rendering of passages quoted from the Śāstras. It is only occasionally that I have had to translate differently from them.

all *Dharmas* are the Vedas" (II. 6), and that "the chief authority by which we can understand what is *Dharma* is the Veda." Similarly we find Āpastamba saying, "those that are learned in the laws [*i.e.*, the elders] speak to the effect that the Vedas are the chief authorities." Vyāsa, another well-known author of *Dharmasāstra*, echoes the ideas of Jaimini, as did others before him.

Perhaps a brief account of the *Smrities* may be of help to such of my non-Sanskritist readers as may wish to have an idea of them. The sources of Hindu Law are : the *Sruti* or Vedas, *Smrities*, *Itihāsas* and *Purānas*. The *Srutis* are so called since they were perceived by revelation. These are the four Vedas, including the *Samhita* and *Brahmana* portions. *Smriti* is the collection handed down by *Rishis* in prose or verse. As the Veda was transmitted from teacher to pupil, various versions arose. To facilitate their teachings strings (*Sutras*) of rules were framed to serve the purpose of a *memoria technica* by which the substance of the oral lessons might be recalled to the mind. These *Sutras* are either *Kalpa*, *Grihya*, or *Dharmasutras*, generally all composed by one and the same author. The first of these are rules for the performance of sacrifice, being based on the *Brahmana* portions of the Vedas ; but with these, however, we are not now concerned. The *Grihya Sutras* treat of the household duties of a Brahmin. Modern Oriental research has brought to light the names of the following as the authors of *Grihya Sutras* :—Āsvalāyana†, Śāṅkhāyana†, Śāmbavya, Sounaka for the *Rig Veda* ; Kāthaka†, Bodhāyana†, Bhāradvāja, Sathyāśhāda†, Hiranyakesin, Manu†, Vaikhānasa, Maitrāyiniya†, for the *Black Yajur Veda* ; Gobhila, Karma-pradipa (Kātyāyana's) Khadirā†, for the *Sama Veda* ; Vaijāvapa, Pāraskara†, for the *White Yajur Veda* ; and Kausika-sutra for the *Atharvā Veda*.

Of these only ten however appear to exist, being those that are marked †. These again are not of any great help in the settlement of our question. The *Dharmasutras* are

those which deal with the rules of practical life as laid down by the head of each school (chárana), and therefore embody the precepts and obligations common to all. These rules were handed down from father to son, or teacher to pupil. There appear to have been several authors of the Dharmasutras, as Ápastamba, Bodháyaṇa, Vishnu, Vasishṭa, Goutama, and others who also wrote Grihya and Srautasutras; but these are the only works that now exist. In chronological order they stand thus: Goutama, Háríta, Bodháyaṇa, Ápastamba, Hiranyakésin, Yama, a Manu (author of Mánavasutras, of which the "code" is considered an abridgment), Vishnu, Vasishṭa, Usanas, Kásyapa and Sankha.

Next to the Dharmasutras, we have the Dharmasástras of Manu, Yáṅnavalkya, Parásara, and Nárada. Next to these may be ranked the secondary law books, such as those of Áṅgiras, Atri, Daksha, Dévala, Prajápati, Yama, Likhita, Vyása, Sankha, Sankha-Likhita, Vriddha Sátátapa, Pitámaha, Kásyapa, Gúrga, Kútyáyana, Práchétas, Samvarta, Budha, and Yogayáṅnavalkya. Most of these have the Vriddha (old) and Brihat (large) versions, which with those already mentioned make up 84, the number fixed by Indian writers, although according to Bühler and West's *Digest of Hindu Law* (p. 13 ff.) there are 78 Smrities and 36 different reductions of individual Smrities, making a total of 114 texts—several being of little or no importance. The more important of Smriti writers are known as the "36 Smartas," and are referred to for decisions of vital questions, by such writers as Mádhaváchárya (Commentary on Parásara). There is again a minor classification into 24 Smartas, who are more frequently consulted in disputed questions, and these are the Sutra writers and those mentioned by Yáṅnavalkya (I. 4. 5). According to Parásara (I. 24), Manu's was the code for the Krita age, Goutama for Treta, Sankha-Likhita for Dwápara, and Parásara is for this age (Kali). It may not be out of place here to state that nearly all the available Smrities (41) have been consulted with regard to this question.

With regard to these writings, Jaimini says : “ the Smrities should be accepted as authoritative when they do not clash with the dictum of the Vedas, but rejected if otherwise ”; Āpastamba too is careful to observe that if there are any contradictory passages in the Vedas, Smrities, and Puranas, the order of precedence should be the Vedas first, then the Smrities, and then the Puranas. Vyāsa repeats this, and so does Kātyāyana when he says that when any of the Smrities contradicts the Vedas it should be rejected altogether. The twenty-four well-known writers on Dharmaśāstra—the “ Chaturvimsati Smartas ” in the mouth of every Brahmin Pundit, also speak to the same effect. It is an established principle of Indian jurisprudence that custom which has gradually acquired the force of law should not be followed any longer if contradicting the written law, or Smṛiti ; and so observes Mādhavāchārya as a great authority on Hindu Law in his Jaiminiya Nyāyamā-lāvistara. The Smrities include the Grihya and Dharma Sutras such as those of Āpastamba as well as the metrical codes of Manu and Yāgnavalkya, and the prose Smrities like those of Vishnu. Among these, however, the authority of Manu reigns supreme. The Veda* itself admits his superiority in a passage which has been explained in more than one way by Śāyanāchārya himself. Yāgnavalkya, no mean authority on Hindu Law, admits the superiority of Manu ; and so do several others. But Brihaspati†

* *Yadvaikincha manuravavat tadbhēshajam*. “ What Manu says is like medicine.” This passage occurs in Taittiriya Samhita of the Black Yajur Veda II. 2-10-2, and is also explained in Mādhavāchārya's Commentary on Parāsara. In the former place Śāyanāchārya explains Manu to mean “ Mantra,” and in the latter, the famous lawgiver.

I have carefully gone through both the passages, and am rather inclined to believe that both the interpretations may hold good. The interpretation of the word into “ Manu ” the lawgiver is also followed by Mahādēva in his Commentary on Hiranyakēsi Grihya Sutras.

† Brihaspati XXVII. 2. In the case of a conflict between two Smrities (texts of law), equity should be resorted to ; when the law books are inapplicable, that course should be followed which is indicated by a consideration of the circumstances of the case. 3. (However) the first rank (among legislators) belongs to Manu, because he has embodied the essence

declares in unequivocal language that of all the Smṛiti writers Manu stands foremost, and any other smṛta differing from him should at once be rejected. But although Manu is pre-eminent, still it does not mean that he should be exclusively followed. His decisions are highly authoritative, no doubt, but the other writers should be consulted on points which he does not touch in his "Institutes"; and this is the reason why we have to depend on the other Smṛities. When two or more of such Smṛities lay down different rules not touched upon by Manu, any of these rules are optional: preference is however given, and reference is made, to Parásara whose Smṛiti is, with a few exceptions, *the* Smṛiti for this age, although our Indian Law Courts more frequently rely on Yágnavalkya and Mitákshari. But this principle is only observed in Southern India. Another principle is the fiction of interpretation. The Dharmasastras being quasi-revelations, it is assumed that there somewhere exists a method by which two apparent contradictions can be reconciled: indeed, it is assumed that the Smṛities are not contradictory to each other. But when, however, a general penance is laid down by one Smṛiti for a particular sin in common with several others, it may be overruled by another Smṛiti, which prescribes a special penance for that sin, or wrong committed.* But the penance in every case loses its severity, and will have to be lessened in case of offenders and sinners in the Kaliyug.

Next to the Smṛities come the Commentaries and Digests. Of the Commentaries, those that are held authoritative for settlement of questions of canon law (*e.g.*, sea-travel) are those on Manu, more especially those of Médháthithi, and Kullooka, Vignánésvara's Mitákshari, on Yágnavalkya and Mádhavácháryas on Parásara. Haradatta's Commentaries

of the Veda in his work; that a Smṛiti (or text of law) which is opposed to the tenor of the laws of Manu is not approved.

* *Vide* Mádhaváchárya's Introduction to his Commentary on Parásara's Dharmasástra. Viséshádarsanam yávat távatsámányadarsanam mánaméványadhástésyát sarvagnatvédhikárita.

on Goutama and Āpastamba, and Govinda's on Godhāyana are also very high authorities in Southern India. Of Digest writers, we have, Vaidyanāthadikshita who may be placed in the 17th century B.C., Hémādri about 1200 B.C., the writers of Nirṇaya Sindhu, Dharmasudhu, Smṛiti Ratnākara 15th century B.C., Smṛityarthasāra, and a few works called Ānhikas' (such as those of one Gopālāchārya who lived three centuries ago) and special compilations on a single subject like "Prāyaschitta Kadamba" on penance. These Digests too, are, it should be borne in mind, sources of Indian Canon Law, and not of Civil Law to which the lists given by Mr. J. D. Mayne in his "Hindu Law and Usage" refer.

Itihāsas and Purānas are only valuable when they touch on legal points not dealt with by the Smṛities ; but such cases being extremely rare, they exercise very little authority in matters of Hindu Law.

We have now seen that the term "Śāstra" can be applied by pre-eminence to the Vedas ; and such being the case we shall have to find out whether they prohibit sea-travelling in the same way as "Thou shalt not steal." I shall now subjoin a few extracts from the Rig and other Vedas immediately bearing on this question, and in the order in which they occur, and then discuss their import.

RIG VEDA.

I. 112, 11. With those (your) favours, O liberal (gods), whereby the clouds sent down sweet water for the sake of the merchant Ausija Dirghasravas, (and) with those (favours) with which you protected the poet Kākshivan—with those, O Aswins, do come hither.

I. 116, 3. O Aswins, Tugra, as it is said, left Bhujyu on the sea as a dying man leaves (his wealth). Him you brought home in live ships that moved in the air (and they were) free from contact with the water.

4. O truthful (Aswins), you carried Bhujyu on the wings of the birds that travelled during three nights and

three days in three cars of a hundred wheels on six horses to the dry shore of a humid sea.

5. O Aswins, that was an act of heroism that you in the bottomless, shoreless, and supportless ocean placed Bhujyu in the hundred-oared ship and safely took him to his house.

6. O Aswins, that has become (renowned as) your great (and) praiseworthy generosity that you gave to (Pedu) who had an evil horse, a white horse that ever brought success. The noble steed of Pedu has become worthy of perpetual invocation (by others.)

VII. 88, 3. When (I, Vasishta) and Varuna ascend the ship together, when we send it forth into the midst of the ocean, when we proceed over the waters with swift (sailing vessels), then may we both undulate happily in prosperous swing.

4. So Varuna placed Vasishta in the ship, and by his mighty protection made the Rishi a doer of good works: the wise Varuna placed his worshipper in a happy day of days; he excluded the passing days and the passing nights.

BLACK YAJUR VEDA.

I. 5, 11, 5.

This Earth Prithvi (which is) like a ship, (is) built by Devas, and which protects us from (our) enemies, that which has no holes and that purges off impurities, this (Prithvi) we shall obtain for our good. This (which is of the form of earth), that which possess many weapons, also many trees, without impurities, (and) that which grants our wishes—this ship I have entered into.

SATAPATHA BRÁHMANA (I. 3, 1.)

1. In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself a fish came into his hands.

2. It spake to him the word "Rear me, I will save thee!" "Wherefrom wilt thou save me?" "A flood will carry

all these creatures, from that I will save thee!" "How am I to rear thee?"

3. "As long as we are small there is great destruction for us : fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig me a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction."

4. It soon became a *ghosha* (a large fish) ; for that grows largest (of all fish). Thereupon it said, "In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (*i.e.*, to my advice) by preparing a ship ; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship and I will save thee from it.

5. After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to (the advice of the fish) by preparing a ship ; and when the flood had risen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain.

6. It then said, "I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree, but let not the water cut thee off while thou art on the mountain ; as the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend." Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that (slope) of the northern mountain is called "Manu's descent." The flood then swept away all these creatures and Manu alone remained here.

The first of the passages quoted speaks of Rishi Dirghasravas having carried on traffic over the sea, as Sáyana-chárya tells us in his Bháshya.

The second is still more important inasmuch as it distinctly alludes to the practice of making sea-voyages, and mentions one Bhujyu, son of Tugra, having, by the assistance of the Aswins, made a return journey to his native land. The ship is described as "hundred-oared." So

e a ship could only be built in a country where naval

architecture was greatly advanced. We might even institute a comparison with the best ships of Alexander, if not those of Modern Europe, before the application of steam.

Sáyanáchárya explains that Tugra was a Rájārshi, and a favourite of the Aswins. He sent his son Bhujyu with a large army to invade the kingdom of his enemies beyond the sea. One of the ships which conveyed Bhujyu was wrecked in a storm. Bhujyu therefore at once prayed to the Aswins, and they being very much pleased saved all the crew, and the armies, by taking them into their own vessels and after a voyage of three days and nights they brought him to the shore of his father's kingdom.

These passages, selected out of dozens, show that sea-voyages were made in the ancient days of Vedic sacrifice. There are several other passages in the Vedas in which the sea (*samudra*) is simply alluded to, as in Rig Veda I. 55.2 ;* I. 182.5 : getting over difficulties is compared to being carried to the shore by means of a boat or ship ; ships on the sea are alluded to in Rig Veda I. 25.7 ; I. 46.7 ; I. 97.8 ; I. 99.1 ; I. 131.2 ; II. 39.4 ; V. 54.4 ; V. 59.2 ; VIII. 42.3† ; IX. 70.10 ; Black Yajur Veda 261.1 ; while reference to Bhujyu's travel is made in Rig Veda I. 117.14 ; I. 112.5 ; I. 158.3 ; VII. 68.7 ; X. 143.5. Taittireya A'ranyaka I. 10.2-6).

The third passage is addressed by Vasishtha to Varuna. A wooden ship is here mentioned, as having appeared in the sea, into which Varuna and the Rishi entered ; here he was taught knowledge by the virtue of which he became a Rishi. The fourth here appears freely translated in accordance with the commentary of Sáyanáchárya. Nearly the whole of it appears again in the White Yajur Veda (*Vájasaneya Samhita*, XXI. 6, 7) where it is differently

* The references are to Mandalas and Suktas ; and so throughout this paper.

† The word *nau* occurring in this passage has been explained by the Commentator to refer to sacrifice.

interpreted by Mahidhara, who remarks that it has one application in sacrifice, and another in Smárta deeds and refers to Páráskara* for the latter.

The fifth and last passage contains the Brahmana version of the well-known story of Manu Vaivasvata who at the instance of the fish constructed a ship in which he and the people escaped from the deluge. Manu is here taught divine knowledge by the fish. These passages are so plain in themselves that they need not be discussed: the immediate inferences being that the Vedic Rishis had ships frequently in their minds, and they often compared them with the disappearance of their woes. It is also evident that sea-travel was not prohibited, and that their wooden ships were large enough to require a hundred oars.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTE.—To the *Asiatic Quarterly* belongs the credit of having first appreciated the full importance of a thorough investigation of the subject of *Hindu Sea-Voyages*; the advantages for some Hindus to travel, in modern times, are patent, but it remains to examine the Hindu scriptures, the Hindu written and unwritten laws, the records of the past, on the subject. Did the Hindus of remote ages cross the seas and return without loss of prestige? An affirmative would practically settle the question, and it is therefore for the *A. Q. R.* to encourage and publish research in this field. As an example of the importance the matter is assuming, we quote the following telegram from the *Times* of August 22nd, 1892: "For some time past the question has been much discussed among the more enlightened section of orthodox Hindus whether their scriptures really sanction the common belief that a sea-voyage involves the penalty of loss of caste. The subject was fully discussed at a large representative meeting held on Friday under the presidency of one of the most respected leaders of the orthodox party, the Maharajah Sir Narendra Krishna. The opinion was all but unanimously expressed that some practical steps should be taken. Pundit Mohesh Chunder Nyaratna, a great authority on Vedic literature, stated that he had thoroughly studied the question, and had come to the conclusion that nothing in the Shastras was opposed to sea-voyages or to residence in foreign countries provided that Hindu usages were observed. This meeting marks a distinctly forward step on the part of the Hindu community."—ED.

* Grihyasutras III. 15, 10 and 11.

ENGLAND'S HONOUR TOWARD INDIA.

BY DADABHAI NAOROJI, M.P.

THAT England has done great good to India goes without saying. She has given to India a new political life, she has taught her the greatest political lesson:—that kings or governments are for the people, in place of the older and Oriental maxim and principle that the people are for the king. To enable India to understand and feel this new political life and enlightenment and to rise to modern civilization, England has not hesitated to give to India its own literature, science and arts, and to educate the Indians to the level of Englishmen. England has also freely given to India some of its most cherished institutions—institutions for which England has herself fought hard and bled. She has given freedom of speech and freedom of the Press—security of life and property, and law and order. Never in all past history have the rulers of any Empire bestowed such blessings and earned a corresponding gratitude.

I do not dilate further upon England's good work in India, more than to say that the educated and thinking Indians fully appreciate these blessings and are beyond all manner of doubt deeply grateful.

Here is the testimony of the Government of India itself. In their letter of 8th June 1880 to the Secretary of State they say:—

“To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of the British Power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion.”

The more deeply the Indians are grateful, and the more they feel induced to be attached to and wishful for the long continuance of the British rule, the more they deplore and feel grieved that all these blessings should be nullified by one act of unfaithfulness to, or dishonour of her most solemn pledges by England.

The people of India know full well that the British people are not responsible for this dishonour. In fact it is the British people who have given these pledges in the most solemn manner possible, but it is their servants—the British Indian officials—to whom the fulfilment of their pledges is entrusted, who have been untrue to their charge. I am not writing this in any indignation nor do I mean to blame any individual official. I take it for granted that every official does his duty as is required of him. It is the system, which the British Indian Government (first the East India Company and now the Crown) have adopted and persistently adhered to, that is at fault. I must also explain here that the remarks of this paper apply only to British India and not to Native States. The Native States, not suffering from this system, have every reason to bless their stars, that under British supremacy they benefit in every possible way. I may just remark in passing, that it is a great pity that by a little want of tact, and the want of discretion and thought on the part of Political officials at their courts, unnecessary irritation and dissatisfaction is produced among them. This however is a subject I must for the present leave alone. It is the system of administration of British India, in which British solemn pledges are deliberately broken, and the British word is beginning to be felt by the Indians to be a sham and delusion.

I shall now make a simple statement of these pledges which have not been honourably fulfilled, and then point out the only way which officials of eminence have deliberately laid down to relieve the British name from this dishonour. The Indians have given up all hope from the officials. They appeal to the British Public; and they ask the British Public to insist that the pledges and word of the British People shall be faithfully carried out.

THE PLEDGES OF THE LAST SIXTY YEARS.

The first deliberate pledge by an Act of Parliament was given in 1833.

The Act said :—"That no native of the said territories

nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company."

Macaulay then called this measure "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause. . . . I must say that to the last day of my life I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. . . . We are told that the time can never come when the Natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. . . . Against that proposition I solemnly protest as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality. . . . We are free, we are civilized to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization. . . . I have no fears, the path of duty is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour."

I am sorry I cannot give here his whole speech. In the same strain did other eminent statesmen of the day speak.

The Court of Directors wrote grand despatches, but never fulfilled honourably this great pledge. I let Mr. Bright give his testimony as to this. In 1853, after stating the provisions of the clause of 1833, he said:—

"Whereas, as matter of fact from that time to this, no person in India had been so employed, who might not have been equally employed before that clause was enacted." Lord Monteagle then said:—"There had been a practical exclusion of them from all 'covenanted services' as they were called, from the passing of the last charter up to the present time." Further extracts are unnecessary. So the Act of 1833 remained a dead letter and a dishonour to the British name.

After the Mutiny came the great Proclamation of 1858,—India's great and most cherished Charter. This proclama-

tion revived in more clear, emphatic and decided terms the pledge of 1833—

“We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations by the blessings of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

“And it is our further will, that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.

“In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.”

Can pledges be more solemn, and more binding than this?

All we ask is let this be honourably and faithfully performed, which is not yet done.

These promises have been repeated to the day of the Jubilee.

We appeal to the British people to make these promises a reality and give them an honourable fulfilment—instead of making them, as the British Indian authorities have done, a seed of discontent and a distrust of Britain's word as a mere sham and delusion. What is the remedy? How is this pledge to be performed honourably? The answer has been given a third of a century ago by eminent British Indian officials. Before giving this, I may point out that in 1853 Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) had to a remarkable extent foreshadowed the true remedy. He then said “He could not refrain from expressing his conviction that in refusing to carry on examinations in India as well as in England—a thing that was easily practicable—the Government were, in fact, negating that

which they declared to be one of the principal objects of their bill, and confining the Civil Service, as heretofore, to Englishmen. That result was unjust, and he believed it would be most pernicious."

Now the remedy is most deliberately laid down by a Committee of five Members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, appointed by Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State, and composed of Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbutnot, Mr. Macnaghten, and Sir Erskine Perry.

This Committee made a report on 20th January 1860—since which the Indian Universities have prospered and an immense progress in education and other ways has taken place. I cannot give here the whole report. The Committee admitted that though the law declared the Natives as eligible to the services, practically they were excluded—and they then said that were the inequality which compelled the Natives to compete in England removed, "we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping a promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." Here then is the admission of eminent members of the India Office itself, that the British Government were guilty of the dishonesty of making "a promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." Then what is the remedy this Committee proposed—to fulfil their promises with honour and honesty? I give it in their own words.

"Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is, by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature; and those who compete in either country being finally classified in one list according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee *have no hesitation* (the italics are

mine) in giving the preference to the second scheme as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

Here then is the true remedy and the principal one of all India's evils, excepting that of representatives in the Indian Legislative Councils, and in the Imperial Parliament. Simultaneous examinations, both in England and India, for all the services for which Examinations are held in England is the chief means of England's true honour, greatness and glory,—of India's satisfaction with the British rule,—of the removal of India's "extreme poverty," and not only of promoting India's material and moral prosperity, but of the far more increasing prosperity *of England herself*. To use Macaulay's words it is "sound policy and sound morality." It is "the path of duty" and also "the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour." . . . "That would, indeed, be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it an useless and costly dependency—which would keep a hundred (now 285) millions of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves."

KOREA.*

BY A. MICHIE.

THIS ancient cockpit of Extreme Asia finds itself in a kind of eddy in which political corks and driftwood are whirled and washed about in a confusing mass of froth. The main currents which meet in the peninsula are, first and foremost of course, the secular policy of the Chinese empire which requires Korea as a buttress, in defence of which Chinese dynasties have never hesitated to lavish blood and treasure. With ten-fold force has the value of Korea come home to the government of China since it learned to realize the suicidal character of its cession of the Manchuria coast to Russia, by which act China barred her own access to the Japan Sea, excepting by the way of Korea. Then there are the Japanese, who by right of invasions and in virtue of their having for 300 years maintained a small commercial foothold at one port, Fusan, considered that the honour of their country was engaged in asserting a theoretical claim to suzerainty over Korea, but who had long since got tired of the expense of keeping up the formality. Out of this lapsed pretension however Japan extracted material for her assumption of a leading part in the external relations of the country, which she has since amply justified by her commerce. Thirdly, there is the arctic current of Russian domination. Russia marches with Korea, and has the same permanent interest in embracing the peninsula within her sphere of influence as China has in retaining it within hers. Besides these three positive currents, which are strong, there is a kind of negative or passively resisting current, if the metaphor may be so outraged, representing the unavowed policy of the other powers of the world who, having no direct concern in

* Such is the spelling now generally adopted in the East, and if the letter K is to serve any purpose whatever in our alphabet, it could not be more legitimately employed than as the initial of this word.

the peninsula, yet think they have a reversionary interest in preventing or retarding its absorption by any great Power, whether Asiatic or European. There may, moreover, be mentioned a sentimental current operating in Korean affairs, of which the propagandism of the United States is perhaps the best representative. This is a great force, as it combines politics with religion.

In the midst of these alien and conflicting forces the position of the government of Korea is not to be envied, or admired. The government has, apparently, no political backbone, nor could it stand upright for a week without leaning on some other Power. The Power which bears the weight of Korea is China, standing to the King as a judicious guardian to his ward, wielding supreme authority but exercising it only in emergencies. Light-hearted foreigners, who act as if they thought the history of the country dated only from 1882, never cease to instigate Korea to throw off her bonds, and declare her independence even as did the revolted colonies of glorious memory. A caged bird given its liberty would not be more helpless, or be more expeditiously gobbled up.

Some ten years ago China's awakened instincts, stimulated by a forward movement on the part of Japan in 1876, warned her that the *status quo* in Korea could not be indefinitely maintained, and the King's government was advised to open the peninsula to general foreign trade. Li Hung-chang drafted the first treaty, to serve as a pattern for all the rest, put it in the hands of the American Commodore Shufeldt, and escorted him to Korea with a Chinese squadron. Within a month the whole series of treaties was concluded. So sudden was the decision; so swift the execution of the Chinese behest. By this means it was thought to enlist the common interest of the Western Powers as a protection against the possible assertion of special interests by any one of them; but judging from what has already followed from these treaties China's object in causing them to be made has not been very

successfully safeguarded. Indeed the seeds of future commotion were embedded in the very text of the treaties. They were prefaced by and based on the untrue statement that Korea was an independent State, which was, however, qualified by a letter from the King to each of the treaty Powers declaring that although he was independent enough to sign treaties, he remained in fact the vassal of China—a contradiction in terms, certain to work woe to the country.

The Treaty Powers adopted diverse attitudes towards Korea, according to their several interests and sympathies. Some of them assumed, in spite of the King's letter, the actual independence of the kingdom, while others kept up in a wavering and inconsistent manner an allegiance to the royal holograph. The outside Power which, next to Japan, has most consistently taken the lead in Korean affairs, and more particularly since 1871, is the United States, which on the conclusion of their treaty at once accredited a Minister Plenipotentiary to the Royal Court. Russia sent a Consul-General and *Chargé d'affaires*; France sent a Consul and *Commissaire*; Germany a Consul; Great Britain a Consul-General; Japan a Resident Minister and *Chargé d'affaires*; China a "Resident." Of these various forms of representatives of the Western Powers that of Great Britain happens to be the most, while that of the United States is the least, in harmony with the actual facts of the situation; the British representative being strictly subordinate to our Minister in Peking, while the American is himself a Minister of full rank, accredited to a Prince whose policy is controlled by a Suzerain to whom the Minister is not accredited. The positions of the others are nondescript and inconsistent.

The results of such a diplomatic *pot-pourri* have of course been anything but satisfactory, and the end has not yet been reached. There is enough in the confused and illogical relations into which the government has been forced with the foreign representatives to provide a perennial crop of misunderstandings tending no one knows whither.

The element in the situation which reduces the present

diplomatic relations of Korea to an unworkable impossibility is the special position of the Chinese Resident, the only one free from ambiguity. That official occupies quite another platform than that of the ordinary diplomatic agents, and is accorded in the royal presence privileges which none of his colleagues enjoy. They, for example, have to stop their sedans at the palace gate and walk a considerable distance to the audience hall, while the Chinese Resident's chair is carried through the gates and into the precincts. Many other like distinctions emphasize the fact that the Resident is quite another personage from the rest of the foreign representatives, no matter by what title they may be designated. In a word, he represents the Suzerain, exactly as the Resident at the Court of an Indian rajah does.

Had the true relation between China and Korea been thoroughly realized before making the treaties, or even after making them, it is open to doubt whether the Western Powers would have appointed any representative to the kingdom above the rank of Consul. But now that the thing is done it may be impossible to revoke it. One boot has in fact been made, and though it does not fit the foot the only alternative is to make the foot fit the boot, which is exactly the process that has been going on since the day when foreign representatives established themselves in the country. Some foreign Powers which are inclined to rest on the verbal construction of their treaties, disregarding the King's express reservation, make believe to act as if Korea were indeed the independent country she is fictitiously held out to be in her treaties. But the ulterior consequences of all such living contradictions must be disagreeable, at least to some of the parties concerned.

No doubt the responsibility for these contradictions rests primarily on China; for they have arisen entirely from her favourite tactics of blowing hot and cold with regard to Korea *vis-à-vis* with other Powers, though in her direct relations with Korea there has been no vacillation. Resolute in disclaiming responsibility for the acts of the Koreans

where foreigners were aggrieved, she yet retained and exercised as she pleased, her full Suzerain authority. In short, she sought to combine the advantages of two incompatible theories of the *status* of Korea ; and if she should eventually suffer the fate of those who try to sit upon two stools it will be her own fault.

The effect of the diplomatic mess on the Koreans themselves is anything but wholesome. They are an indolent, docile, but highly intelligent people, albeit deficient in some of the qualities which are essential to the success of modern states. How far such deficiencies are racial, and how far they result from the circumstances of their national history may be a question for Sociologists to discuss. What meets the eye are a court and hierarchy, to outward appearance, without any developed ideas of nationality or patriotism. Foreign observers are perhaps too prone to regard this defect as a result of historical evolution, and some are no less prone to suggest as a remedy the reversal of the historic stream.

It is sufficient however for practical purposes to note this one effect of the sudden relaxation of political ties brought about by the intercourse with foreigners, that egoism is become the ruling force in the State ; for it is on this discovery that adventurers of all kinds trade. The country was found by foreigners phenomenally poor, as nations go, and the officials from high to low eager to get money. In order to profit by putting money in their pockets in the form of bait, schemes of the most bizarre description were set on foot ; loans were made to Government on certain considerations, the proceeds going into the palace to be squandered on follies ; steamers were bought ; machinery of costly descriptions was imported ; and extravagant buildings were erected—all at the instance of foreigners and for the purpose of enabling certain coteries of officials to exact a percentage. This worthy purpose having been accomplished, the expensive toys were allowed to rust, and were put aside for new schemes, to end in the same manner. The King

himself was gracious, and would sanction anything that cost money and enriched the *protégés* of the Court. Presuming on the royal *complaisance* indeed foreigners have been found bold enough to tempt him to sell his country to foreign bond-holders, certain Chinese schemers having been particularly distinguished for the assiduity with which they have plied this temptation.

Western nations, speaking of them in the block, have never presented themselves to the Koreans in an engaging light. The two with whom, misled by bad advisers, and ignorant of what they were doing, they came into actual conflict, carried fire and sword into the country without a rag of justification ; while if Japan be considered, no words can adequately depict the unprovoked ravages she has inflicted on the unhappy country. Even in the way of peaceable negotiation, Great Powers have condescended to use subterfuges with the helpless little kingdom such as a Korean child might see through. The pretence of making treaties for the protection of shipwrecked persons was a gross insult to a nation which had always been distinguished for its hospitality to castaways—without any treaty whatever. With one thing and another none of the foreign nations inspired Korea with any feeling of respect either for their morality or humanity ; for of those of which she had no experience she could only judge by what she knew of those with which she had had dealings. Whether the fear and deep distrust engendered during the close time have been altogether removed by the blandishments which have been exchanged since the establishment of free intercourse, is at least open to question. With all their virtues and failings the Koreans are credited with powers of dissimulation far exceeding those of other Asiatics, and he would be a dupe who accepted their caresses as other than bids for illicit favours.

The opening of the country to trade had no doubt a more legitimate ring about it than any of the other pretexts on which intercourse was attempted with Korea, and it was

eventually under this flag that general foreign intercourse with the peninsula was established. Ten years have since elapsed, time enough to afford some indication of the value of the commercial basis of foreign relations, and thanks to the admirable statistical system which China has extended to the little kingdom, the data are served up to us in a very digestible form. From the Customs returns for 1891 we learn that the whole foreign trade of Korea is practically divided between Great Britain, China and Japan, the last named disposing of the whole of the exports. Yet the circumstances of the respective countries are so different that while a Japanese population of some 7,000 settlers at the three Korean ports conduct the Japanese portion of the trade, not a single British merchant is established in the country, British goods being imported by the medium of Japanese, Chinese, or others. The following synopsis of the trade of 1891 tells its own tale :

IMPORTS FROM				£ STERLING.	NUMBER OF NATIONALS RESIDENT.
Great Britain and dependencies	-	-	-	420,000	0
Japan	-	-	-	140,000	7,000
China	-	-	-	110,000	2,000
Germany	-	-	-	35,000	2
United States	-	-	-	27,000	1
France	-	-	-	10,000	0
Holland	-	-	-	4,000	0
Austria	-	-	-	3,000	0
Belgium	-	-	-	400	0
Russia	-	-	-	130	0

EXPORTS TO

Japan - - - - - £ 285,000.

The shipping table is also interesting :

TONNAGE ENTERED AND CLEARED DURING 1891.

British	-	-	1,430	Japanese	-	-	311,754
Chinese	-	-	11,263	Russian	-	-	18,893
German	-	-	7,657	Korean	-	-	7,148

On this table the only remark to be made is that the Russian tonnage represents the official calls of two subsidized steamers at two Korean ports during the year, on their voyages between Vladivostock and Shanghai ; and that the German tonnage consists of the repeated entries and clearances of one steamer sold to the Korean Government, but for financial reasons, still carrying her original flag, and employed solely by the Government in coast service.

Chinese merchants it may be observed are making rapid headway in Korea ; and as to their superior commercial instincts they add remarkable popularity with the Korean people, they are not unlikely in the long run to gain the lion's share of the future foreign trade of Korea, though their genius for organization will doubtless enable the enterprising Japanese to retain the carrying trade which they manage so well, in which moreover their absorption of all the export products of Korea gives them a decided advantage.

The hollowness of the commercial pretext being thus exposed the Korean government now see their suspicions of the true designs of the foreign Powers fully justified ; but since they cannot rid themselves of the incubus they naturally cast about for means of turning their unwelcome guests to account. As the foreigners have set up a ferment in Korea, so the Koreans retort by setting up a ferment among the foreigners who come within their reach, sending them on all sorts of wild-goose chases if by any means some needful coin is to be extracted through their exertions. It is hard to imagine what would ere this have been the fate of the kingdom did not China supply ballast to the government. But she is always ready to impose her veto when the wild-cat schemes of Korean and foreign intriguers threaten to disturb the international equilibrium. It is in fact China alone that has prevented the peninsula going into pawn for the private benefit of individuals.

The royal family, especially on the Queen's side, are universally pronounced to be greedy, and the government of the country is popularly believed to be carried on pri-

marily to enrich the family of Min. All offices of power or trust are being filled by its members, and everything lucrative is put in their way. Naturally the good fortune of the "Haves" excites the envy of the "Have nots," and there is a chronic and perhaps increasing discontent among the nobles, from which the King himself is under a constant apprehension. From the same source is also fed the popular dissatisfaction which is said to be spreading; but the people have griefs enough of their own to justify insurrection at any given moment. They are reputed to be the most oppressed people on the face of the earth, and the exaction of officials is always given as their reason for idleness, it being quite useless for the common people to own the least property, personal or real. All that is doubtless true; and yet the back has so adjusted itself to the burden that the Koreans are entirely free from the outward signs of misery so common in other countries: no squalor meets the eye either in village or city, and their only crying want, which most strangers would agree upon, is that of soap. The oppression of the nobles may have had the effect of checking the increase of population, a doubtful blessing perhaps, but yet a feature in national life which is not without its advantages. Recent estimates by the way have reduced the nominal population of the peninsula very considerably, some writers putting the figures as low as five millions.

Under such a régime as the present men of true public spirit have naturally no show, and as has so often happened in misgoverned countries the patriots are in exile. Such is in fact the condition of one of the best and most loyal of modern Korean statesmen, Kim Yun Sik, who was Foreign Minister during the Port Hamilton incident and the Russian scare of 1885. It fell to this official to take over the *damnosa hereditas* left by a clever but wrong-headed man whom China sent to Korea to pilot the Government through the unknown waters of international intercourse, whose financial and political enterprises plunged

the country into difficulties from which it has never recovered. But Kim Yun Sik was too pure a man to keep his head above water in such a time of confusion when treasonable intrigues were stronger than the claims of disinterested service ; and he was glad to escape into retirement and poverty.

In different circumstances the Koreans might be allowed to misgovern or sell themselves as much as they pleased without ruffling the serenity of foreign nations. But like some other thriftless people they happen to occupy a piece of territory which greatly interests some of the other Powers in the world. In one view they are like an unimprovable family on a valuable estate, an eyesore and an obstruction to their neighbours ; in another they are Naboths, neither more nor less. The paternal interest which China under successive dynasties has taken in the affairs of the peninsula has, we may be sure, been by no means platonic. In all times of danger the "big country" has come to the rescue of the "little country ;" nor has she withheld assistance in times of famine, or when the reigning house needed support against insurrection. Of her pecuniary advances to Korea, China has never demanded the refund of a cent—a fact that, by the way, may in part explain the extreme levity with which Korea now regards financial obligations generally. During the Japanese invasions of 1592 and 1597, China threw as much energy into the protection of the peninsula as if it had been an integral portion of her own territory. And if she has exacted from the King the full tale of homage due from a vassal, it was from no promptings of Oriental bombast, but from a most practical sense of the value of an outpost of her empire, which, in Korean phrase, is as "the lips to the teeth," and of whose allegiance the Emperors could never afford to leave the faintest doubt.

The bearing of China and Japan towards each other in relation to Korea, since both have ostensibly joined the comity of nations, is interesting to observe, though difficult

to define. They are like combatants who have long been fighting in the dark but are now dragged out into the world's daylight where they are partly ashamed and partly pleased to find that they cannot continue the feud without the risk of other parties taking a hand in the game. In past times these great nations had no other battle-ground than the Korean peninsula, each using it in turn as a stepping-stone to the territory of the other. China has throughout been the consistent friend and patron of the "little country," and not merely in the general sense of endowing it with her literature and civilization, while Japan has been the equally consistent and ruthless enemy, notwithstanding that Japan stands indebted to Korea as the intermediate source of all her literature, art, and civilization.

It was an odd outcome of the wars between China and Japan, both countries claimed the submission of Korea ; but in the one case the claim was real, practical and operative, while in the other it was fantastical and vainglorious. China calmly maintains her historical tutelary relation to the peninsula, in which Japan acquiesces, yet not without some chafing and jibbing at the position ; and she has even given shelter to a kind of anti-Chinese propaganda. The revolutionary party in Korea—for the country would be poor indeed that could dispense with such a luxury—base themselves by instinct on Japanese support—not that of the Government, of course, but of the sciolists of the malcontent classes who never cease from troubling either their own or some other country. The different circumstances of China and Japan may be expected to always keep a clear distinction between the attitudes of their respective representatives in Seoul ; and allowing for the personal characteristics of the successive incumbents of the office, the one may be generally expected to be an intriguer, the other an anti-intriguer. One thing, however, which steadies the hand of the Japanese representative is the rapid development of Korean trade, of which his countrymen enjoy so large a share. It is just the absence of any such substantial

and avowable interest that renders so uncertain the course of the majority of the other foreign representatives, who are called on to construct their bricks of policy without the straw of any national interest that can be decently expressed in words.

The invertebrate political character of the Koreans, as at present displayed, is irreconcilable with either their ancient or recent history. The dogged resolution with which for many centuries they guarded their frontiers, often desolating wide tracts of their own territory to prevent invaders from obtaining food or cover; their jealousy of encroachment, which even China was obliged to respect; the decided stand they took against the introduction of Christianity; and the courage with which they held their ground, as far as their antiquated means allowed, when attacked by the French in 1866, and by the Americans in 1871, avouch a race not devoid of manhood and a government that knows its own mind. The signature of half a dozen parchments has not, we may be sure, subverted the national character, though it may have induced a temporary suspension of its activity. The new forces, which have from without been let loose on the country, have not as yet arrived at any accommodation among themselves; and the Korean rulers, conscious that their destiny is not in their own keeping, yet unable to foresee where the balance of power is ultimately to settle, probably consider the present a time peculiarly appropriate for circumspection. While waiting the issue of events, Government and officials attend to their private affairs and diligently make hay while the sun shines.

Whether the present quiet interval in Korean affairs be the introduction to a permanent calm, or whether it be as the ominous lull which is experienced in the vortex of a cyclone, one thing is sure, that the country is passing through an important crisis. Hence those among the foreign Powers which feel practically interested in the fate of Korea keep the broader issues always in view, little recking of the daily trifles that fill up the official life of the capital. The Power

having the deepest interest in Korea is, as has been said, China, and her representative holds himself carefully aloof from the squabbles of the hour, keeping his head clear and his eye fixed on the great secular issues. The Power whose interest is second only to that of China likewise maintains an attitude of vigilant reserve, not perhaps altogether displeased to see occasional triturations going on among the others ; for in every scrimmage he who waits and watches generally secures whatever prize may be of value.

In the meantime, while great changes may be in process of incubation, it is satisfactory to note some improvement in the condition of the people. The soil is generous, and capable of producing much more than it has yet done. The demand for their products for export has offered to the cultivators and traders fresh inducements to exertion which have already led to good results, and the trade of the open ports has caused a new stream of wages to circulate among some thousands of labourers. The moral and intellectual nature of the people is being at the same time operated on by Government teachers imported from abroad, and by missionaries who have been attracted in great numbers to the "Hermit Kingdom." The result of this mental stimulation will be for future observation. It will be a compound result ; for the missionaries mix political socialism largely with their religious instruction, and many of them believe that a democratic form of government is the panacea for worldly ills. This new wine may intoxicate, or it may fortify, the Korean people, but it will not leave them as they are. Something will come out of all this social commotion. What ? is the question.

Island of Pontiatine, near Vladivostock,
3rd July, 1892.

THE CONDITION OF MOROCCO.

BY A RESIDENT.

THE ANGERA REVOLT.

THE chief interest of the Angera revolt consists in the illustration it affords of the usual condition of this most Western of all the Mohammedan governments.

As the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* are doubtless aware, the Sultan of Morocco is an independent sovereign owing no allegiance to Constantinople. The present ruler, Mulai El Hassan is about sixty years of age, a man of unusually fine presence and gracious manners. He is the twelfth, or according to Di Hemso the thirteenth, monarch of the Filali, Shereefian dynasty, claiming descent from Fatima the daughter of the Prophet. From this fact he derives the distinction implied by the term "Shereef" or holy. He generally resides at the city of Fez of which the population, in the absence of any census, is roughly estimated at about 70,000. The city of Morocco farther to the south, where the Sultan also has a palace and a numerous establishment, shares the honour, with Fez. of being one of the two capitals of the Empire.

Tangier, nearly opposite to Gibraltar, may, however, be considered the diplomatic capital since the foreign Representatives, and also the native delegate for Foreign affairs, Sid Mohammed Torres, all reside there.

The province of Angera lies along the coast directly opposite to Gibraltar, beginning on the eastern side of the bay of Tangier and extending to Ceuta, the Spanish fortified penal colony, or establishment.

The population of the province is of Riffian or, to speak more accurately, of Berber extraction like most of the hill tribes of Morocco, and is said to muster in all about 17,000 fighting men of whom many are now armed with Remingtons, Winchester repeaters and other guns of European manufacture.

Most of the inhabitants are peasant farmers of the poorer sort, but they are manly and independent and generally superior in character to the people of the larger towns and of the plains where the Arab element prevails.

In 1860 they offered a sturdy opposition to the advance of the Spaniards, under O'Donnel, upon Tetuan, but although ready to take up arms for the defence of their country the Angerites have never submitted to the draft or military conscription to supply the Sultan's regular troops or "Askari" as the Sultan's infantry are termed.

For some years this province has been subject to the exactions of a Kaid or Basha appointed by the Sultan, named Dris Emkishet who is noted both for his rapacity and duplicity.

In the spring of this year various Kabyles in the neighbourhood of Tangier had, as may be remembered, protested against the repeated extortions of a Basha of similar character, Abd-es-Sadok, the governor of the Tangier bashalik. Several of the latter's subordinates were attacked and one, after being warned off, was killed whilst attempting to collect a market tax at one of the villages subject to Abd-es-Sadok.

As the disturbance might, at any moment, affect Tangier the English despatched H.M.S. *Thunderer* to protect the interests of their flag; and the French, Italian and Spanish governments followed suit.

Alarmed at the presence of the frigates and fearing a possible European intervention or an attempt to occupy Tangier, the Sultan decided to remove Abd-es-Sadok and appointed in his place one of the latter's cousins, Abd-er-Rahman, lately governor of Oujdah near the Algerian frontier and formerly lieutenant-governor or Kalifa at Tangier.

The new incumbent by the union of firmness with a conciliatory attitude soon restored order.

The Sultan, however, had good reason to fear that this enforced concession to the demands of the Kabyles of the Tangier district might prove a dangerous precedent.

Even prior to the appointment of Abd-er-Rahman circumstances had occurred which were destined to lead to more serious trouble.

In 1887 Sir Wm. Kirby Green, the then English Minister at Tangier, had secured by an energetic demonstration the establishment of telegraphic communication with Gibraltar, and, at the juncture we are now speaking of, 1891-92, the Spaniards had laid a second cable connecting Tangier with Algeciras. It was moreover understood that they desired to continue the wire, by a shore line, overland from Tangier bay to Ceuta, that is across the Angera territory.

The Angerites knew that the Sultan had long refused the English demands to be allowed to lay their cable and they were sure he was not likely to desire any extension, English or Spanish, of these almost invisible means of communication, which, to the Moorish imagination, represented not only merely the figurative abbreviation of the distance between themselves and the much-feared European, but which were actually believed by many of the ignorant natives to be nothing less than cables for dragging the continent of Africa bodily over towards the shores of the Giaour and the Kaffre.

The sheik of one of the nearest Moorish villages was the since celebrated El H'mam, a young and vigorous peasant farmer but little accustomed to official procedure, who believed he would incur the Sultan's undying gratitude if he could prevent the landing of the shore and of the Spanish cable and who was determined under no circumstances to allow the overland wires to be laid across the Angera territory to Ceuta.

The Spanish minister protested against this threatened obstruction and orders from Fez were consequently received for the arrest of El H'mam. The latter, however, not only declined to surrender himself, but the native officials who were sent to effect his arrest were fired upon.

Up to this time there had been no collision between the

Governor of Angera, Dris Emkishet, and El H'mam who had, indeed, been appointed "sheik" by Emkishet himself; but the latter, being responsible for El H'mam's arrest, which he could not effect without exposing his emissaries to peril, resorted to a treacherous ruse.

Dris Emkishet's official abode was at the neighbouring town of Arzila, but he also owned the Emkishet residence at Tangier and here he invited H'mam to dine and hold a conference on the occasion of one of the national or religious feasts. At the moment when his unsuspecting guest seated himself, Dris gave the sign for his arrest, the signal being the religious formula of invoking Allah's blessing upon the repast.

The Mehaznia or soldiers, concealed behind a curtain, threw themselves upon El H'mam who struggling desperately but ineffectually, was bound, heavily ironed, and taken to the Tangier public prison.

One of my own household, who was passing the Emkishet residence at the time, saw H'mam dragged out by the soldiery. The news quickly spread and everywhere provoked the utmost indignation as a violation of the right of hospitality which should be especially sacred to the Mohammedan since it is insisted upon by the Koran.

With the capture of H'mam began the serious difficulty of the situation; for some time the authorities fearing an attempt at rescue did not venture to send the prisoner to Fez. After several months, however, he was despatched under a strong guard and still loaded with chains, but, as had been expected, H'mam never reached the capital. Excited rumours distorted the event in every conceivable manner. Some fancied he had been rescued after a bloody encounter, or that his guards, in obedience to secret instructions from Dris, had murdered their prisoner and hidden his body. Others imagined there had been some miraculous intervention and that a celestial envoy had struck off the prisoner's irons and blinded his guards. The only certainty was that H'mam had disappeared.

The truth was that the friends who followed close at hand availed themselves of a dark and stormy night when H'mam's guards, possibly in accordance with some secret bribe, had taken refuge in a cave; when they awoke they found their prisoner gone leaving only his jilab, or woollen outer garments, with his irons lying on the ground.

The next incident in the drama was H'mam's reappearance in Angera, among his people, the Uled Jimmel. It is related that the messenger who conveyed this unwelcome news to Dris was imprisoned for his trouble. When, however, the story was confirmed, when it was evident that H'mam was not only back at Beni Jimmel but that he had visited Tangier and had not only sacrificed a bullock at the shrine of the patron saint of the town, the mosque of Sidi Mohammed Bel Hadj on the slope commanding the outer market, but had also visited the young Shereefs of Wazan at the house of their mother, an English woman, and when Dris, moreover, learned from a letter H'mam sent, that the latter, disguised as a woman,—for the hero of Beni Jimmel is slight of build and feature,—had even watched Emkishet in the fancied security of his home and could relate the very order and arrangement of the viands served upon Emkishet's table, then the pock-marked features of Dris's hatchet face, sharp and meagre as of some evil bird of prey, grew pallid with fear. And if the story, believed by the natives, be true, viz., that it was Dris himself who had urged H'mam to obstruct the landing of the shore-end of the Spanish cable, knowing all the while that to obey the injunction would lead to H'mam's destruction, then, indeed, Emkishet had cause to dread retaliation.

To avoid the immediate danger, Dris decided upon a pilgrimage to Mecca; but, unluckily, Imperial letters from the Sultan, insisting that Dris himself should take the field and effect H'mam's recapture, prevented the Basha's departure.

And now Emkishet's troubles began in earnest. No force sufficient for his purpose could be raised either at Arzila, Tangier or any neighbouring district, for every-

where the people sympathized with H'mam. So troops had to be summoned from the capital. The Kaids who accompanied them must be paid ; especially the Commander-in-chief, a very Falstaff in girth, in appetite, and, as it proved, also in courage—one Moquetar, the son of El Jammai a late prime minister. This truculent warrior must be propitiated, so whatever of side equipment adorned the person, or the horse, or the house of Emkishet was presently appropriated by "the Elephant," as the natives dubbed the portly generalissimo of the Sultan's ravenous troops. These, too, must be fed, partly at Dris's expense, for had they not come to risk their lives in his quarrel with his rebellious subordinate ?

In the meantime Angera girded up its loins for the fray. The Beni Wadras, the Beni M'saur, and other Kabyles also sent detachments to fight for El H'mam, but not against the Sultan—no ! they all protested their loyalty, but Dris Emkishet should not be their Basha. Of that they would not hear at any cost.

In the meantime they counted on the Sultan's fear of foreign intervention to make him accede to their demands. Why should not Emkishet fall in the autumn as Abd-es-Sadok had fallen in the spring ?

Alas, for the Angerites ! two things had happened since then to alter the situation.

Firstly, there had been the expedition to Fez, of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, H.B.M.'s Minister, in order to negotiate a new and more favourable commercial treaty. As all the world knows, the Sultan, after apparently acceding to Sir Charles' demands, had, possibly at the instigation of another Power, abruptly declined to concede a single point. The members of the mission had been insulted and mobbed, yet the British lion had not so much as growled. "Is, then, the beast stuffed with straw, or is he merely of painted cardboard ?" had asked the astonished natives ; "for have we not pulled his very beard, yet he has not roared even the smallest of roars !"

The anxious courtiers at Fez had, moreover, been, since then, doubly reassured, for not only had Lord Salisbury's ministry been succeeded on the 4th of August by Mr. Gladstone's Government, but before the former's resignation Lord Salisbury had issued the blue-book on Morocco, when it had at once become apparent to the Sultan and his advisers that they had suffered from a purely gratuitous and unfounded panic in the spring—for, in his despatches, Lord Salisbury had not only forbidden Sir Charles to employ the only means by which he could have reasonably hoped to secure the slightest concession, viz., the use of menace or other coercive pressure, but his Lordship had specifically declared his aversion to anything that might be construed as the assumption of a protectorate even of the most vague or indirect kind, by Great Britain.

It was now patent to all the world that the fear of complications with France would not only make England avoid a rupture with Morocco, but would even prevent her from resenting the indignities which had been heaped upon the British mission at Fez.

The Sultan, therefore, might safely do as he liked in his own house, and, if we accept his own official despatches, what he at one time wished was, to exterminate the Angerites.

As to El H'mam, he had been formally excommunicated or cursed by Imperial decree—a measure which sent a shudder throughout Angera, as by this time the friends of H'mam had committed themselves beyond recall. For, already, in the latter part of June, fighting had commenced.

When the Sultan's forces had attempted to enter the Angera territory they were warned off by some of H'mam's men posted behind the hedges of a garden, belonging to the writer of this article, which is on the Angera side of the stream that separates that district from the Tangier Bashalic; but despite the declaration of the Angerites that they were loyal subjects of the Sultan, and had no quarrel with anyone save Dris Emkishet, the soldiery crossed the little river and were fired upon, several being killed and more wounded.

The same assurances of loyalty to the Sultan were repeated in the form of a message delivered by some prisoners, released by El H'mam after the last attack on the 29th of August, when the Angerites had allowed the enemy to enter their country ; but, after permitting them to burn and loot a village, they had suddenly surrounded the troops in a valley ; on that occasion there was considerable slaughter, and some sixty mounted men were compelled to surrender.

If the same peasants who worsted the Sultan's troops in a long series of petty encounters had been led by chiefs having any political ambition, had they supported some candidate or aspirant to the Shereefian throne, or, even as it was, had they assumed an aggressive policy instead of merely standing on the defensive, they might have swept the Sultan's camp, or M'hala into the sea, and Tangier would have been at their mercy—an emergency which need not have caused foreign residents any alarm, as, with the exception of the Spanish element, H'mam, when he had been confined in the Tangier prison, had had sufficient evidence of our sympathy in the efforts some of us had made to secure the removal of his irons and the mitigation of his suffering, for us to have been able to count upon his good will.

The press, too, had expressed its sympathy, with the exception of one of the Spanish papers, published in Tangier, which censured H'mam as a disturber of public order, and especially for having commanded the decapitation of four traitors to his cause, who had been convicted of several outrages upon Angera women.

Speaking of the punishment of these men from the Fahs, the district contiguous to Angera, it should be mentioned that in every other case prisoners were treated by H'mam with all possible consideration, rather, indeed, as though they were friends than enemies.

In this struggle, which is fortunately now approaching a peaceable settlement—a struggle between the rapacious Kaid and the peasant sheik, between Dris Emkishet and El H'mam, we have a vivid example, a little more accen-

tuated, perhaps, and nearer the field of European vision than usual, of what may, after all, be considered the normal condition of this unhappy country—a country rich in undeveloped resources of many kinds, but whose inhabitants are poor beyond our conception of national poverty, and whose lives resemble rather those of beasts of burthen than of human beings; a country without security for life or property, without asylums for the sick or insane, without schools or universities, saving only those where the precepts of religion and the commentaries of the Koran are taught; a country without roads and with scarcely a bridge; and, worse still, without banks or any secure place of deposit for money, which must be concealed in corners or buried in the ground, to escape the confiscation too likely to befall the owner even on the mere suspicion of its possession. As for the judiciary and the condition of the prisoners, words cannot adequately describe the corruption of the tribunals or the horrors of the jails. The establishments, even of the wealthier officials and notabilities of the empire, would, in many respects, fall far short of the requirements of a middle-class Englishman of the humbler sort. Slaves and paupers may swell the master's retinue, but, in his house, cleanliness and order are beyond his power to secure, whilst, during the rainy season, it is often impossible to reach the nearest town, the pack-mules being sometimes lost in the bogs that obstruct the tracks, or washed away in the rivers.

Little is well begun, and nothing is ever promptly concluded. Reasonable administrative organization is unknown, and even intelligent centralization of power is singularly lacking. Indeed, as I write, the abandoned tumbrils of the cannon lately ordered from France by the Sultan are obstructing the road to Fez, near my door, a serious danger to traffic by day, and a peril to all wayfarers after dark.

In fact, turn where we may, we see nothing in Morocco but a people without hope of justice, and a government without honour or compassion; and, most mortifying sight

of all, European representatives who are instructed, in almost every case, to do their best to perpetuate and maintain the miserable *status* present ; to support the Sultan, even though it might please him to exterminate the inhabitants of an entire province ; to tolerate any abuses rather than assist a diplomatic colleague who may be animated by a more progressive policy. For what, after all, were the concessions demanded by Sir Charles Euan-Smith ? The reduction of an almost prohibitive scale of both import and export duties ; a free coast trade between the different parts of the country ; and last, but not least, the substitution of international consular tribunals in the place of the separate consular courts. This latter is a reform long since insisted upon by those who, like the writer of these pages, have witnessed, with surprise and shame, the unblushing abuses of consular protection, the sale—without regard to the claims or character of the recipients—of patents of protection to both Moors and Israelites ; the vending of those documents that have often constituted a virtual licence to pillage the unprotected fellow-native, without fear of punishment. It is, indeed, almost impossible, as matters now stand, for those subjects of the Sultan, who do not enjoy the protection of a foreign flag, to recover against others who are thus protected. The consul who presides may assert that he has no jurisdiction over non-protected natives, though, when it suits the interest of the court, he may insist upon the punishment, by the native authorities, of victims who have never been accorded a hearing in any court.

I am aware that this is a strong statement, but unfortunately I have known of numbers of such cases. Nor is the necessity for some international tribunal felt only by natives in a locality where there are thirteen independent and often conflicting jurisdictions. Yet even such a much-needed reform must stand aside because, forsooth, of the futile political pretensions of two or three of the Foreign Powers.

ION PERDICARIS.

Tangier, *Sept. 12th.*

BRITISH SUBJECTS IN MOROCCO,

BY WALTER B. HARRIS.

SIR CHARLES EUAN-SMITH'S mission to Fez is now a thing of the past. Several papers have stated that the Minister returned to Tangier with nothing gained. How far this is from the truth will be easily understood when one has reviewed the several important events that have taken place during the mission ; not, be it understood, from the light thrown upon them by the accounts published in the papers, but by the official correspondence between Lord Salisbury and the Minister himself. It is true that Sir Charles Euan-Smith's treaty is still unsigned, but it is unlikely that it will remain so long ; and this treaty, in spite of the stress laid upon it by all the papers as being the most important part of the mission, is in reality but little to what has been accomplished in other ways. It has long been an open secret that the Moorish Government looked upon British subjects as a sort of harmless creatures whose weak conciliatory policy could be baffled by postponements and plausibilities, and whose persons it was not necessary to treat with the same deference as was due to other nationalities. How such a policy was ever founded it seems difficult to comprehend, but still such has been the fact ; and although attention has at times been called to it in the newspapers and by other means, no notice was taken of the state of affairs. England had plenty to do in other spheres, and as long as her subjects were not slaughtered in Morocco, she apparently did not care much what became of them. It is unnecessary here to call to mind many cases of the sort. For example one has only to look upon the history of the last two years. Two French travellers, one a distinguished explorer, came, without being in the least to blame, into collision with the natives. Compensation was at once handed over to the French Government, and the perpetrators imprisoned.

We have two parallel cases with regard to Englishmen. The grooms and other servants of the late Sir Wm. Kirby-Green at the end of 1890 were attacked near Rabat while in charge of the Minister's horses and proceeding to meet him at that port. One of the men was shot, a horse of his Excellency was killed, another wounded, and some property stolen; yet it was only on Sir Charles Euan-Smith's mission to Fez, eighteen months after the occurrence took place, that the affair was laid before the Sultan. The second case was one in which an Englishman, travelling with a stamped and sealed passport of the Sultan commending him to all officials, was in broad daylight robbed, and narrowly escaped being shot. One of his men was wounded with a charge of large shot, the others were beaten and stripped. He was able through his own endeavours to obtain the restoration of most of his property; but the small amount that was left still in the hands of the robbers was applied for only in a desultory way, until Sir Charles Euan-Smith, as in the other case, took the matter up more than a year later at Fez. Had either of these mishaps happened to subjects of any other nationality, instant reparation would have been made and the damage sustained repaid. Another case is useful to illustrate the different manner in which the subjects of other countries were treated in comparison to Englishmen. It is customary for travellers visiting Fez to take an introduction to the Basha, or Governor, from Sid el Haj Mahammed Torres, the native resident Minister of Foreign Affairs at Tangier. To subjects of any other nationality the Basha would at once lend a house during their stay, and from time to time send and politely inquire as to their wants. To an Englishman he would give nothing; and on more than one occasion British subjects were obliged to go and pitch their tents in the open space at Bu Julud, amongst a rabble of the Sultan's troops, the scum of the country. The conduct of the Basha was due principally to his wishing his people to see that he had nothing to fear from the Christians: a course he was only able to practise in the case of English-

men, because he knew that, did he venture to act thus with a subject of any other nationality, notice would at once be called to his conduct, whereas with British subjects, if any attention was paid to the matter at all, it was done in such a mild way that the gentle reproof would not even for a moment ruffle the Basha's good humour.

It was this same man, Buchtar el Baghdadi, who attempted to show indifference to Sir Charles Euan-Smith on his late mission to Fez, and on finding his indifference treated with scorn, thought to frighten the Minister by causing a demonstration against him. But he had played his game already long enough. Sir Charles was ready with a list of his past delinquencies; and when matters came to the point of the Governor of the city absolutely encouraging the stoning of members of the mission, Sir Charles put his foot down, with the result that Buchtar was mulcted by the Sultan's orders of the sum of ten thousand dollars, which sum nearly in full was distributed amongst the poor and needy in the city. How excellently politic was this action on the part of Sir Charles will be apparent to those who visited Fez before the mission in the days of haughty Buchtar, and who may again be visiting the place after the severe reprimand administered has done its work.

It may be argued that such points as these are details that do not count for anything in the political intercourse of the two countries. Perhaps between two European countries such an affair might be passed over and forgotten, but it must be remembered how impressionable are the orientals; and it will be long before Sir Charles's popular act—for the Governor is hated—of reporting him to the Sultan, and his still more popular act of distributing the Basha's ill-got gains amongst the poor, is forgotten. Nor will his conduct on this occasion have been lost upon the viziers, who will all in future be more careful with the Minister, fearing lest some day they may be treated likewise.

To judge of the character of an Englishman surrounded by orientals, it is easier to base one's results more on the manner in which he is approached by the natives than on

his own deportment; and so by considering the way in which the viziers behaved in regard to Sir Charles's mission it is easier to arrive at a truer conclusion of himself than by watching the details of his manner. We have seen the viziers first of all fail in what is always their primary motive, to gain a personal influence; then we have seen them fail in an attempt to frighten him; fail in attempts to arrive at a mutual compromise; and finally conclude with the most dismal and low failure—the offer of a bribe. I speak here of the viziers; with them I include their Sultan, for in spite of the many reports that state he is guided by such men as Sid Gharnet, those acquainted with the Moorish Court well know that Mulai el Hassan plays no unimportant part in directing his own state affairs. There is no need to sum up here the character of the Sultan and the viziers; the character of men of their race and religion are well known throughout the world. Yet one who knows them well, accustomed to the wiles of orientals, has said that “he has never met with more unsatisfactory men to deal with; that they are men upon whose lips there are always lies, who have no regard for honour, no regard for truth.” That the Sultan himself is capable of contradicting his word soon after it has been given is shown by the despatch of his Excellency to Lord Salisbury. For we read that on July 5th all arrangements were made for the signing of the proposed treaty, and that on the following day the Sultan refused to do so. Yet in spite of the temporary delay in the signing of the treaty, the Moors have learned a lesson from the last mission that they will not be likely to forget. They have learned that in future they have to deal with England through a man who stands as firm to his purpose as they themselves are in attempting to make him desist; that the former weak conciliatory policy of England is past; and that in future they will have to pay the respect to British subjects that is due to them.

No one has asked for or proposed British supremacy in

Morocco ; and yet we have lately heard enough to make one believe that England has been attempting to obtain rights that would almost give her a protectorate over the country. Yet how far this is from the fact ! The wording of the commercial treaty that it was proposed should be made between the Sultan and the countries contained in the "favoured nations" clause of the "Treaty of Madrid" has now been made public. It must be remembered that England in this case was working not only for her own interests, but for those of Europe in general. The treaty, in so far as it revised matters, revised them for all the nations, not only for ourselves. And what were the terms of this treaty of which France stood so much in awe, which France informed the Sultan that he was risking his neck to sign ? The principal clauses were that land, as was decided at the Conference of Madrid (but never carried into effect), might be purchasable by Europeans in the interior (a clause withdrawn during the negotiations) ;—that the restrictions laid upon Europeans building in the coast towns should be done away with ;—that an alteration should take place in the customs duties ;—and that cereals might be exported. Willing as no doubt the Sultan would have been to have signed this treaty, yet the old policy of Morocco, to stir up jealousies between the different nationalities, was too easy not to be taken advantage of. Easier than ever on this occasion, for there was sent to watch how affairs were progressing at Fez, a certain clever French journalist, to whom the Moorish Minister confided the demands of England, and who readily acceded to the request to muddle France up in the affair, with a result that has caused a considerable amount of ill-feeling. Yet in spite of the interference by France, and the crowing of certain of the French papers at what they called the "discomforture" of the British Minister, it is our most firm opinion that the treaty will be signed ; and the only revenge that we wish France is that she may so benefit by its

terms that she may come in time to realize the stupidity of her conduct. The Sultan was allowed once more the opportunity of seeing how easy it was by arousing the jealousies of foreign powers to obtain a respite for himself. That such a course of policy should be pursued is degrading; and besides it causes endless satisfaction to the Moorish Government. If it is nothing but the jealousies of the representatives of different powers that are to keep hid for ever the mineral and agricultural treasures of Morocco, it would be far better to insure the country remaining *in statu quo* by a conference between the powers most interested in its future. That such a conference would endanger the relations of the nations in question is scarcely credible, while its united efforts would render the Sultan powerless to refuse the demands of progress and civilization, to open to the world, (and his own people reaping the greatest benefit,) his country and its resources.

But for the moment the affairs of Morocco are forgotten in the greater interest of a change of Government. Happily our interests in the country are in safe keeping; for Sir Charles Euan-Smith has proved, from the manner in which he carried out his mission to Fez, that in his policy he is a diplomat, and in his demeanour a soldier. The personality of the representative of a country goes much further with the natives than the powers which may be superior, but are invisible—the distant Foreign Offices; and the strength of the nation, and to how great an extent it can be played with in the minds of the Moors, is gauged by their regard for its Minister at Tangier. The viziers at Fez are utterly regardless of changes of Ministry in England; their sole policy toward this country is decided by the bearing of him who represents it in Tangier.

That Sir Charles Euan-Smith, if allowed to exercise his own judgment, will be instrumental in continually furthering the interests of Great Britain in Morocco is certain; if he is tied and hampered by a weak policy at home, the other foreign representatives will soon inform the Sultan

and a grave responsibility will rest with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. We are on the eve of a crisis in Morocco that will end in either a great success or a dismal failure. We wait with interest to see to what degree the new Foreign Minister will trust Sir Charles. So successful has he been already in raising the position of British subjects from the lowest to the supreme rank in the eyes of the Moors, that we sincerely hope Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet will place the confidence in him that he has gained amongst all the English who are acquainted with or interested in Morocco.

The only hope that Morocco can have of remaining independent is by conceding, little by little, to a policy founded on the necessary progress of civilization, throwing open, little by little, her country to Europeans, and mending her ways of government in her internal affairs. It is unnecessary to state that the government is rotten to the core ; that those in authority are little better than robbers and thieves ; that of the taxes which the peasantry are almost daily called upon to pay, but a small proportion finds its way into the imperial treasury ; that there is set in authority over the tribes the highest bidder for the seat of government, who borrows money from the Jews to pay for his appointment, and who calls upon his tribe to repay it, plus the usurious interest charged by the money-lenders.

That any great reform can be brought about in Morocco except by the united pressure of the powers is impossible. In the first place, the Sultan knows too well that his seat on the throne of the northern kingdom of Fez, at least, is not a very stable one. For him, however willing he might be to attempt to throw open at once the country to European influence, such an act would mean a probable loss of the control of affairs ; and as any disturbance of the *statu quo* in Morocco in the immediate future would mean anxiety, and possibly danger to British interests, it is as well that no very pressing reforms should be introduced, unless their introduction is accompanied by such a

policy that would make impossible the refusal of the Sultan to comply with them. The treaty of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, even in its revised form, will be a step forward, and yet there is not one clause in it which will endanger the person of the Sultan. On the contrary, it will need but a short period of time for the Moors themselves to see how beneficial its working will prove ; and already the native merchants, in whose hands, after all, the future of Morocco lies as much as with any other body, have expressed in the most complimentary terms their hopes of the British Minister's success in obtaining the signature of the Sultan. With this class of Moor, English people have always been popular. So many of the merchants of Fez make voyages to London and Manchester, and appreciate the many little acts of kindness, and the general bearing of courtesy maintained toward them, that a strong feeling in favour of the British nation exists amongst them. A merchant of good position in Fez once remarked to the writer, " They stone us in Spain ; in France they avoid us ; but in England we meet with nothing but kindness." Yet this feeling, satisfactory as it was, was not sufficient. Life in Morocco would be rendered no doubt more pleasant by a general feeling of regard on the part of the middle and lower class Moors ; but from the officials it is only fear that can bring respect from those in authority. We have seen how our former policy of gentle conciliation has failed in obtaining this respect ; we see now how the unwavering policy of Sir Charles is bettering the status of British subjects. As a result, our position in Morocco is highly satisfactory ; for, with respect from the viziers, the good feelings of the merchants, and the regard of the lower classes, we can safely say that very soon, treaty or no treaty, the English will hold the first place amongst the powers represented at Tangier ; and this will be due entirely to the energy and tact displayed by Sir Charles Euan-Smith during his nine months' residence in the country.

THE ETHICS OF AFRICAN GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORY.

By R. N. CUST, LL.D.

WHEN the British Public takes up and trots out a particular hero, and the united Press chaunts his praise, and coughs down the doubting remarks of surprised bystanders, it is useless seriously to discuss either the merits of the hero, or the mode, in which his enterprize was carried out. But, when a new hobby seizes the public mind, the hero of the year before last is forgotten, and the books, which he published, repose on public library shelves, or find their way to the lining of trunks. Such is the position of the great enterprize for the discovery, and rescue, of Emin Pasha.

It may fairly be asked, why the attempt was made, in what spirit it was carried out, whether it succeeded, and whether it was worthy of success. My object, however, is to show the methods and the spirit, in which it was carried out as regards the poor Africans, through whose territories the expedition passed like a tornado, and to consider, whether the slaughter of unoffending men and women, the burning of villages, and the other concomitants of war, were worthy of the British Nation. Emin Pasha is reported to have returned voluntarily to the region from which he was rescued. No new highway to commerce and civilization from the river Kongo to the river Nile has been thrown open. A cloud has fallen on the Region of the Albert Nyanza. The Mahometan Slave Dealers, who were transported in honour from the East Coast at Zanzibar up the basin of the Kongo to the region of the Stanley Falls there to prosecute their abominable trade with impunity, are now (1892) reported to be in open rebellion against the Kongo State. The last state of affairs in the regions traversed seems to be infinitely worse than before

the expedition to rescue Emin Pasha started. Let that pass. The object of these lines is to protect the unhappy races in Central Equatorial Africa from similar treatment in future at the hands of such Buccaneers and Land Pirates, as those who, under the specious warlike terms of Advance Guard and Rear Guard, without commission from any Sovereign, European or African, made their way by a process of Plunder, Murder, and outrageous Violence, from the basin of the Kongo to the shores of Albert Nyanza in the basin of the Nile.

A warlike expedition through a country must always be a curse to the poor helpless inhabitants. When an army is commissioned by a Sovereign-State, care is taken to limit as much as possible the misery caused; and such *wanton* acts, as capturing the women of a peaceful tribe with a view of selling them back to their husbands in exchange for provisions would exceed even military license. We must not hastily assert that Geographical Discovery necessarily entails rapine and murder. The story is fresh in our memory, of expeditions conducted in Equatorial Regions of Africa by Burton, Grant, Livingstone, Thompson, Johnston, Cameron and others, without sacrifice of life of the Natives, or destruction of their homesteads. It may be stated emphatically that, if the Geographical Societies of the different countries of Europe cannot extend our knowledge of the Globe without the commission of frightful crimes upon an innocent population, Geographical Expeditions should not be made. But we know well by experience of the last thirty years, that one leader—and one only—of British Scientific Expeditions has left a course across the Continent from the East to the West, and from the West to the East, dyed with blood. No further evidence of this fact is required than the pages of his own works. We do not venture to sit in judgment on the past: one day the blood thus shed will have to be avenged. Our object is to state plain facts by quotations from recognized works, in order to prevent the possibility

of such atrocities happening again. I myself proposed in the Council of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, that in future no grant should be made of the Funds of that Society, unless an agreement be taken from the leader, that save in the desperate position of protecting the lives of himself and party, no blood should be shed ; and that rapine, plundering, and kidnapping of women should be absolutely abstained from. My proposition dropped, but it will no doubt have the desired effect, and such expeditions as the one to rescue Emin Pasha will never be undertaken again without proper safeguards.

I have been familiar with Military Expeditions from my earliest youth, have been present in the tremendous battles on the North-West frontier of India, have had to aid in conquering and reconquering vast districts teeming with warlike populations, and in middle life had to restore order after the great Military Mutinies in Northern India in 1857-58. I know from terrible experience of a long series of years what Judicial executions mean ; but I unhesitatingly say, that no Military officer and no Christian Administrator could have lent themselves to such proceedings as are recorded in the published works of the members of a private expedition, who acted under no authority of Sovereign, or State, or Parliament, with no precedent but that of the Pirates and Buccaneers of past centuries. It is not squeamishness that prompts me, but positive horror and disgust.

In the centre of Africa there is no possibility of collecting corroborating evidence : the actors in these scenes evidently were not aware, that their proceedings were questionable ; their consciences were in a state of torpor ; we can see no suspicion of concealment, or fabrication, or softening, down of details. Their story is told by themselves in a straightforward manly way, and published by themselves. I have collected quotations, giving in each case the reference. I have not intentionally altered a word : there was no occasion to do so.

"The Kongo State (Belgian) beheaded the Chief of a village, burnt the village, and the people fled elsewhere : the village is now covered with tall grass, and its fruit trees are choked with reeds."—*Darkest Africa*, vol. i., p. 82. It may safely be said that during all the wars, rebellions, and tumults of British India during the last half century such a brutal act as beheading the Chief of a village, and laying waste the village, has never taken place.

"I hoped to occupy Yambúya temporarily with the goodwill of the natives by fair purchase ; if not, by force. We approached the village of Yankunde ; the inhabitants gesticulated to us not to enter : arrows were discharged : a volley was returned, and the town was fired : very many paid, I fear, the penalty of their foolish challenge."—*Ibid.*, p. 138. If this is not criminal assault and murder, it is difficult to define those crimes.

"I sent two hundred men to the empty village to procure each a load of manioc."—*Ibid.*, p. 140. This is Robbery.

"Bukuadu had been abandoned : the village and fields of manioc were at our disposal : we refurnished ourselves with provisions" : "there was food for ten days."—*Ibid.*, pp. 145, 162 :—Robbery.

"A number of villages were searched, but the people do not appear to *possess a sufficiency of food* : we collected Indian corn, goats, fowls, plantains."—*Ibid.*, p. 166. Robbery with the additional crime of knowingly leaving the poor native proprietors to starve.

"Three deserters were brought in by Ugavirma : they were condemned to death : a noose was hung round the neck of one, and the man was hoisted up ; before the last struggle was over the expedition had filed out."—*Ibid.*, p. 203 :—Murder.

"We found a large clearing full of plantains : we secured them : in each hut we found Indian corn."—*Ibid.*, p. 253 :—Robbery.

"The suddenness of our descent provided us with rich

stores of fowls, sugar cane, and banánas (plantains).”—*Ibid.*, p. 279 :—Robbery.

“Go right to their villages, and bring away every cow, sheep, or goat that you can find.”—*Ibid.*, p. 322 :—Abetment of Robbery before the fact.

“The Doctor returned without further incident than the burning of two small villages, and firing a few shots at distant parties.”—*Ibid.*, p. 397 :—Arson, and attempt to Murder.

“The Doctor fired his rifle and dropped a Madi, one of the Deserters, dead.”—*Ibid.*, p. 405 :—Murder.

“After witnessing the shooting of the man, who shot Barttelot, and the body tossed into the Kongo, Jamieson started for Bangála” (where he died on landing).—*Ibid.*, p. 492.

“The people of Kakúri said that, if we burned the town of Katwe, they would accept it as a proof, that we were not Wara Sara : accordingly the villages were burnt.”—*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 317 :—Arson.

“One of the (Baptist) Missionaries was going to the coast to be married : so he refused to lend the *Henry Reed* (the Mission Steamer) : he considered the whole matter *over with God even to the third watch*, and would not lend it.”—*Story of Rear Column, Jamieson*, pp. 27, 28. So they seized the Mission Steamer by violence : an act of Piracy.

“I asked Tippu Tib to put Bartholomew and Msa (two young Christian converts) who had stolen *my* fowls, into irons, and the two *gentlemen* are now in irons.”—*Ibid.*, p. 129 :—False imprisonment accompanied with theft.

“Barttelot sent Bonny to catch some of the women, and he caught eight and a baby : they were ransomed by restoring a gun, and supplying thirteen fowls, and a lot of fish.”—*Ibid.*, p. 133 :—Kidnapping and Robbery.

“The man, who stole my tortoise, was flogged this morning before all the men.”—*Ibid.*, p. 139 :—Violent assault.

“One of the captive women was ransomed by eight

fowls and a lot of fish.”—*Ibid.*, p. 139 :—Kidnapping and Robbery.

“This morning justice was meted out to Bartholomew and Msa (Christian converts), the deserters and thieves—one hundred and fifty lashes to one, and one hundred the other.”—*Ibid.*, p. 142 :—Violent assault.

“Bengázi Mahamed, who stole the meat out of Ward’s house—the meat had been plundered—and who had been in chains ever since, and had escaped with a rifle and cartridges, and was caught, was shot, tied to a flogging post, and shot by a firing party: *this was according to Military law on active service.*”—*Ibid.*, p. 207 :—Murder.

“I am sick of flogging, but it took place.”—*Ibid.*, p. 162 :—Violent assault.

“I got my rifle, and sat down, and fired several shots at the canoe, and hit two or three of the men in it: it gave them a lesson.”—*Ibid.*, p. 245 :—Murder.

“The picture of the River was a bright one: women in gay dresses interspersed among the *chained* men, who were being taken to be porters of the Expedition.”—*Ibid.*, p. 288 :—Kidnapping and false imprisonment.

Here follows the story of the girl killed and eaten by cannibals at the cost of six pocket handkerchiefs. I dare not quote this story.—*Ibid.*, p. 291 :—Abetment of Murder before the fact.

“There was an amusing scene to-day: a grand hunt after natives trying to escape.”—*Ibid.*, p. 300.

“A man was brought in, who had run away with his rifle: I put him in chains.”—*Ibid.*, p. 309 :—False imprisonment.

Here follows the remark that “shooting Barttelot was an act of deliberate murder” *Ibid.*, p. 338 : but, when the white man shoots the black man in his own home and village, defending his own wife and property, is not that Murder also?

“One tin of milk, and corned beef was missing: we gave him one hundred lashes, and put him in irons.”—*Ibid.*, p. 332 :—Violent assault and false imprisonment.

“Four bullets hit the offender: two in the right side of

the head : one in the knee : one in the throat, besides the two in the head from the revolver : the look he gave us was the most horrible I ever saw in a man's face : *we then had lunch.*"—*Ibid.*, pp. 362-366 :—Murder.

"One scoundrel tried to cut a hole in one of the water bags : I pulled him away : when he hit me with his weighted stick. I shot him dead."—(*Kosseir*) *Barttelot's Diaries*, p. 36.

"John Henry (a carrier, presumably a Christian) bolted with my revolver : I caught him, and told him that he should be shot to-morrow. Bonny persuaded me not to shoot him : so I had him flogged : *he died soon after* : I am certain, that he must have been shot, or hung, sooner or later, for he was a monstrous bad character."—*Ibid.*, pp. 228, 229, 331 :—Violent assault : possibly Murder : the writer was himself shot a short time afterwards !

"Dollars were found in Abdullah's bag : he was the thief : I ordered him to be flogged, and he received one hundred and fifty lashes without uttering a sound" (he was an excellent man).—(*Jephson*) *Emin Pacha*, p. 282 :—Violent assault.

"Our men had the run of a large field of manioc planted by the Natives before they left Yambuya : from there they got their daily food."—(*Troup*) *With the Rear Column*, p. 148 :—Robbery.

"Barttelot made the Arabs a present of two canoes, which the Natives had left in their flight, when the Expedition first came to Yambuya."—*Ibid.*, p. 155 :—Robbery.

"Jamieson had brought two tortoises : they were stolen : a deliberate theft ! the culprits were found out : Barttelot decided to flog them." (Were there no other deliberate thefts committed ?)—*Ibid.*, p. 159 :—Violent assault.

"The case of the Sudanese deserter came up for discussion after luncheon : it was argued that like the Zanzibari, who had deserted, he should be flogged : but a majority of one out of the five officers decided that the Sudanese were engaged *as soldiers under Military discipline*, and he was shot."—*Ibid.*, p. 203 :—Murder.

“John Henry (probably a Christian) who had deserted, received three hundred lashes: from my hut I heard what was going on, and I was much disturbed by it, as I did not approve so severe a punishment.” (He died two days after the flogging.)—*Ibid.*, p. 248:—Violent assault, possibly Murder.

Here follows a remark that in the opinion of Dr. Schweinfurth, the Missionary Societies in England would subscribe a certain amount to the expenses of the expedition (of which the leading features were Murder, Robbery, Kidnapping, Violent assault and Arson!). Dr. Schweinfurth is very much mistaken in his conception of a Missionary Society.—*Ibid.*, p. 326.

I have made no comment, but merely given to each transaction the name it bears under the Indian Penal Code, which allows no distinction between the criminality of a white man or a black man. I have tried an English soldier for killing a Native in a quarrel about a sheep while out on a shooting-party, sent him 1,200 miles to Calcutta, where he was sentenced to death by one of Her Majesty's Judges and hanged. I have handed over a young officer of the Engineers to a Court Martial, by which he was dismissed the Service and imprisoned four (4) years for flogging to death his table-servant about a missing silver spoon. If any party on a Geographical Expedition had plundered and murdered its way through the wilder Regions of British India, such as the slopes of the Himaláya, the leaders of that expedition would have found their way into the common gaol to be tried and sentenced for Felony, and would have been cashiered for conduct unworthy of a gentleman.

Under what Act of Parliament can private individuals be permitted to flog, imprison, kidnap, burn down dwellings, take away life in Central Africa more than in the dominions of Her Majesty?

And then we read in public journals such phrases as these: “The popular imagination has been touched by the varied story of the Dark Continent to an unprecedented extent. It has been a story which has appealed in trumpet

tones to the philanthropist as well as to the mere lover of adventure, to the merchant as well as to the geographer, and to the Christian missionary eager for the spread of Christ's kingdom as well as to the patriotic politician anxious for his nation's aggrandisement."

"*Frightful wrongs to be wiped out*, deeds of high surprise to be achieved, virgin countries to be commercially exploited, valuable scientific discoveries to be made, myriads of people steeped in the grossest idolatry, and regions more or less capable of colonization, where no civilized flag floats—these are some of the varied elements which have thrown a glamour and fascination over Africa and taken men's minds captive."

What were the opinions of the celebrated traveller the late Dr. Wilhelm Junker? In a conversation the Vienna correspondent of the *Standard* had with him, he said: "It is not necessary for an African explorer to kill people, right and left, like a conqueror in an enemy's land. I never killed anyone, and mostly travelled without a weapon, and still achieved what I wanted." The same may be said of all the other noble band of English Explorers of Central Africa, whose names I have already recorded.

Evil examples spread: I now quote from a later work the account of another expedition to find Emin Pasha, which started from the East Coast of Africa within the sphere of British Influence, in spite of the prohibition of the British Admiral, and was led by a German, who knew that he was breaking the law, and invading a peaceful territory.

"I could not meet fraud effectively at Witu, because the only possible means against the fraudulent, that of putting suspected men into chains, and punishing deserters with the most rigorous severity could not *from political considerations* be put into practice."—Peters' *New Light on Dark Africa*, p. 56.

"I began my march without articles of barter, and could not pay my way, as Thompson and other people, were accustomed to do, by giving tribute to the Native Chiefs."—*Ibid.*, p. 57.

"I had even to introduce for my Somáli (soldiers) corporal punishment, and to inflict it rigorously."—*Ibid.*, p. 58. "I identified a porter, who had left his load and fled, and I had him laid in chains, and flogged before all the people."—*Ibid.*, p. 62 :—Violent assault.

"Continual hindrances compelled me to meet extremities with extremities, and, when I found people refusing to let me purchase what they possessed, I fell back upon the right of self preservation, and the right of arms, which is everywhere acknowledged in Africa, and to take what I required." "I took possession of two boats."—*Ibid.*, p. 88 :—Robbery.

"I made up my mind to chain up every doubtful character among them."—*Ibid.*, p. 89 :—Violent assault.

"We marched along with herds of thousands of oxen, the prize of war."—*Ibid.*, p. 93 :—Robbery.

"I sent my Assistant to get boats : he came back with two : the last had cost a few lives, as the Wa-Pokómo, goaded by the Arabs, refused to let us have one." "Not only they assaulted my Assistant, but, when he went away with the boat, they shot at him, and he was *obliged* to *return their fire in self-defence*, on which occasion four of the Wa-Pokómo fell."—*Ibid.*, p. 94 :—Murder and Robbery.

"I despatched six Somáli (soldiers) down the River Tana to capture the Porters, who would make their way there by land, or to shoot them down, and as the Porters would not stand, they shot two, and threw their bodies into the River."—*Ibid.*, p. 105 :—Murder.

"We discovered a rice-store, declared it to be prize of war, and my people revelled in plenty."—*Ibid.*, p. 107 :—Robbery.

"To prevent my people suffering hunger, I was obliged to supply myself on my own account from the ripening maize-fields. When my men made use of the permission, the Wa-Pokómo (the lawful owners) sought to *drive them away by force*, and two of them were wounded by my people."—*Ibid.*, p. 110 :—Robbery and Wounding.

"I was sufficiently acquainted with the *cowardly tactics*

of the Wa-Pokómo, to take all three Chiefs into custody and to detain them until sufficient corn should be brought in for the column."—*Ibid.*, p. 116 :—Robbery and False Imprisonment.

"As soon as I saw they could not procure other guides, I was compelled to put these guides into chains, and carry them over the steppe."—*Ibid.*, p. 117 :—Kidnapping.

"I had been obliged to put into practice the expedient of chaining the Sultan of the Galla. when he paid his visit, or otherwise my column would have run the risk of starving."—*Ibid.*, p. 123 :—Violent assault.

"We fired six volleys, and the Sultan and seven of his Chiefs were laid low."—*Ibid.*, p. 141 :—Murder.

"I had all the women of the kraal, twenty-three in number, brought out of their houses, to carry (the stores) into my camp, and some men also as prisoners of war : I took all the stores I could find."—*Ibid.*, p. 142 :—Kidnapping and Robbery.

"One of my men enjoyed *my* guinea-fowl : I gave him an emetic to make him give up the stolen (!) goods, and gave him twenty-five lashes in presence of all, and as a warning to the whole community."—*Ibid.*, p. 171 :—Violent assault.

"I at once had the Sultan knocked down and fettered : I took him by the ears, and shoved him on in front as a kind of shield towards his tribe : I announced to them, that I would release the Sultan, if they brought me five sheep and four donkeys : the treaty was sealed by my spitting several times at the Sultan, while he spat at me : when the cattle arrived, I gave them red clothing material, and dismissed them."—*Ibid.*, p. 172 :—Robbery.

"I ordered the Somáli to go to the dry ford, and at a trumpet signal from me to drive as many head of cattle as they could together into our camp ; I ordered my people to get up a fence for the cattle *that Heaven was going to send them*, and some sheep and goats came in a crowd, and we began slaughtering. I felt myself morally entirely in the right in the measures I had put in action : the people

believed that the Devil himself had appeared in the Land, and vanished."—*Ibid.*, p. 177 :—Robbery.

"Their intention of paying no respect to *our right of Property* was so apparent, that I determined to take vigorous measures, and by 4.30 p.m. we had six hundred sheep, and sixty oxen in the enclosures: I gave them a serious lesson before the night came on: the village was deserted: I ordered everything of value to be taken out, and set six houses on fire: it was necessary to make the people understand: *c'est la guerre*."—*Ibid.*, p. 188 :—Robbery and Arson.

"I arranged, that every attempt at Robbery (on the part of the Kikuyu) should be visited with capital punishment, and a number suffered for indulging their thievish proclivities."—*Ibid.*, p. 214 :—Murder: and who was the real robber and thief?

"I had endeavoured to engage fifteen fresh Kikúyu porters: the impudent fellows used to go off with the stuffs paid in advance: they were at once laid low by bullets, and we secured eleven, and compelled them to undertake the march into Masai-land, which they detested."—*Ibid.*, p. 216 :—Murder and Kidnapping.

"The only one thing, that makes an impression on the Masai is a bullet from a revolver, or double-barrelled gun."—*Ibid.*, p. 222 :—Murder.

"We made an attack on the Kraal: I was opposed at the gate by the elder, with whom I had negotiated on the previous day. My third bullet crashed through his temples: we killed seven in all."—*Ibid.*, p. 236. "We found forty-three Masai corpses, all killed by bullets in the front, but their loss must have been three times that number: they had mutilated those (of our party) who had fallen, so we made reprisals, and cut the heads off the Masai corpses, and hurled them among their countrymen below."—*Ibid.*, p. 239 :—Murder.

"When they tried to take forcible possession of the tribute, which they demanded, and seized some of *My* (their) cattle, three of them were shot down in the act of

Robbery, and by this means peace was restored to the land.”—*Ibid.*, p. 263. Murder:—Who was the Robber?

“In the Nera country the Chief demanded Hongo (the usual Transit-duty): they endeavoured to intimidate our expedition: we fired among them, and I killed three, and my companions one. Four paid for their folly with their lives.”—*Ibid.*, p. 497:—Murder: (within the German sphere of influence.)

“The Wa-Gogo fled in all directions: burning brands were flung into their houses: by 4.30 p.m. two villages were burnt down: I was not in a position for want of men to seize their herds.”—*Ibid.*, p. 529:—Arson.

“We succeeded in seizing two or three hundred head, knocking over those of the herdsmen who did not flee.”—*Ibid.*, p. 529:—Robbery and Murder.

It is said of the great African Forests, that tranquil as they appear, Murder is going on in every branch of every tree—one animal preying upon another: at every moment a little atom of life is being extinguished to satisfy the crave of an organisation a little stronger, who a few minutes later will have to surrender his poor carcase to feed one still larger and stronger. Is this procession of Murder and Rapine to be the form of so-called Christianity which Christian men are to introduce into Africa? I am not the first to notice this feature. Mr. Bosworth Smith some years back wrote: “Now that we (English and Germans) have declared something like a fifth of Africa to be subject to our influence, it is one of the most urgent of Imperial questions whether the influence at work is to be that of — and — or of men who managed to travel through large parts of Africa, or — and — who spent their lives there without doing any deeds over which it would be well to draw a veil. As it is, not a few Englishmen (and Germans also) feel that they would gladly give up all that has been revealed to the world by the Emin Pasha Expedition, if they could also wipe out the foul deeds, which were done by Englishmen (and Germans also), upon it.”

I have avoided mention of all names, except so far as it was necessary to identify the books quoted. Let the dead bury the dead : let the past be effaced from our memory, except so far as the experiences gained determine us never to allow the same to occur again. What has happened was expected to happen. Read the conclusions of a Parliamentary Committee, of which the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone is the only surviving member : it thus summed up its lengthy report, supported by voluminous evidence, June 1837 :

" It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exemption in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.

" Too often their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or the violent destruction of human life, viz., brandy and gunpowder. . . .

" It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil ; a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country. . . . From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them ; and, though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting-grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence. . . .

" The result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interests as to our duty ; our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and

amount of loss. On the other hand, we trust it will not be difficult to show that, setting aside all considerations of duty, a line of policy more friendly and just towards the natives would materially contribute to promote the civil and commercial interests of Great Britain."

The remarks of Sir William Harcourt in the House of Commons, 1892, are noteworthy: "The fact that a territory came within the sphere of influence of this country conferred no rights or power on us over such territory or over its inhabitants beyond what we might obtain by means of treaties entered into with particular chiefs. Every act of force which we committed against natives in territories within our sphere of influence was unlawful. If we took an acre of land from them we committed a robbery, and if we killed a native we committed a murder, because we had no right or authority over these men or their land. That was the result of our having a sphere of influence."

The feeling comes over me, as I write, that we may be on the eve of another Gordon and Khartum business in U-Ganda at the beginning of next year, 1893. The British Public should keep their eyes open in time.

The Murders and Assaults committed were not only on the poor Natives of unknown Central Equatorial Africa—the region lying betwixt the basins of the Kongo and the Nile, but Sudanese, subjects of the Khedive of Egypt, Somáli and Gallas of the Region North of the British Protectorate, and Slave-porters hired at Zanzibar. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through its Council, of which I am a Member, in vain protests against the system prevailing in Zanzibar of recruiting Slave-porters. I quote their late indignant words:

"The vast stimulus given to exploration in Africa, scientific and commercial, has caused a constantly increasing demand for porters in a country where there are no beasts of burden, and every load has to be carried on men's heads. Agents are not wanting to meet the demand for human labour, and the Slave-trade has become stimulated in order to keep up the supply.

“Testimony exists in abundance, from Dr. Livingstone down to Mr. Stanley’s latest reports, to show, that the Zanzibari Slave has gone through a process of deterioration and degradation, which reduces him almost to the level of the beast of burden, whose place he has to supply. So little are his rights of humanity respected, that, if he throws down his load and runs away, it is considered perfectly lawful to shoot him, and in many cases it is acknowledged, that he has to be kept chained up to prevent his absconding.

“The effect of introducing into a country where free labour is the rule, thanks to the enlightened policy of high-minded Englishmen, an army of Slaves, who are only working by compulsion in order that their masters in Zanzibar may be enriched, must not only contaminate the native mind, but will fill it with strange ideas and doubts as to the consistency of our professed love of human freedom. It may easily be imagined, that where the Anti-Slavery policy of England has been loudly proclaimed by employers of free labour, the native must be perplexed when he sees British officers bring into his country, as labourers, men, who were possibly kidnapped from that region years before, and who return as the hired Slaves of Englishmen.

“The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would, therefore, maintain that the *hiring* of Slaves, and especially the *carrying them away* from their domicile, as stated in the foregoing memorandum, is not only in contravention of the policy so long pursued by England, but is against the spirit of the Acts, that have been passed at various times for the extinction of the Slave-trade, and is consequently a retrograde movement.”

Lastly comes the consideration : is the life of a white man more precious in the sight of God than that of a black man ? I have lived too long in India to have a doubt about my reply to that question. The sanctity of home ; the respect due to the weaker sex by all, who claim to be treated themselves as gentlemen ; the rights of property ;

the right of freedom of the person, and the right even to Life itself, are all brushed aside by associations of Land-Pirates, and free Buccaneers, called a Geographical Expedition, who seek for purposes of their own, to force their way from one part of Africa to another, and being beyond the limits of civilized jurisdiction to commit with impunity felonies such as Murder, Arson, Violent Assault, and Kidnapping. I appeal to the tribunal of the Public Conscience of Civilized Man, and to the Ruler of the Universe.

It is time for a Protest. In Central Africa there is no pretence of European colonization, or of peaceful white settlers, who wish to make such a country as South Africa and Australia their home : but I quote from a book of great merit—"The Colonial Reformer"—the following passages : " 'Was it absolutely necessary to put the Australian aboriginal to death ?' asked Ernest.

" 'It was necessary,' he replied, 'to punish (by death) any black, who raised his hands with intent to slay any white man, for without such a penalty the country would become uninhabitable' " (by the white settler : but the country belonged to the Black)—p. 200.

Can we be surprised, if every white man is killed for the same reason, when the black has a chance ?

And again : " If each individual white man were not merely one of the units composing a vast system of Usurpation, called from time immemorial by the specious name of Progress, one could afford to sympathize with a savage for smiting his oppressor. But the world will be very old, when that most ancient of laws ceases to have force : 'The strongest shall possess.' We preach the law of Right, but the older natural doctrine of Might has always prevailed, so long as one brute, animal or human, is stronger than his fellow."—*Ibid.*, p. 209.

It is the old story of the invasion of Canaan by the Hebrews.

August 25, 1892.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF CANADA.

BY LAWRENCE IRWELL.

THE census returns, showing an increase of less than six hundred thousand men, women and children in ten years, have caused much disappointment to Canadians, but, notwithstanding the attention devoted to the subject by the press, no satisfactory explanation appears to have yet been arrived at. Some over-sanguine persons assert, with great confidence, that the returns have not been taken with sufficient care, and that they cannot be relied upon ; while after-dinner speakers, full of patriotism, boldly declare that five million contented and law-abiding citizens are preferable to twelve times that number of anarchists and socialists—forgetting in their enthusiasm that Canada does not enforce any laws protecting herself against objectionable immigrants, and that the criminal classes are quite as numerous in the Dominion as elsewhere. Moreover, the inducements held out to settlers—such as a hundred and sixty acres of free land—have not had any marked effect, the statistics showing that during the last forty years nearly seventy per cent. of British emigrants have gone to the United States, and not over ten to British North America, while nearly twenty per cent. have found a home in the Australian colonies.

Careful investigation shows that the primary cause of the large influx of immigrants to the United States, is a strongly-impressed idea that there is more individual liberty under the Stars and Stripes than under a monarchy, and that it is easier to obtain a livelihood as an American citizen than as a resident of Canada. However absurd these notions may appear to the mind of any educated person, yet the answers of newly-arrived immigrants of all nationalities, when questioned at the American ports, prove that such opinions are widely prevalent, and are largely accountable for the preference bestowed upon the

United States by those who have determined to leave Europe. Another important cause of the large immigration to the Republic is the activity of the representatives of the steamship Companies plying between New York and the various European ports. A regular practice has now been established, not only of selling tickets to all who have made up their minds to become passengers, but of creating emigrants by pointing out the advantages of American citizenship. This has become a "brokerage" business, the successful sub-agent being usually paid a commission on each emigrant he may secure. Now this system is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, absolutely unknown to the Canadian steamship Companies; and all that seems to be done by this colony is to keep certain Government officials in some of the European cities, who are paid salaries, and who appear to do very little to earn them. I may mention that during the last session of the Canadian Parliament a discussion arose as to the payment of a salary to a gentleman in Paris, whose duties consisted in entertaining Canadians visiting the Capital of France, and looking after emigration. To the latter duty he had, it appeared, attended particularly well, having in the course of a year, sent one immigrant to this colony. If the agents of the steamship companies do their duty honestly, and if they tell the truth as to the prospects of employment and the rate of wages, they are, no doubt, conferring a benefit upon the colony to which they propose to send their passengers. But if, on the other hand, they induce their victims to believe that an Eldorado awaits them, and that work will be unnecessary, then they are doing the country an injustice:—an immigrant who wished to profit by such a state of affairs would be likely to prove a very undesirable addition to the population. However this may be, it must be evident to all who have studied the question that emigration from Europe to Canada requires much more attention on the other side of the water than has up to now been devoted to it.

That English capital is not as largely invested in Canadian enterprises as might be expected has frequently been pointed out. The explanation of this is not difficult to find. The British capitalist has experienced two classes of investments, and neither of them has impressed him favourably. First, perfectly genuine undertakings, such as the Grand Trunk Railway, which, either from bad management, or some other cause, have not been financially successful. The probable reason of the failure of this enterprise is that, although the railway is upon this continent, the directors, who control the general manager, are in England, and that official is obliged to waste much time in consulting them before taking action upon any vital question. This, together with the well-known fact that the management is conducted upon English, and not upon American principles, gives an insight into the cause of the small dividends upon the shares in this railway. The absence of success in many other undertakings must be attributed to similar causes. The second class of investments consists of bogus companies, such as the Dead Meat Company of Three Rivers (near Montreal), of which the late Minister of Public Works (Sir Hector Langevin) was a director, and the Canadian Pacific Colonization Company, with which Canon Hayman, formerly head-master of Rugby, was prominently connected. The less said about this class, perhaps, the better. It differs in no respect from similar companies in other countries. The British investor has been unfortunate in his dealings in Canada, and is no longer disposed to risk his money in this colony. To talk to him of the remarkable success of the Canadian Pacific Railway, produces a reply that though the Government has assisted the company by contributing cash and land to the extent of a hundred million dollars and by guaranteeing the dividends upon some of the shares, yet the ordinary stock is quoted as being under par.

The net debt of the Dominion is over two hundred and thirty million dollars, being more than forty-five dollars per

head of the population, and it at present costs thirty-six million dollars a year to govern the country, two-thirds of this amount being raised by a tariff upon imports. Since 1868, the year after the Confederation of the Provinces, the debt has been more than trebled, and the annual expenditure has gradually grown from fourteen and a half million dollars to thirty-nine millions in 1886, the exceptionally high amount spent during that year being due to the rebellion in the North West Territories. The trade of the colony, however, does not show any corresponding increase. In 1874 the imports amounted to 128 million dollars and the exports to 89 millions. In 1890 the imports had decreased seven millions, and the exports had only increased by that amount, the total foreign trade being less than in the years 1882 and 1883. The wheat production in bad years, such as 1889 and 1890, has been little above the requirements of the population, the export of wheat and flour being about a million bushels, while that of the United States was more than seventeen times that quantity. The population—three and a half millions in 1871—has, in the past twenty years, only increased a million and a half, a fact which conveys the unpleasant intelligence that many European emigrants, who originally came to this country, have since left for the land of the Stars and Stripes. The railway system in the ten years from 1880 to 1890 has been more than doubled; but in this, as well as in carriage of freight, the increase cannot be compared with that of the United States, where we find an addition in mileage, in the same period, of over seventy thousand miles,—the Canadian increase being from 6,891 miles to 13,325, the American from 84,393 to 161,397. With the credit of Great Britain at her back, with a small but industrious population, and an area of three and a half million square miles, it must be admitted that the Dominion ought to have made a better show. Her lumber trade is the finest in the world, her fisheries are certainly good; yet her total trade is only upon the scale of a single Australian

colony, although the population is larger than that of all the Australian colonies combined. The public revenue and debt are small compared with other colonies, the debt being one-third of that of Australasia, although the territorial area is about the same. The "National Policy" (a highly protective tariff) has, it is claimed, assisted manufacturers; but the home market is small and the products of the factories do not appear to be exported to any large extent.

It will be readily allowed that young colonies are justified in borrowing English capital at a low rate of interest to carry out public works, while colonial capital is employed upon undertakings for which British money would probably not be lent. But these public works should be of such a character as to form a lasting benefit to the country, and there ought to be a certainty that, when completed, the expenditure would cease. In Canada, in many instances, this has not been the case; the Inter-colonial Railway, for example, cost the Dominion nearly fifty million dollars, and is worked by the Government at an annual loss of at least four hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the interest upon the original expenditure.

Besides the Federal debt, all the provinces, except Ontario, have liabilities of their own. The Province of Quebec has a debt of over eleven million dollars, an annual expenditure of four million, with a revenue somewhat under that amount. This Province seems to be getting into difficulties, from which, as far as appearances go at present, it will have some trouble in extricating itself. Some of the cities, notably Toronto (Ontario), are also heavily in debt without sufficient to show for it. Here one may see some distance from the centre of the city, block-paved streets with gas lamps and water pipes, but with few, if any, houses,—these local improvements (as they are called) having been carried out at the suggestion of some alderman, who was either interested in the locality, or who was connected with real estate speculators who were. It costs over \$850,000 a year to pay the salaries of the twelve

hundred persons employed by the above-named city ; that amount being one-third of the revenue from taxation, outside the local improvement rate the general debt being over eleven million dollars, and the population under 190,000.

I have carefully avoided all reference to controversial questions ; I have neither expressed approval of a protective policy, nor have I condemned it, my object being simply to state the facts as they exist. Without touching upon politics, however, I may say that the system of one man one vote is not in force in elections for the Dominion Parliament, nor is that of equal electoral districts ; a man may have any number of votes in different constituencies, and the constituencies vary very considerably in size. That this state of things is a source of weakness which enables corrupt ministers to do a good deal of "gerrymandering" is, of course, evident upon the face of it, and requires no comment.

The recent exposures at Ottawa show that corruption flourishes in somewhat unexpected places. It is admitted that one firm of contractors robbed the country of a million dollars, that engineers and civil servants accepted bribes, and that the minister of a department involved was on very intimate terms with, at least, one of the incriminated persons. The fact is that Canada has arrived at a critical period in her career ; the time has now been reached when the people should open their eyes and should make a distinct move. Unless this be done, unless a determination be made to insist upon pure government, whether it be in Dominion politics, or in city administration, the fate of Canada is sealed. She will continue to sink until she reaches the level of a South American republic. Should that time arrive—and I trust most sincerely that it never may—there need be no fear of the Dominion being annexed to the United States—the Great Republic would not accept a bankrupt country as a gift. I refrain from referring at any length to the well-known Pacific scandals. The fact that the Government at that

time in office bribed the constituencies, is simply a matter of history. Were the people of Canada sufficiently careful of their public men, all connected with that unsavoury affair would have been compelled to retire permanently from public life ; but in this, as in other matters, a marked apathy appears to have taken hold of the entire population.

Abortive legislation abounds in Canada. Factories Acts, for instance, have been passed both in Ontario and Quebec with the object of preventing child-labour in mills and factories. In Ontario two years elapsed before any inspectors were appointed. In Quebec the Act was passed in 1885, and, although it prohibits the employment of boys under twelve and girls under fourteen, yet both sexes are still employed who are under those ages. The statutes of the two Provinces are not uniform, but a desire for a Dominion Act does seem to be slowly growing. The Ontario Legislature, having apparently no more serious work to attend to, has recently passed a bill to prevent smoking by boys of tender age. Although such an act may be desirable in theory, it must be evident to the veriest tyro in the principles of legislation that such a law cannot be enforced, and must prove inoperative.

The export trade of the Dominion generally, is growing, but slowly ; and the lumber trade in particular, is not making the progress which would be expected.

EXPORTS OF	DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1889.	DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1890.	DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1891.
	\$	\$	\$
Produce of the Forests	24,469,256	27,289,264	25,865,868
Fish - - -	7,329,735	8,524,508	9,896,533
Animals - - -	24,693,593	26,630,672	27,248,266
Agricultural Products	17,192,149	17,245,575	18,301,152
Produce of the Mines	4,673,203	5,126,131	5,977,736
Manufactures - -	4,899,088	6,388,064	6,985,461

(The fiscal year in Canada commences on July 1st and ends on June 30th.)

The statistics for the second half of last year are not yet published, but there is reason to suppose that the export of metals, as compared with the corresponding half of the previous year has increased half a million dollars, this being practically due to the working of the nickel mines at Sudbury (Ontario) the output of which during the fiscal year ending in June 1891, amounted to \$210,000. The success of the Canadian apple in the British Market has now been well demonstrated, the shipments last season consisting of half a million barrels.

The principal imports to the Dominion from Great Britain are iron and steel, woollen and cotton manufactured goods. The consumption of iron and steel has remained stationary for some years and is not now more than a sixteenth part of that of the United States. The imports of other commodities from the United Kingdom are not increasing to any marked extent.

In 1890 Canada bought fifty-two million dollars worth of various commodities from the United States, and forty-three million dollars worth from Great Britain. As evidence that Canadian affection for the Motherland is largely a matter of sentiment, I would point out that the tariff upon the American importations amounted to one million three hundred thousand dollars less than that upon the British, although the value of the former exceeded that of the latter by nine million dollars.

John Bull may take comfort in the fact that if Canada transfers her trade *en bloc* to the United States, as has been suggested, by a differential tariff in favour of that country, she will not inflict irreparable injury upon Great Britain. It is true that the annual Canadian exports to England are larger than British exports to Canada; but it must be remembered that the Dominion owes a large sum to the Mother-country, and the interest must be remitted in produce. Canada is not indispensable to the United Kingdom as a source, either of food supply, or of raw material for manufactures. Lumber is abundant

elsewhere ; in breadstuffs she will not be able to compete with the United States for many years to come, and her export of manufactured goods is insufficient to be worthy of any notice.

Wages are somewhat higher than in Great Britain, and the general condition of the working classes is better, the necessities of life being lower in price, with one important exception, viz., rents of houses in cities, which are out of all proportion to the wages earned. Even if houses can be obtained comparatively cheaply in the suburbs, the cost of street cars will, when added to the rent, considerably increase the expenditure of a family.

Among minor matters, I may say that the Orangemen and Roman Catholics still continue occasionally to insult each other ; and, notwithstanding the creation by the British North America Act, of separate schools for Roman Catholic children, the Protestants appear anxious to again reopen the question.

The political parties in this colony differ principally as to their fiscal policy. While the Conservatives advocate a highly protective tariff, the Reformers favour "unrestricted reciprocity" with the United States, which is explained to mean absolute free trade between the two countries, and a common tariff against the rest of the world. A few persons are to be found who openly demand political union with the American Republic : they are chiefly satellites of Mr. Goldwin Smith, who possesses the unfortunate faculty of espousing the unpopular side of almost every question upon which he expresses an opinion. I must add that followers of the late Mr. Cobden are not numerous, but there are signs that a free-trade party is gradually being formed.

The proximity of Canada to the British Isles constitutes a frequent subject of conversation and there is, of course, no doubt, that Halifax is nearer to Milford Haven than New York is to Liverpool ; but it must be remembered that the danger of icebergs by the former, and more northerly route, is greater than by the latter. Further,

the subsidy recently offered for a fast mail service between Canada and England does not appear to have been enthusiastically responded to, probably because steamers equal to the "Teutonic," or "City of Paris" could not be made to pay upon the Canadian route.

The military force of Canada consists of about 38,000 men, resembling the British volunteers, a number which is certainly below the requirements of the case. Considering the extremely remote prospect of any attack upon the Australian colonies, it seems a most remarkable fact that more should have been done there for purposes of defence than in the Dominion. No doubt we must look upon the United States as a friendly power; but the frontier between Canada and that country, being of great length and purely arbitrary, the condition of the Dominion cannot be described as that of a colony of the highest class, until she possesses a defensive force which would have some chance of repelling an attack. War between the United States and Great Britain is, of course, most improbable; yet it is a possibility for which Canada ought to be prepared. At present, however, she is numerically weak in men, and has no proper equipments or reserves of arms; nor is it too much to say that if war were declared, the St. Lawrence and the Canadian Pacific Railway would be lost very quickly. In the words of Sir Charles Dilke, "compared with Canada, Switzerland itself is a first class military power." So long as Canada neglects her defence, her desire to avoid annexation to the United States can hardly be regarded as altogether sincere. The Dominion having, moreover, an extensive shipping trade, makes no attempt towards defending it. The land defence is poorly provided for; but maritime defence in the form of ships does not exist at all, with the exception of what Great Britain provides at the cost of the people of the United Kingdom. The effect upon Great Britain of the absence of any sufficient means of defending Canada should not be lost sight of. If the Dominion were not a British possession, the United Kingdom and the United States

would each be invulnerable by the other, from a military point of view. As it is Great Britain stands at a disadvantage in any negotiations with the United States, British statesmen being compelled to hesitate before insisting upon their rights when discussions with the American Republic arise. Whether this immense disadvantage is compensated for by the benefits of a Canadian trans-continental railway, time alone can show.

The position of Canada as regards the Mother-country is worthy of notice. The Dominion has no power to make her own treaties ; she has no representative at Washington, except the British Minister, who is not usually chosen on account of his knowledge of Canadian affairs ; and she has no voice in the appointment of her Governor-General. That the Imperial Government might make some decided reforms in these, as well as in other matters, is the opinion of many well-informed Canadians.

Mr. Laurier, the leader of the Opposition in the Dominion House, speaking at a banquet at Boston on November 17th, said :

“ Though there is at this moment no desire in Canada for immediate independence, the Liberal party believes that the time has come when the powers of self government that we have are not adequate to our present development. We believe that we should be endowed with another power, that is the power of making our own commercial treaties. This is the reform that we have laboured for in years past. We have not yet succeeded, but we see the day not very far distant when we shall succeed, and this will be one of the first reforms which we shall have from the British Government ; and I am sure no opposition will come from the British Government ; because we will relieve the foreign office from a great deal of troublesome work which it has to do at this moment in our behalf, especially with the Government of the United States.”

Lord Dufferin, when Viceroy, no doubt, took great interest in this colony and her welfare ; but that can hardly

be said of Lord Stanley, who was actually away on a fishing expedition when the Larkin-Connolly scandal was being investigated. Concerning Lord Lorne, a trivial incident will illustrate the amount of interest taken by him in the people of the Dominion. In 1888, the Presbyterian Assembly, upon the recovery of the Princess Louise from a serious illness, presented her husband with a costly address. A few months ago this address was exhibited for sale in the window of a second-hand shop in Ottawa. The ex-Governor-General has since taken steps to recover this present ; but the value he placed upon it, and the regard he possessed for the feelings of the donors can be estimated by the fact that he discovered the loss of the gift only when he heard of its appearance in the second-hand shop.

The idea of Imperial Federation may be growing, but at present it remains a theory which nobody has put into practical shape. Sir Charles Tupper's scheme has been generally condemned as both impossible and undesirable, and Mr. Howard Vincent's suggestion of the return of the United Kingdom to protection under the name of "Fiscal Federation" is opposed by all classes of the English people.

Great Britain is, I fear, becoming disgusted with Canada, her corruption, her slow growth, and her protectionism ; and if the bulk of her population expressed a distinct desire to cut the political cable, it is possible that there would be no very strong opposition upon the part of John Bull.

Toronto, Canada, *June 21st*, 1892.

THE MYTHOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS,

AS EXHIBITED IN THEIR SACRED LITERATURE, WITH ESPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE SO-CALLED

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

A STUDENT of the sacred books of the ancient Egyptians does not pursue the subject far before finding it quite impossible to appreciate the peculiarities and *raison d'être* of the greater portion of them, unless their metaphysical and mythological character is adequately understood. All of what may be termed their theological works at present in our possession are connected in some way or other with their tombs, and their contents spring from the doctrines held by them as to the consequences to the soul resulting from human death, and their views as to the relations between the spirit and the body during life and after death.*

Unless, for instance, some correct conception is grasped of their psychological principles, not only the contents and imagery of most of their sacred literature will be a complete chaos to the inquirer, but the very ideas and train of thought which gave them origin will be lost to us. Once, however, the key to the seemingly meaningless confusion, and profusion, of mythological and mystical writings afforded by an explanation of their psychology and cosmology is provided, much that previously appeared impossible to understand in the matter, arrangement, and objects for which the works were written becomes comparatively clear. Then the cause for such an abundance of what may be termed lugubrious literature, because of its having some direct or indirect connection with the tomb, becomes apparent.

The extraordinary manner in which descriptions, both verbal and pictorial, of almost every event in life in some way or other come to form a part of these semi-sepulchral

* See *Étude de la Religion Égyptienne*, by Lefébure, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 14, p. 20.

volumes is accounted for; and although many years of patient research and, it is to be hoped, successful excavations in Egypt must yet elapse before we can hope to accurately occupy their mental standpoint, yet sufficient insight into it may even now be obtained to enable us to view in some similar order of ideas their sacred writings as they appeared and appealed to them.

As far as we can at present understand Egyptian metaphysical doctrines as to the destination and experiences of the soul after death, it appears that in their ideas the extinction of the vital spark* immediately produced an important change in the spiritual economy, for the soul thereupon became divided into 4 parts†—one the *Ba*, or soul proper, which went away to Hades (*Amenti*), or the nether world, at sunset on the day of death, generally being supposed to accomplish the journey in the form of a human-headed bird;‡ and the *Ka*, or shade (*eidolon*), which either remained for ever on earth near the mummy, and therefore in the tomb, or if it was supposed to ever temporarily rejoin the *Ba*, was at any moment able to return to earth beside the corpse.§ The other divisions of the spirit were the shade *Khaibit*,|| and the luminous spirit *K'hou*, and sometimes a sort of composite spirit is delineated uniting the figures of all four.¶

* Maspero and Flinders Petrie, however, think the Pharaohs had a *Ka* spirit while alive on earth, and that the Cartouche contained the *Ka* name. (See *Revue Critique*, 13th Aug., 1888, and *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 18, p. 231.)

† Dr. Dümichen in his *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, Leipzig, 1884, etc., says that the Egyptians distinguished six elements in man, all possessing in some sense a material nature. The *Khat* (or body, the Greek *σωμα*), the *Sakh*, the *Ab* or heart, the *Ka*, the *Ba*, and the *Khaibit* or shade.

‡ Some texts speak of the soul being ferried over the river of death and others of its being carried to the other world by Thoth. Professor Kern, in a recent monograph upon Greek representations of winged figures representing the souls of deceased persons, divides them into two classes: I. The *eidola* which are of a particular individual and always in the usual human form, either nude, clothed, or in armour. II. Other representations upon Attic *lecythi*: these have no individualisation, are always winged, and appear beside a tomb, or death-bed, or at the entrance to Hades. These are not the souls of the dead which come forth at the Anthesteria, but are the souls of the wicked who cannot find rest. (See "Classical Review," 1891.)

§ See *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1885, p. 212.

|| See Birch, *Transactions* of the Society of Bib. Arch., vol. 8, p. 390.

¶ These forms were, however, quite distinct, and could separately attend each other. Chapter 92 of the Book of the Dead speaks of opening the tomb to the spirit *Ba* and to

The earth-dwelling ghost, or Ka, appears to have been represented to an Egyptian mind as an exact but ethereal and invisible counterpart of the deceased, and it was to this double invisible image of the defunct that the sepulchral worships were addressed.

Invisible, and in a sense spiritual, as this shade of the dead one was, yet he (or it) was to such an extent of the earth earthy as to be supposed to feel gratified, appeased, and nourished by the offerings and sacrifices made to him.* That, although what may be termed ethereal, his appetite was somewhat difficult to satisfy may be gathered from the fact that the favourite address to him at the ceremonials was to the effect that thousands of cakes, of birds, of libations, of beer or wine, of fruits and vegetables, and joints of meat, have been presented. Whether, however, being a spirit, he was thought to communicate his sense of satisfaction to his more essentially spiritual duplicate, the Ba, undergoing the many conflicts of the other world, passing its mystical gates, and fighting its demons and serpents, it is to be hoped duly provided with his "book of the dead," so essential in such crises, and then being there judged in the great hall of double truth, and passing the examination triumphantly, he finally is free to traverse earth and sky, this world and the next, in company with Ra, by right of being spiritually and mystically united to Osiris, is not quite certain. But it is certain that the magnificent halls and ornamental paintings and contents of a rich Egyptian tomb, whether of monarch or subject, were constructed, adorned, and furnished not for the mummy himself who lay unconscious, immured, and walled up in the eternal silence of the secret crypt, deep down in the rock, or in the earth, enclosed probably in a triple coffin fast in a sarcophagus of granite, but for his Ka spirit's satisfaction here, or in case of the

the shade *Akhaibit*. See Maspero, *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions*, 15, p. 269, and Pierret, *Pantheon Egyptien*, pp. 58 and 60.

* Chapter 105 of the Book of the Dead is entitled "chapter for giving provisions to the Ka," and the 106th chapter is The Chapter "of giving abundance each day to the defunct in Memphis." Maspero, *Le Livre des Morts*, 285.

funerary furniture, utensils, etc., for the use and benefit of the Ba in the other world.

For them the so-called Ka priest's endowments were devised so that the sacrifices should never cease, and thus the Ka be nourished here; and the offerings* having also been rendered to Osiris by the priest, the god would restore a portion of them† to nourish the spirit in the other world. For them the large statue and the Ushabti, or miniature ones, were moulded, carved, and graven—the first, an exact counterpart of the Ka's former habitat, the corpse, so that it would be to him a congenial home; the second, images, not of the defunct, but of the "fellahin," furnished with hoe and basket, who would be his substitutes when the Ba spirit in Amenti was drawn in the conscription for the *corvée* of the gods.

That the Ka might have his statue-form insured to him, preserved from the rough hands of tomb-robbers, it was often deposited in an inner chamber, and, in case the Ka was not quite pleased with the carven reproduction of his former body, sometimes more than one such statue was provided that he might select for domicile the one suiting him best; care, however, was taken by making small secret passages between the sacrificial hall and the inner statue chamber that the Ka spirit should scent the incense and the sacrifices, hear the prayers and chanted hymns, or the gentle dropping of the libation liquids on the ceremonial days. Nearly every arrangement of these sepulchral matters appears to have had a kind of double object,‡ the

* A short form of the formula of offerings is as follows: "Royal offering to Osiris in the land of the inhabitants of the Amenti, the lord of Abydos that he may give offerings in bread, liquid, oxen, geese, linen, incense, wax, all good and pure things of which a god lives to the person of the crown bearer Hor-em-saf." See Wiedemann, "Two dated monuments at the Hague," in *Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June, 1885.

† The offerings at the great annual Osiris festival at Abydos were supposed to be shared by the innumerable souls who had become "Osirians" or mystical forms of the god. Chapters 141 and 142 of the Book of the Dead are the formulæ by means of which the justified dead takes his share of the feast. *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 15, p. 310.

‡ The following is a good specimen of a text of sacrifices to the gods for the benefit of the dead. "Royal offering to Ptah. Sokaris, to Anubis the lord of the land of Mater; to Seb the first of the Gods, to Osiris lord of Abydos, that they may give offerings, 1,000 of bread and liquid, 1,000 of oxen and geese, 1,000 of clothes, 1,000 of incense, 1,000 of wax, 1,000 of all good and pure things of (or on) which lives a god to the person of the

intention being not only for the delectation of the tomb-dwelling * Ka† spirit, but to supply the wants of the far-away Ba. Thus it was more particularly for the entertainment of the ghostly Ka during the intervals‡ between the sacrificial days that some literary enjoyment was provided in a papyrus, or upon a stone or wooden tablet. The contents of these were generally, though not always, of a theological character,

scribe, of the Nomos, the scribe of the temple, Sen-tes, deceased. His wife was the favourite of King Aftenu, deceased." A stelè at Karlsruhe: see Wiedemann, in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1886, p. 96.

* Some texts speak of aliment being bestowed on the Ba and Ka of the same person. The funerary invocation of Nekht Ames (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. III., 114, i.) says,—“May my soul not be turned back when it wishes to come forth, may it receive the cakes of the lord of eternity”: then, later on, “May water be received by the hands of the Ka minister (priest). Let him have possession of bread, of beer, upon whichever table his Ka pleases.”

† The following is a specimen of a text offering the sacrifices to the double direct. It is from a stelè at Akhmin, and is to be found in the “Rapport au Ministre de l’Instruction Publique sur une Mission dans la Haute Egypte, 1884-5, par U. Bouriant,” p. 380. “The Osirian, prophet and scribe Hor-Imhotep, justified (*maxeru*) son of the prophet and scribe Hor-Aukh, justified born of the lady, Ta-xrut-Khem. Proscynem to Osiris Kheut-Amenti, great god, lord of Abydos, to Sokaris Osiris, great god in Apu, to Khem, lord of Apu, King of the Gods, to Isis, the great divine mother in Apu, to Horus, son of Isis, great god; to Nephthys, the divine sister, to Anubis, in his Temple great god, lord of Toser; to Amset; to Hapi; to Tua Mautf, and to Khebsennu; to all the gods and goddesses who are in Apu and Sennu, that they may grant the sacred offerings, oxen, birds, wine, milk, incense, oil, tissues, fresh water and all things good, pure, and agreeable and sweet that heaven gives, that earth produces, and that the Nile brings forth from his cavern, the agreeable breezes which come forth from Shou, the zephyrs of the north which come forth from Tefnut, the life which comes forth from Ra eternally; to the double of the Osirian prophet and scribe, Hor-Imhotep, justified, son of the prophet Hor-Aukh, justified, born of the lady player on the excellent sistrum Ta-xrut-Khem justified.

“He says Oh! all ye priests, scribes, magi who go to the mountain of Sennu” (a hill to the west of Akhmin), “regard this stone, chant before all the gods and goddesses who are in Apu, and before the divine lunead which is in Sennu, that they grant that my name be remembered on earth and that the son of my son remain in my house without interruption eternally.”

‡ The number of festivals upon which the provisions should be offered was very great. An inscription at Beni-Hassan, which embodies an endowment of a Ka priest with lands sufficient to provide the sacrifices, says, “I decreed funerary provisions for every feast of the Necropolis, for the feast of the beginning of the year, for the feast of the great year for the feast of the little year, for the feast of the end of the year; for the great feast, for the feast of the great heat, for the feast of the little heat, for the feast of the five intercalary days, for the feast (of throwing the sand?) for the feast of the 12 months, for every feast of the living and the dead.”

A stelè in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, translated by Mr. Budge, says, “May my soul receive the cakes of the lord of eternity, may it come into the presence every day, on the festival of the new moon, on the festival of the month, on the festival of the sixth day, on the festival of the half month on the festival of ‘Maka,’ on the festival of Thoth, on the festival of the rising of Ames, on the festival of the rising of Sothis, on the festival of the great heat, on that of the little heat, on the festival of the altar, on the festival of the receiving of the Nile water, and all festivals of Osiris at the beginning of the seasons.”

but sometimes of so realistic a nature as to be more suitable to perusal by the Ka of an adult mummy than one of tender age. But these literary offerings, to whose provision we owe the preservation of well-nigh all we have of Egyptian literature, were also intended to accompany the Ba sometimes, and, in that case, to insure their death in this world, and consequent departure to the next, were purposely fractured or torn.

To render the Ka perfectly and unceasingly happy, and to sustain the life of the Ba, doubtless the sacrifices* and offerings should continue daily without intermission, and so no more kingly act could be performed than to erect a temple, which in reality was nothing more than a deity's sacrificial hall, where the Pharaoh or his high priests could without ceasing propitiate with offerings the Ka spirit of one of the Gods who under the divine dynasties of the golden age had ruled over Egypt.

To the mighty temple some untoward times might bring a season when the daily sacrifice would cease. In the tombs of subjects, who had not a nation to defray for them the cost of a continuous worship as had the king,† the restriction of expense caused the intervals between the sacrificial functions to be wide. Therefore, lest the spirit hovering near the temple or the sepulchre should miss the customary worship, and Osiris, the great god of the other world, find the ceremonies and offerings lacking which, so long as continued, propitiated him to defend and sustain by his almighty power‡ the Ba spirit dwelling in his domains,

* M. Maspero says, "The Ba was, like the Ka, dependent upon the gifts that the survivors offered to him, or rather to the gods for him," adding "this shows he was mortal;" but this is an assumption, as the spirit appears to have been supposed to suffer agonies of famine if the offerings were neglected, but is not stated to die therefrom.

† The offerings had to be very numerous. As they were permitted to be eaten by the priests, the weight laid by these sacerdotalists on the value of large quantities for funeral ceremonies is easily explained. They had to be also of numerous kinds. Dr. Dümichen, in his *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, enumerates 122 objects which should be presented, and the pictorial representations of edible fruits are so extensive as to assist in explaining Egyptian botanical names. See Maspero, in *Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1891.

‡ Maspero shows that whilst in many tombs the inscriptions give the offerings of comestibles direct to the defunct, who without further formality was imagined to feed upon them, in others everything was offered to the gods with the condition that they

the courts of the stately temples, the entrance hall and sometimes every portion of the tomb tunnelled in the mountain side, the walls of the funerary chamber erected above the trench descending to the lonely Masteba excavated in the soil, whether it be the tiny temple of some subject or the mighty pyramid guarding a monarch, were covered with the hieroglyphic texts of sacred rituals, magic formulæ, and pictorial representations of sacrificial rites.

The Ka being but an immaterial spirit, immaterial representation sufficed him well, and, as has been aptly said by M. Loret,* this pale reflection of a human being was easily contented. The repetitions of the sort of religious necromancy by which the performance of certain actions was supposed to give the power to breathe, hear, see and speak to the soul in the next world were, however, necessary, and so were the sacrifices and libations to Osiris in order that the god might sustain the spirit there. These ceremonies appear to have answered the double purpose of satisfying Osiris and the Ka who, until the anniversary for their celebration came round and the Ka priest and his hierophants entered the tomb to perform the mysteries once more, had to content himself by a perusal of their recital on its walls. There were depicted not only the ceremonies themselves, but in the peculiarly elaborate manner in which Egyptian thought loved to treat every subject from its minute beginnings, every act required to produce the materials for sacrifice and the manufacture of the instruments employed ;

spared a portion for the deceased. These two methods of presenting offerings corresponded to the different idiosyncrasies of the *Ka* and the *Ba* ; for a spirit occupying the tomb no more was required than to deposit there before his image the beef, venison, wine, oil, etc., etc., and then retire, that he might enjoy them. For the *Ba* in the other world the problem of feeding was more complicated, for notwithstanding his change of residence he hungered and thirsted as of yore. Man, however, being powerless, the gods had to assist. Osiris or Anubis, or others, accepted the task with complaisance, deducting, however, for themselves a goodly proportion of the repast as recompense for their condescension. The material foods, of course, did not go to the *Ba* spirit but their spirit, or *Ba*, whilst they remained in the grave, hence to coerce their spirit to pass into the other world to the *Ba* the prayers and formulæ at their dedication. Sometimes, however, the gods are invoked to share the offerings given to them with the sepulchral *Ka* spirit as well as to the distant *Ba* soul. *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 12, p. 135.

* Loret, *La Tombe d'un Ancien Egyptien*, *Annales, Musée Guimet*, X. 530, etc.

e.g., *the ploughing and hoeing, sewing, reaping, binding, and threshing of the grain, the loading of it upon asses, and deposit in the granary, with the scribe registering the amount. Then the grinding of the flour, making it into bread, and baking the sacrificial loaves, and the inevitable scribe counting them when done, or again the brewing the beer, and making the wine and pouring them into vases, each carefully closed and sealed.

Then the pastoral life :—providing requisite animals is portrayed from first to last, not forgetting the act of generation, the birth ; and the youthful gambols ; the daily pastorage and driving to the watercourse to drink as the sun sinks towards the west, guarded from the waiting crocodiles by watchmen, aided by the chanting of magic formulæ to render inert this dreaded foe, and the passage home to the farm. Or again, the waterfowl being hunted by the river bank or in the marshes of the Delta, struck down by the unerring boomerang or snared in the fowler's net, or tame fowl being fattened for the fatal day ; the geese having their beaks opened and the food forcibly inserted. Then the fishermen in light papyrus boats hurling their spears or casting nets, while interspersed among the pictures are the dainty hieroglyphic explanations giving the title to each act and the very words of the actors, their songs as they drive the cattle, or march to the fields, the jests of the rival shepherds and boatmen, the quarrels and ribaldry of the rowers, the husbandman apostrophising the fisherman from the bank, the donkey boy's boast that his animal will carry the greatest load to the mill, or his maledictions on his beast who requires the united efforts of four or more drivers to induce him to receive his burden. The song started by the overseer to encourage his workers under the burning sun, and the poor fellah's exclamation of delight when he is permitted by the task-master to drink a deep draught of the welcome beer.

* These scenes must not be confounded with the very similar texts and paintings describing the pastoral and agricultural life of the *Ba* spirit in the Elysian fields, which form part of the "Ritual of the Dead," or of the "Book of the Tuat," and other similar works.

Then the cutting of the blocks from the quarry to form the funerary statues, the sculptors carving them, slaves drawing them upon runners to the tomb, and an official sprinkling the ground to prevent the runners firing by friction, and the priests pouring libations and burning incense. Then the death of the sacrificial ox, and the cutting it up so as to obtain the portions most requisite for the sepulchral ceremonial, and finally the long procession bearing the tables of offerings, and the fruits, birds, gazelles, beer, wine, flowers, limbs of the animals which had been cut up, vases, perfumes, and all the paraphernalia the uses of which are elaborately illustrated in the "Apro, or Book of funerals."*

These symbolical representations were, however, not only indicative of preparations for ceremonies to come, or perhaps substitutes for some omitted, but an actual record of what had been the preliminaries to the first recital on the burial day. For that occasion also, other scenes had been enacted in the preparation of the mummy. Perhaps in his long waiting in the tomb for the resurrection day to reunite him once more to that beloved form, the lonely Ka spirit might come to doubt whether his earthly body had been properly embalmed: whether "all his members were intact"† and every ceremony and act had been duly

* See Loret, *op. cit.*, in *Annales, Musée Guimet*, vol. x, 530. Birch says, in his monograph upon "The Shade or Shadow of the Dead," "The idea of a resurrection of the Body is implied in some of these texts. An inscription preserved in a copy by Champollion says, speaking of the arrival of Ra the sun god at one of the gates in the Amenti, 'Those who are in this picture their bodies are in their chests in their holes. Their bodies rise up at him (the sun). Anubis keeps the words of that great god who gives light to them from his great disk to their chests he reckons his words. His fires and his abode dissipate the darkness when he flies over them.'"

† The idea that if the corpse was mutilated the corresponding embodiment of the spirit wherever it might be was similarly mutilated, was equally present to Greek thought (Æschylus, *Choeph.* 439, and Sophocles, *Electra*, 449, *seqq.*, and see paper by G. L. Kitteridge, "Arm Pitting among the Greeks," in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. vi.). In pursuance of this, a murderer would further desecrate his victim's body by cutting off the hands and feet and suspend them by a string upon the chest, as Clytemnestra treated Agamemnon, because this proceeding, as it correspondingly mutilated the shade, rendered it powerless to take vengeance upon the criminal. The same idea is evidenced by the practice of various races of low culture, and is exposed in the popular belief, so common until recently, in vampires who could only be rendered innocuous by digging up the corpse of which they were imagined to be the ghost and cutting off the head, when the spirit was duly decapitated and so could no longer come and suck the blood of its

executed, so we find the whole process set forth upon the walls, every act of mummification, every formula to be written, every incantation to be pronounced during the 70 days that the process occupied carefully recited from the first incision in the corpse, strictly carried out according to untold centuries of precedent, to the final painting and jewelling of the swathed mummy. The felling of the trees to make the mummy-case or to build the sacred boat, the Asiatics bringing spices and ointments, or hardy sailors from the distant land of Pount, and the weaving of linen for bandages. Then the voyage from the eastern to the western bank of the Nile in the funeral barge with the weeping women, types of Isis and Nephthys, who wept centuries before for their Osiris dead; and the mummy, followed by mourning relatives and priests and dependents drawn on the sledge to his burial.*

It might be that the mummy himself had been one of the priestly embalmers whose life, when here, was spent in carrying out the very practices just enumerated; if so, what

victims. Suicides were generally thought to prove troublesome as ghosts, and therefore were until quite lately not only buried but secured by a stake, which acted upon the ghost as upon the corpse.

* The ambition of a pious Egyptian is tersely described in this text, which among others is upon a sarcophagus at Berlin: "Auk-Hor-peu is an accomplished spirit at the place of the great god in the subterranean world. His soul goes out at the heaven with Ra, he unites himself with the beams of the sun disk; he goes in and out at the great festival at Memphis, he follows Sokaris Osiris on his great feasts. Offerings are given to him every day in the temple of Ptah the great god, father of the gods; he makes all the forms he likes at every place he goes in." A more complete recension of the dying Egyptian's hopes is given on the funerary tablet of Nepht-Ames in Prisse, *Monuments Egyptiens*, Pl. 17, and is cited because it indicates the three spheres in which the spirit could wander, the heaven above, our own earth, and the other world ruled over by the nocturnal sun. "May Anubis, etc., upon his hill grant to me glory in heaven, power upon earth and triumph in Ker neter. May they grant that I go in and come forth from my tomb, that my majesty refresh its shade, that I drink water from my cistern every day, that all my limbs be solid, that the Nile give me bread and flowers of every kind at the season, that I pass over the length of my land every day without ceasing, and that my soul (*ka*) may light upon the branches of the trees which I have planted. May I refresh my face beneath my sycamores, may I eat bread of their giving. May I have my mouth wherewith I may speak like the followers of Horus, may I come forth to heaven, may I descend to earth, may I not be shut out upon the road, may there not be done to me what my *ka* execrates, may my soul (*ka*) never be captive (that is in Ker neter), may I be in the midst of the obedient among the faithful, may I plough my fields in Seket Aaru, may I attain the fields of peace, may one come out to me with jugs of beer and cakes, the cakes of the lord of eternity, may I receive my slices from the joint of the great god, I the *ka* of Nepht Ames, first prophet of the God Ames." See Budge, "Notes on Egyptian Stelaë."

could more gratify his Ka spirit than the placing of a papyrus in the tomb embodying the "embalment Ritual" in all its items? Of still more moment would it be to know how his duplicate soul was faring in the other world, or in the heavens during his eternal accompaniment of Ra, the sun god, both night and day, or in his visits back to earth. To assure the shade that all was well the whole itinerary of the journey both in the other world and in the sky was set forth in a pictorial panorama, explained and described by a continuous text, sometimes of such prolixity that the *Manes* must have possessed great powers of endurance to read them. In the various books relating to the under world or the regions of the sky (or other world) every portal has its name, its friendly presiding spirits and antagonistic ones, every one of the 12 regions has its special peculiarities, its mountains, fields, rivers, caverns, demons, serpents, gods or goddesses, and some their purgatories, executioners and ferocious wild beasts.

Each enemy, demon, or danger can only be avoided, or if encountered repulsed, or exorcised by invoking the assistance of the proper protecting deity in the right place, and sometimes he will only vouchsafe his protection upon being invoked by magic spells; all these therefore are duly written and described, more especially in the "Book of the Dead," which may be said to be the soul's complete guide to Hades. Like the day, the night was subdivided into 12 hours, and like the night the spirit's existence in the future world seems to have been so divided, but these 12 periods appear to have been of long duration for in them are the Elysian fields cultivated by departed spirits, the happy hunting grounds wherein we see the soul chasing the hippopotamus or the crocodile in his boat, or hunting gazelles; there also was the kingdom of Osiris and the Inferno and Purgatory.*

* In these mythical regions every act of this life is re-enacted: the rich landowner is waited upon by his slaves, satiated by gorgeous banquets; he enjoys the shade of lovely trees, and the perfume of flowers in his garden, ornamented with miniature lakes on which sport waterfowl and in which the teeming fish may be detected darting to and fro, and surrounded by his favourite animals and pets.

The prototype of this life in the other world was the nightly course of the sun, who in his 12 hours of separation from the earth went through a hurried epitome of the soul's adventures. That soul, too, when justified, would accompany the sun in his daily and nightly journey, therefore a very favourite book with which to adorn a tomb was the recountal of the solar voyage. It is difficult to distinctly separate any one of these sacred books from its congeners, for instance, many chapters in the *Ritual of the Dead* are not only closely connected with, but actually refer to, events described in the various books of the "Lower Hemisphere," or "Book of Hades." So also many of the prescribed acts, processes, and incantations in the "*Ritual of Embalmmment*" are to be performed, carried out, or inscribed upon bandages and amulets placed within or upon the mummy, not for the purpose of preserving the corpse from dangers upon earth, but to protect the soul from specified conflicts in Hades, so that the books of Hades explain many ordinances enjoined in the "*Ritual of Embalmmment*."

There is a sort of mutual exchange of beneficial actions on the part of the mummy and its soul, the due fulfilment of every act of ritual in the preservation of the corpse being of the utmost service to the soul when encountering the terrors in Hades, and the spirit's successful progress there being of the greatest value in insuring the mummy left here being preserved intact. In the Papyri,* the chapters, whether many or few, selected from any of the theological works are kept together, but in the wall inscriptions this practice is not adhered to. For the arrangement of texts with which the halls of the grander tombs and pyramid chambers, and the surfaces of mummy cases are covered, is sometimes very irregular, the literary matter, instead of continuously setting forth the contents of one book or *Ritual*, having odd chapters, or groups of chapters, apparently quite arbitrarily selected from one work, intermingled with similar

* Mr. Renouf tells us there are exceptions to this, and instances two papyri in the British Museum, one of which has with the *Book of the Dead* a chapter from the Pyramid texts and another from a different religious composition. See his "*Papyrus of Ani*."

extracts from another. Thus in the royal tombs a few chapters of the Book of the Dead, "Per-em-hu," may be followed by others from the "Amtuat," or book of Hades, or the "Apro," or book of Funerals, and these by the Litany of Ra.

This confusion* appears to have arisen from the fact that the books to be copied in the sepulchre were furnished to the decorators in papyri, and they selected from these chapters the length of which best suited the amount of wall space to be covered. There were, however, certain texts† which were invariably placed upon the northern side of a structure, and *vice versâ*. For instance, under the Middle Empire, the tombs were arranged as Horus was supposed to have designed that for Osiris, having in the great hall the "book of the other world," chapters 5 and 6 on the south wall, 7 and 8 on the north, whilst 4 were upon each of the west and east walls, showing the tomb to have been in all cases oblong (Lefébure, *Rites Eg.*).

In order that the true comparative position of these curious practices of the sepulchral cults of ancient Egypt may be correctly appreciated in relation to similar habits appertaining to other branches of mankind, we may here appositely indicate the remarkable similarity of many customs connected with ancestor worship and sepulchral offerings among the archaic Greeks to those of Egypt.

Nowhere has our knowledge as to such matters among

* Maspero, speaking of the sepulchral arrangement of writing the book Amtuat, or 12 hours of the night, says of its divisions, "Les six premières sont tracées sur le mur du sud, c'est-à-dire sont rattachées à la fois au sud et à l'occident; les six dernières sont dessinées sur le mur du nord, c'est-à-dire sont rattachées à la fois au nord et à l'orient." *Le Livre des Morts*, in *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*.

† As an instance of the carelessness with which the scribes worked, M. Naville, in his second monograph upon "The Destruction of Men by the Gods," tells us that in the tomb of Ramses III. the text breaks off abruptly in the middle of what is only the 85th line in Seti I.'s sepulchre, the cause of this being that the scribes had no more space left. They had taken advantage of having this small inner chamber to utilise it for this mythological book, copying it from the version in Seti's tomb, and commenced by working in the large figure of the celestial cow on the wall facing the entrance, then began to write the text starting from the right of the door without measuring how much wall space they had in this smaller chamber; when they reached line 29, the cow picture stopped the artist. Meanwhile, however, another draughtsman had begun from the other side of the figure copying the same text, as in a similar place in Seti I., and very soon he was stopped by want of room, "but it was of small importance to them so long as the walls were covered."

the Hellenic race been more clearly and concisely summarised than in a paper by Professor Percy Gardner.* He proves that the many reliefs showing a figure holding a cup or patera and pomegranate, are representations of the hero of the tomb, who holds the cup or patera to receive the sepulchral wine, or food, or incense, teaching not only that regular offerings to the dead were considered a sacred duty, but that such gifts were thought worthy of being represented in a relief adorning the tomb of departed worthies.

This worship of the dead does not appear so often in Greek literature, though Professor Gardner gives instances of it from some Greek plays, and especially refers to the artistic representations of the matter afforded by the illustrations of votive offerings brought to the tombs, so continually found upon the beautiful white *lecythi*,† because Greek literature represented the Greek mind at its last and greatest development, whereas these tomb feasts and offerings were the survival of the anthropomorphic practices of archaic times.‡ The theory that the defunct lived in his tomb as he had done when alive, and therefore required food and armour, ornaments, and in the case of children, toys such as delighted them when here, formed a part of the concepts of Aryan as of Egyptian thought, and the logical carrying out of such views led to most interesting parallels between the funeral ceremonies of the two peoples.

For instance, in some of the earliest Greek graves, such as the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mykenæ, or the Orchomenos building, there are inner chambers for the preservation of the dead, and an outer one which the visitors to the tomb could enter, which latter probably contained the sepulchral offerings deposited for the equipment or

* "A sepulchral relief from Tarentum," in the "Journal of Hellenic Studies," 1884.

† Pottier, *Les Lécythes Blancs Antiques*, 1884.

‡ "Primitive and patriarchal elements of religion still existed but they were thrust into the background. Thus a glance at Athenian sepulchral monuments assures us worship of the dead did not occupy among the élite of Greece the same space in men's minds which at an earlier time it had held and which it still held in the more conservative districts. At a lower level than that of poetry, in the laws and the customs, especially burial ones, we find ample proof of the tenacity with which they clung to the belief that the dead desired offerings of food and incense and were willing in return to afford protection and aid." Prof. Gardner, *loc. cit.*

relaxation of the departed. The following quotation from Mr. Percy Gardner will clearly show how very Egyptian some of the Greek customs were :*

“ It is well known with what care the early Greeks provided in the chamber in which they placed a corpse all that was necessary for its comfort, I had almost said its life. Wine and food of various kinds were there laid up in a little store, a lamp provided full of oil, frequently even kept burning to relieve the darkness, and around were strewn the clothes and the armour in which the dead hero had delighted, sometimes even by a refined realism a whetstone to sharpen the edge of sword or spear in case they grew blunt with use. The horse of a warrior was sometimes slain and buried with him, that he might not in another world endure the indignity of having to walk. Even in Homeric days the custom survived of slaying at a warrior's tomb hostile captives to be his slaves hereafter. After the fall of Troy captives were distributed among the chiefs, but it was not thought right to deprive the dead Achilles of his share, and Polyxena was offered at his tomb. According to the theory of M. Rayet the terra-cottas so common in some Greek tombs are the substitutes of these living victims, placed in the grave of one who would in his future life require servants and companions. And the care for the dead did not by any means cease at burial. They had to be constantly tended thereafter, their bones preserved from violence, their tombs from spoliation, and at certain seasons food and drink had to be brought them and left in the tomb for their use. Even this sometimes did not satisfy their friends. There is in the British Museum a sarcophagus in which a hole has been cut to allow food to pass to the occupant, and Mr. [now Sir Charles] Newton suggests the small apertures to Lycian tombs were made with the same view. If a body was left unburied, or if its tomb were not from

* In a tomb from the Kimmerian Bosphoros, the relics of which are in the New Museum at Oxford, the warrior's dog and horse were both buried. The similarity to the Ushabti needs no comment. Cf. Pottier, *Les Terres Cuites*, p. 48, for Greek and Egyptian ideas as to enjoyments of the departed.

time to time supplied with food and drink, the ghost inhabiting such body became a wanderer on the face of the earth, and neither had peace itself nor allowed the survivors peace."

It has been mentioned that sometimes in the reliefs the hero holds a pomegranate. The inference from this is important, for it shows that the food offerings were intended not only for the shade in the tomb, but were imagined by some subtle transformation to be transmitted to the shade in Hades. Cora ate of the pomegranate there, and it is the characteristic food of its shades, and is brought by worshippers, as were also fowls and eggs, all archaic symbols of the life beyond the grave.

"The belief in the continued need felt by the dead to be supplied by the living was so deep Christianity did not wholly abolish it. A couple of passages from Lucian [Luct. 9] . . . serve to show the ancient feeling."

A curious coincidence with Egypt is the fact that from these reliefs showing not the whole figure of a horse, but only his head placed in a kind of frame, it is inferred that the Greek shade, like his brother on the Nile, being easily satisfied, had in many cases to content himself with a votive tablet representing only part of the steed he was anxious to possess. Just as it is in some cases difficult to decide whether the Egyptian offerings are for the *Ka* shade in the tomb or the *Ba* spirit in the nether world, so is it hard to define in the case of these Greek reliefs whether the deceased is banqueting in the tomb or in Hades. The frequent presence of a snake tends to the former view, whereas the horse and dog appearing indicate the Elysian fields. Professor Gardner does not think the question can be settled, for the Greeks were not clear upon it. "The primitive theory was that the defunct lived in the family tomb, hence the storing of food and drink there, armour and vestments, and a lighted lamp to dispel the darkness. But, though these customs survived locally to late times, the ideas giving them birth passed away. A realm of Hades, Elysium, Islands-

of-the-blest, were imagined ; the soul was supposed to follow the setting sun, or to pass to lower parts of the earth.”*

Sometimes the reliefs show the deceased wearing the modius, a mark of Serapis ; in this case the defunct, like the Egyptian, has become identified with Serapis, the late form of Osiris, and takes on himself the character of the deity. That the personage is not the deity himself is proved by the accompanying text identifying him with the hero of the tomb. Offerings were made not only to defunct Egyptians but to their gods, and so also in Greece, as at the *lectisternia* of the Romans. With the Greeks, however, they were generally given to gods such as the Dioscuri and Dionysus who had been mortals, just as Osiris had been. Professor Gardner gives an interesting account of a relief showing a priest and his wife offering a banquet (θεοξέσια) to Dionysus who comes to the feast. The presence of a snake among the company shows the meal is imagined to take place in Hades, where the priest, who had often laid the deity's banquet in sacred worship, or as a “ Dionysiac artist,” now entertains the god in the realm of the shades.

The most celebrated Egyptian theological work, because it was the first to be recognised as such, and is the one most frequently found upon papyri, is called “ The Book of the Dead,”† a title that is somewhat of a misnomer, because apparently arrogating to itself an appellation properly appertaining to several known Egyptian books, and therefore it would preferably be named “ A Book for the Dead.”

Probably not far short of a thousand copies of this ancient

* Though Achilles dwelt in the Μακάρων νῆσος, he was also to be found at his tomb when Alexander went to worship him, and though Agamemnon's soul went to Hades, Electra calls his name at his burial place.

† Maspero tells us that it was destined to instruct the soul in that which would befall it after death, and is a collection of prayers and incantations, which while foretelling to him by their objects what would have to be passed through also by their efficacy secured him against the dangers feared and assured him the blessings desired. *Le Livre des Morts*. Cadet published the first facsimile in 1805, under the title, *Copie figurée d'un Rouleau de Papyrus trouvé à Thèbes dans un tombeau des Rois*. The Prince of Wales's papyrus is a moiety of one of these, the other half being in the Louvre. Some of these papyri are in the Demotic script, and though therefore of comparatively late date afford such a certain means of comparison between sentences already familiar in their hieroglyphic or hieratic forms as to be invaluable for the study of Demotic writing.

work are to be found among the papyri in European museums, in addition to some hundreds in Egyptian home collections, and during the last ten years, since the discovery by the Arabs of the secret crypt at Deir-el-Bahari, a succession of most magnificent specimens have been obtained, indeed only four copies remained to be rescued by Dr. Emil Brugsch when the hoard of the Fellahin was discovered by the Egyptian Government. Recently an immense addition to our collections, amounting to over fifty copies, has been found by M. Grébaut in the other cache of Amenide Mummies at Thebes, and is now deposited at Boulak. It must be remembered that, in addition to the papyri, its chapters are inscribed upon hundreds of mummy cases and tombs and innumerable funerary objects scattered in every museum.

Upon no literary legacy of ancient Egypt has more assiduous attention been bestowed by *savants* than upon this remarkable work,* and yet so vast is the subject, and so difficult in the present state of Egyptological science is it to master its contents, that the translators who have hitherto attempted the task admit their labours to be but tentative. This arises not only from imperfect knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing, but from the mystical nature of the text itself; still its meaning is gradually being unravelled, and will ultimately be fully understood.

It is to be regretted that during the first stage of research the typical exemplar selected was the copy known as the

* Lepsius: *Älteste Texte der Tottenbuch*; *Tottenbuch der Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1842. De Rouge: *Étude sur le Rituel Funéraire des Anciens Egyptiens*; *Rituel Funéraire en écriture Hiéroglyphique* (Von Hammer had as early as 1822 published a hieratic copy at Vienna). Brugsch: *Das Tottenbuch der Alten Aegypter*; *Religion und Mythologie der Alten Aegypter*. Guieyresse: *Rituel Funéraire Egyptien*, Chapitre 54. Lefébure: *Papyrus funéraire de Soutimes*, and *Les Yeux d'Horus* in the *Études Egyptologiques*. Pierret: *Le Livre des Morts, traduit d'après le Papyrus de Turin*; *Papyrus de Neb-Qued*; *Le Panthéon Egyptien*. Lieblein: *Index de tous les Mots dans le Livre des Morts*. Révillout: *Rituel Funéraire de Pamouth*. (This is a copy in Demotic writing, and therefore of much interest, palæographically speaking.) O. von Lemm: *Das Ritualbuch des Ammonidistes*. Pleyte: *Chapitres Supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*. Renouf: "Egyptian Mythology," in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. vii.; "The Myth of Osiris Unnefer," *ibid.*, 1886; "Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani." This is probably the most elegant copy of the Ritual extant, both for its script and the accompanying vignettes. Naville: *Das Aegyptische Tottenbuch der 18^a bis zur 20^a Dynastie*, 2 vols. folio, Berlin, 1886.

Turin papyrus, whose only claim to consideration was its length, for it was an unfortunate manuscript to choose because containing a recension of a comparatively late epoch, and including many defective readings. These errors can be traced to the fact that it must have been written from a hieratic copy, and the mistakes must have arisen from the scribe transposing the signs into their fellow hieroglyphs. For the errors occur only in those signs which in hieratic are so similar as to easily be confused with each other. It is this text upon which are based the translations by Dr. Birch and M. Pierret.

Of the older version, that is to say, of the texts furnished by papyri or monuments dating from the dynasties preceding the Theban Pharaohs, Dr. Lepsius has attempted a translation, whilst for the golden age of Theban monarchs M. Naville, under the auspices of the German Government, has collated and published all the best copies and every known variant. Finally, Dr. Pleyte of Leyden has published many important papyri containing the so-called later chapters. But of each of these three periods, which may be termed respectively, that preceding the 18th dynasty, that of the 18th and succeeding Theban dynasties, and that of subsequent times, only the central era, that treated of by M. Naville, can be said to be adequately made known to us.

Before examining in detail the contents of the "Book of the Dead" it will be requisite, in order to elucidate the meaning in its chapters, to explain briefly the Egyptian conceptions of cosmogony. This is the more necessary because the Book contains references to rival systems which were held at various times, if not also contemporaneously, by the priestly and learned classes. All were agreed that in the beginning there was a time when there were neither heavens nor earth, neither men nor deities, and no death.* The only existing things were the Nu, or primæval watery chaos,† and Tum, the father of the Gods who dwelt there-

* Pyramid text of Pepi I. *Recueil des Travaux*, vol. 8, p. 104.

† Berosus. *γίγνεσθαι φησι χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι*. *Tempus aliquando erat, inquit, quo cuncta tenebræ et aqua erant*.

in.* Passing over the creation of the Gods to that of the earth, this was always spoken of as the act of the God Shou,† who lifted up the waters above the earth in which the stars (and the solar barque) were supposed to float, and the Atlas-might of his arms held the firmament erect. This act once accomplished, however, the descriptions as to how the firmament was maintained in position diverge and these differences will be duly explained as we proceed.

One account (and that a most frequent one) tells us that upon the firmament being thus elevated above the earth the four gods of the cardinal points hastened to take up their positions at the corners of the world that they might support the heavens upon the points of their sceptres.‡ This

* Naville, *Book of the Dead*, ch. 17, lines 3-4.

† Paintings and miniature images show two stages in this act of Shou. At first he is on his knees painfully raising the mass of waters, then he stands erect, his arms extended above his head sustaining the sky without apparent effort. A text in the hymn to Ra Harmachis, who in accordance with the synthetic doctrine of a later epoch assimilated to himself the *persona* of Shou: "Tu as élargi la terre à l'écartement de tes enjambées; tu as élevé le ciel à la longueur de tes bras." Maspero, *Le Livre des Morts*, 270.

The Babylonian creation legend says: "At that time the heaven had not announced or earth beneath recorded a name. The unopened deep was their generator. The chaos of the sea (Mummu Tiamat) was the mother of them all."

The most recent description of Egyptian cosmogonic legends of the creation of the heavens and earth is given by Maspero in *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, for June, 1890, where he tells us as follows: "La légende cosmogonique présentait la séparation du ciel et de la terre comme un acte de violence exercé par Shou sur Seb et Nouit. L'histoire fabuleuse interpréta la légende et la traduisit de façon moins brutale. Shou y devint un fils vertueux qui consacra son temps et ses forces à porter Nouit pour rendre service à son père. Nouit, de son côté, est un enfant bien élevé, qu'il n'est point nécessaire de rudoyer pour lui enseigner ses devoirs; elle consent de bonne grâce à quitter son mari pour mettre son aïeul Ra à l'abri de toute attaque. La Majesté de Nou dit, 'Fils Shou, agis pour ton père Ra, selon ses commandements, et toi, fille Nouit, place le sur ton dos et tiens-le suspendu au-dessus de la terre.' Nouit dit, 'Et comment cela, mon père Nou?' Ainsi parla Nouit et elle fit ce que Nou lui ordonnait, elle se transforma en vache et plaça la Majesté de Ra sur son dos."

Ra then goes through some mythological acts upon the earth including an ordinance prohibiting human sacrifices; then—"Il remonte sur la vache. Celle-ci se lève, s'arcboute sur ses quatre jambes, comme sur autant de piliers; son ventre, allongé comme un plafond au-dessus de la terre, forme le ciel. Nouit, transportée soudain à une hauteur inaccoutumée, prit peur, et cria au secours vers Nou. 'Donne-moi, par grâce, des étais pour me soutenir.' Ce fut le commencement des dieux-étais, les dieux des quatre points cardinaux, on plutôt des quatre maisons du monde. Ils vinrent se placer chacun auprès d'une des jambes de la vache qu'ils assurèrent de leur mains et près de laquelle ils ne cessèrent plus de monter bonne garde. Ra dit, 'Mon fils Shou, place-toi sous ma fille Nouit, et, veillant pour moi sur ces étais-ci et sur ces étais-là qui sont dans le crépuscule, aies la au-dessus de la tête et sois son pasteur.' Shou obéit, vint se ranger sous le ventre de Nouit, les bras levés; la déesse reprit courage, et le monde, pourvu du ciel qui lui avait manqué jusqu'alors, reçut la forme que nous lui connaissons."

† See the Pyramid text of Unas, l. 474, and Teta, l. 232 and 233. Maspero points out

myth must have been of great antiquity, for M. Maspero shows that in primitive times the four supports that keep up the upper world, presumably when the four deities needed rest, were merely the forked branches of trees, as were the corner pillars of the earliest Egyptian houses, and they were in constant fear lest by some misfortune one or more of the angle props should give way, and thus the sky be precipitated upon the earth. In analogy with these concepts the words indicative of tempests or torrential rains have for determinatives the sign for the sky detached from its supports, and consequently falling.

Childish as these ideas appear, they are far surpassed by the anthropomorphic nature of the manner in which the act of Shou is described. According to some texts and innumerable pictures leaving no doubt as to their precise meaning, the sky was in the figure of a goddess, who at night stretched herself prostrate upon the form of her spouse Seb (the earth). Each morning kneeling and then standing near the sacred northern gate of the nocturnal world* Shou (as at the creation of the world) slowly lifted up the body of Nut the sky goddess, whose head and shoulders were to the west, until only her hands and feet rested upon the earth, which four members thus usurp the place of the quadruple gods of the cardinal points with their sceptres, or the four tree-trunks. The body of Nut being thus raised to the full height by the twelfth hour of night, the moment of dawn was reached, and the goddess gave birth to the sun,† which, starting from her womb,† traversed

that two of the sceptre pillars are illustrated on many funeral stelæ to the right and left of the tableau. Book of the Dead. Ed. Naville, ch. 17, l. 26 and 27, also plate 28. The weight according to some Egyptian texts was the greater because in their view the sky was double, the lower one being the bed of the celestial waters, the upper one covering the universe like a roof. To indicate this double firmament some tableaux show two figures of Nut one above the other.

* Maspero, *La Religion Egyptienne*, 153.

† “The sun is thus the son of Seb and Nut, the earth and heaven, but he may also be considered mythologically as either the parent or the son of another sun, for “Horus” (the rising sun) “is the son of Ra” (the noonday sun) “and of Osiris” (the setting sun) “whilst he is still more the father of Ra” (the daily sun), “so Ra is called the father of Osiris and the two gods are often identified. All contradictions disappear when each myth is understood, and when we know that a god is the sun we need not be surprised or

her body until reaching her mouth it vanished again at sunset.* During the night the goddess again descended to the embrace of the earthly Seb, was lifted up again by Shou, giving birth to the sun once more. The meaning of this myth is plain as tersely put by Mr. Le Page Renouf; "it signifies that heaven and earth are confused together in the darkness, and that Sun-light parts them and exhibits heaven high above the earth. Another name of Sun-light is An-heru : Lifter-up of heaven."

The pictures of this event delineate the goddess having her body appropriately adorned with stars with Shou sup-



porting her arched figure and Seb lying at his feet. Another form of the myth gave the sky the figure of a cow, whose four legs fulfilled the office of pillars. This cosmic cow gave daily birth to the solar calf,† which, as it augmented in splendour during the six hours succeeding morn, became the Heliopolitan Bull, Mnevis, or the Memphitic bull Apis,

shocked at finding him called the husband of his mother." Again, "Horus is the son of a father who was put to death by his brother. The father is gloriously avenged by the victory of Horus over his adversaries and he succeeds to his father's throne. What is the solution of this riddle? Simply the Horus victory is that of light over night and darkness (Set and his companions) which had conquered Osiris the preceding day's sun. Day and night are brothers, children of the sky."

* See Pyramid text of Teta, lines 31-35.

† According to the 109 Chap. of the Book of the Dead the calf shown there in the vignette picture at the top of the papyrus is the rising sun, his mother is heaven under the name of Secha-Horu, the Milch-cow. Renouf, "The Ani Papyrus," p. 10.

then the Osiris bull who died at sunset to be reborn Horus once more next day.

To revert to the world-creating act of Shou, upon the first day when he lifted up the firmament, the earth was supposed to have stretched itself out beneath his feet like a long flat table, the longer axis being north to south.

In process of time, the myths of the firmament being held in position by props,* or the sceptres of deities, or being in the form of a female or an animal, gave way to the somewhat more rational explanation that the world being surrounded by high mountains, four peaks of great altitude at the corners supported the sky which was represented sometimes flat but mostly slightly convex. These lofty summits were supposed to be at the cardinal points, that to the south was named *Apet*, to the east *Bakhu*, that to the west *Manu*, but the title of the northern peak is as yet unknown. These three names signify respectively "the house of the world," "the mount of birth," and the "mountain of life." The eastern and western peaks may be identified with well known peaks to the east and west of the Nile valley. In course of time as the Egyptian people increased in power and their travellers or spies crossed the isthmus of Suez, or the mighty Pharaohs led their legions far into Asia it could not be dissembled that the earth was wider than the most distant range visible from the Nile. It became therefore necessary to shift Bakhu, or the eastern peak, further to the east, and this was done. It was merely said to be on the verge of the orient without the exact spot being specified, but its height was given as 2,250 feet, and it possessed an enormous guardian serpent. Here in the mountain was a gigantic gate, where Tum, Sebek, and Hathor awaited the sun's coming, with a towering sycamore

* These 4 pillars were symbolised by the emblem of stability the fourfold "Tat." There were however other reasons for assigning a special mystical meaning to the number Four. At Mendes God was worshipped as a four-headed ram, at Hermopolis as four couples of Apes. These rams and braces of Apes Lefebure tells us were the Four elements, the first Fire or Ra, Water or Osiris, Earth or Seb, Air or Shu. At Hermopolis the male and female Ape couples were respectively Water (or humidity) and matter—Time and Movement—Obscurity and Space—Repose and *inertia*. These resemble the great doubles of Hegel—Matter and Movement—Space and *inertia*.

on each side whose foliage was of emeralds and precious stones. Beside one tree was a lake and alongside the other a river, the former containing 1,000 geese, whilst the number in the river is not given.

The western peak, or *Manu*, was not so lofty as *Bakhu*, but it had its guardian serpent (*Sittisou*), 65 cubits long. It never appears, as Egyptian geographical knowledge increased, to have been transported further to the west, for the journeyings of the Egyptians in the desert never penetrated far beyond the Libyan chain. It is often depicted in the vignette of one of the last chapters of the *Book of the Dead*, showing a steep mountain covered with sand, having at its foot the crocodile goddess *Thoueris*. Growing upon the hill are lotus plants representing the mists of evening, and through a cleft in the mountain the head of cow-headed *Hathor* may be seen. Sometimes, however, the figure of a headless female is substituted, with long arms, waiting to take the setting sun. According to the priests of *Abydos* the sun entered the mountain by a gorge, according to other schools by a gate similar to the gate of *Bakhu*. The title of the western gate was *Portal of the Passages*. Pictures of this sunset drama would often represent the orb of day sailing in his barque, and a specially fine illustration may be found in a papyrus belonging to *Minutoli*, which cannot at present be traced, showing that the greater portion of the solar boat has disappeared in the mountain, the high stern alone remaining with *Isis* and *Nephthys* standing thereon taking a last look at the earth they were leaving.

Side by side with these views of the *Cosmos* were two others; one that the earth was surrounded by the ocean, in some far distant region of which were the isles of the blest, the paradise of departed spirits. Under the early dynasties, especially at *Memphis*, this myth was widely accepted. The defunct embarked upon the sacred "dahabeah," and usurping the part of pilot, steered straight for the "field of offerings," or cruised about for pleasure in the "excellent *Amenti*."

The other theory was that instead of the sun merely passing through a gorge between the mountain peaks at sunset into a land beyond, where the dead dwelt, it disappeared into a cavern in the western hills which was connected by subterranean passages with large vaulted halls and long galleries, these corridors, chambers and passages leading round to the north and then to the east, the sun emerged once more from their exit on the east.

Upon the view that the firmament was upheld by Shou, or the cardinal point gods, or supported itself on the arms and legs of Nut or the legs of the sacred cow, or the quadruple mountain tops, it is evident that the sun, after leaving the world in the evening, must have mounted up over the edge of the firmament, and passed from west to east above it in order to reappear in the morning, and consequently the world of the spirits who were associated with the nocturnal sun was, while these myths received credence, above the sky.

In later times, the sun was said to effect his journey in a somewhat more scientific manner. Having passed out of sight behind the mountain of Manu by means of the gate of the passages, or Rosta, the solar barque continued its travels not in a straight line westward but turned towards the north, journeying along a valley parallel with Egypt but concealed from it by the western mountains. This mythical valley was the counterpart of that of the Nile, and like it was divided from end to end by a river, the Ouranos. The valley must at some part of its course have turned sharply to the east, for it had to conduct the sun again to the eastern gate in the Mount of Bakhu.*

The site of this eastward turn was, we are told, the extreme northern limit of this solar course, and corresponded in point of time to the 6th hour of the night. It was also the place where was the 6th of the twelve gates by which this nocturnal world was divided, gates which must be passed through, for they were the only openings in walls

* See *Livre des Morts*, Naville's edition, ch. 17, ll. 23-28, plate 23; also plate 28.

which stretched across the valley from side to side. The whole itinerary of this journey is given in "the Book of the Dead" repeated with modification in the "Book of the Tuat," and other works, and from a comparison of the various versions most interesting details as to the Egyptian conceptions of this valley where departed spirits dwell are to be obtained.*

It was whilst in the 6th division, before passing the northern gate, which was of extreme importance because it led into the Elysian fields, that the judgement-hall was situated where Osiris decided the fate of gods and men. To obtain acquittal the spirit needed to furnish himself with letters of credit, or a passport in the shape of a "Book of the Dead," also to be able to truthfully repeat the negative confession, and then he might hope to succeed. This gate is said to be situated at the very part of the universe where Shou stood when he lifted up the heavens above the earth. Once through this portal the proper domain of Osiris as the beneficent God was entered upon, where he was lord of all, and no demons could any longer cause fright. The spirit could now nourish itself upon the sacrificial offerings which, having been presented by his mummy's descendants upon the earth to Osiris, the god shares with the *Ba* spirit in the other world.

It will have been noticed that in describing these various cosmogonic legends but little attention has been given to the Osiris myth. This reticence has not been unintentional, and the reason for it is that this myth appears not to be founded upon physical phenomena, but to be in the first place a hero myth which in course of time became amalgamated with solar myths. There are many reasons for believing that the original position of the Osirian Elysian fields was no more distant than the Nile Delta, which in prehistoric times was in process of formation. The descrip-

* It is not at all certain that the spirits were supposed to remain there continuously; the wish of a pious Egyptian as set forth by innumerable texts was to journey through this other world with the sun, then to come forth into this world by day, or to sail across the sky during the day in the barque of the sun.

tion of his paradise as being intersected by canals, lined by gigantic plants, or consisting of prolific fields and pasturages dotted with lakes, over which blew the cooling north wind, would of itself suggest this, but in addition M. Lauth points out that a *nome* in the Delta district was called "Sokhit Ialou," the Elysian fields. It was here that the body of Osiris was carried, that Horus was born, that the semi-mythical warriors, the Sheshu Hor, or followers of Horus, gathered to his standard, and the whole story of the campaign between Horus and his knights and Set, is so intermingled with the actual geography of Egypt, and the references to documents said to have been written in the time of the followers of Horus are so circumstantial, that it appears almost certain that we are here in presence of a romantic epic, founded upon the history of some actual war between the inhabitants of Egypt, and some invaders who, in pre-historic times, had conquered and settled in the Delta; as in historic times the Shepherd Kings did once more. If this view is sound, it is but natural that as a hero Osiris and his avenger son, Horus, being deified, became amalgamated with the cosmic solar hero Ra, and his son Harmachis, and the struggle between the Egyptians and their invaders, mingled with the conflict of light with the demons of darkness. Consequently, the Deltaic Elysian fields would be transferred to the other world where the deified Osiris, having become a deity of the dead, now reigned. This actually occurred, and the old concept of their situation being in the extreme north of Egypt was still adhered to by locating them at the extreme north of the nether world, midway between Manu and Bakhu, in the division of the twelve regions into which the sun passed when going through the so-called "sacred gate" which led from the 6th to the 7th hour in the night.

This transference of the terrestrial fields of Ialou into celestial ones, or rather into cis-mundane fields, for the land of the Tuat, though sometimes, as will be seen immediately, associated with positions in the heavens, was far more

generally spoken of as being merely that place in which the sun, when hidden from earth at night, continued his course—is no more remarkable than what occurred to the situation of the “Fortunate isles,” for M. Maspero* shows that these isles of the blest, which were the paradise of those Egyptians who adhered to the theory that the earth was encompassed by an ocean, in process of time became transferred into the Fields of Ialou. Whether this arose because the similarity of the islands of the Delta, produced by the intersecting watercourse, and the lakes, to the clustered islets in the sea caused them to be confounded together, or whether it was an astute step on the part of those believing in the Book of Tuat theory of the other world to conciliate those who held to the doctrine of an encircling ocean by absorbing their fortunate isles into their rival paradise, is uncertain.

There remains but one other series of myths which it is necessary to notice in order to understand allusions to it in the “Book of the Dead,” should any reader decide to peruse that curious work for himself. This is the series referring to the assignment of certain constellations to the different regions of the other world.

It has been suggested that the original gardens of Ialou were as near to Egypt as its own Delta; whether that be so or not, it is certain that they were at one time carried so far away as the constellation *Ursa Major* (known to the Egyptians as the Constellation of the Thigh).† For the abodes of the blest;—those who had successfully passed the judgement and were to live eternally,—were by an exquisite conception of the fitness of things placed among the *never setting* stars circling round the pole which were considered to be immortal. The author of *De Iside et Osiride* told the Greeks that the Egyptian priests held that whilst the bodies of the deceased gods were upon earth,

* Maspero, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 15, 278.

† Maspero thinks that when first projected beyond Egypt they halted in Syria near Byblos. This connection of the Isis and Osiris myth with Byblos, as mentioned by the pseudo-Plutarch, derives additional interest from the allusion to it in the newly-discovered “Apology of Aristides,” and confirmations of the Greek traditions with reference to it have been found in the Papyri by M. Révillout.

their spirits were in heaven in the similitude of stars, and the original texts tell us of Isis being associated with Sothis, and Osiris with Orion, a statement translated in the *Astronomische Inschriften* of Brugsch, where it is said of Isis, "She shines in the sky as a princess among stars, and protects her brother Osiris" (Orion)* "in his going in the firmament." In the tomb of Seti I. the tableaux make these mythical expressions more simple. We see by them the deities are not associated with the stars themselves, but are imagined to reside in the heavens and carry the stars as lamps. Thus Isis-Sothis carries a five branch-star in her head dress, and Osiris a star at the top of his sceptre. At Denderah and elsewhere, where Isis is a cow, a star is placed between her horns.

The Pyramid texts show Osiris-Orion, like his Greek namesake to have been a mighty hunter. The justified dead who become united to Osiris travelling with him by day as Ra, also pass to the sky to sojourn with Osiris-Orion there. Pepi's pyramid tells us "their spirits are to be found in the sky among the indestructible stars." Sometimes they are consequently identified with stars in Orion, but if assimilated with Horus then they become one of the morning stars. Pepi, when justified, was to appear in the heavens. His pyramid books† tell us, "The sister of this Pepi is Sothis, and Pepi is the morning star which is on the bosom of Nut. Thou O Pepi art this star which appears in the east of the sky. See Osiris comes to thee as Orion. Thou livest therefore and thou comest with Orion from the east of the sky ; thou descendest with Orion to the west of heaven."

As only a part of Egypt was the sacred home of Osiris so only was a portion of the heavens, and the pyramid scribes and others inform us that his region of the sky was to the north-east, and indeed they fix upon the constellation,

* Brugsch, *Astronomische Inschriften*, p. 10, No. 31, p. 83. quotes the text as follows :—"The Soul of Osiris is God with the stars, he rises eternally under the form of Tahou-Orion in the bosom of Nut, the goddess of the sky." Cf. *Micat inter omnes Julium Sidus velut inter ignes Luna Minores.*

† Pepi I., in *Recueil des Travaux*, vol. v., lines 172-3.

that of the Great Bear.* Thereabouts also were the four sons of Horus, and there dwelt the spirits who were followers of Osiris-Orion. There, where in the clear sky of Egypt shine the innumerable stars of the Milky Way in one of its densest aggregations, and where the glorious aspect of the stellar universe is so apparent, were the abodes of the blest.

Whether any of the constellations there reminded them of the geography of the earthly Elysian fields we know not, but certainly their stellar duplicate was to be found somewhere in the north-eastern sky.

The above short summary of Egyptian doctrines as to the future world forms, as has been already stated, the minimum of introduction necessary to understand the mysterious chapters of the "Book of the Dead"; for all these varied imaginations which undoubtedly were the product of centuries of speculation in various sacerdotal centres are commingled together, not to say jostling each other in this ancient work, so that as M. Maspero has well said, the other world of the "book of the dead" is a kind of "*Enfer eclectique*," in which one finds the most contradictory conceptions united. At one place sentences referring to the life after death, and merely being concerned with the tomb are found preceded, or followed by others regarding the "Isles of the blest," or the "Elysian fields," or the "caverns of the sun," or relating to a home amid the stars, or in the solar "barque with Ra," or to the Hades or "Amenti," the "Kher-neter" land with its gates and its river counterpart of the Nile. This perpetual conflict between irreconcilable ideas to be found in its chapters presents almost insuperable obstacles to any consecutive description of its contents.

As an instance of the confusion arising from these various theories, the different ideas as to the manner in which the spirit passed from this world to the next according to the theories referred to as to where that world was placed, are

* There were seven Gods identified with the seven stars of *Ursa Major*. Pictures of each of them are to be found in the Ani Papyrus, p. 9.

instructive. Those who thought the sky was supported by the four pillars perforce imagined either that the soul took the form of a bird (human-headed) and consequently could fly to the upper world, or that it was furnished with a ladder to climb there. The belief that a human-headed bird* was the form taken by the soul continued throughout all ages of Egyptian history, because this shape was a convenient one to enable the *Ba* to carry out one of its most cherished objects, that of returning to Egypt to revisit the tomb or any part of the land, especially the holiest temples, if it wished. But the need for a ladder if the spirit took the human form was not ignored, and that it might not be found wanting a rudely made model† was carefully placed in the tomb.

Some however believed a special ladder was ready to hand in the west, others that each mummy must provide one for himself. Teta,‡ of the fourth dynasty, in his pyramid, says after he came to the west like Ra he raised up the ladder, and the inhabitants of heaven reached down their hands to help him to climb.

The ladder itself is sometimes sacred to Hathor, or identified with her, and called "daughter of the Amenti," "gift of Thoth." Seb, Horus, Set, and Ra are also mentioned as gods who hold up the ladder and assist ascending spirits. On reaching the summit, the spirit found himself on the edge of a lake called the lake of the altar, and upon crossing it he came to the "field of offerings," which he was per-

* Plate 17 of the exemplar of the "Book of the Dead." The Ani papyrus contains an exquisite representation of the *Ba* spirit as a human-headed hawk visiting the mummy, as a vignette to the chapter of "reuniting the soul to the dead body."

† Such a model has been found in a Necropolis of Roman times at Akhmin showing that this theory of the ladder for the soul still had adherents to the last days of Egyptian religion.

‡ Teta, lines 36 and 37; also Pepi, lines 200, 201, where is the invocation to the gods who bring the ladder. Unas, lines 575 and 6 and other texts. Conceptions of this character were common in mediæval and even in recent times. In a work entitled "The glories of Mary," by S. Alfonso Liguori, revised by a Catholic priest (Dublin, 1833), the following occurs: "It is related that Brother Leo once saw in a vision two ladders, one of them white; at its top he saw the Virgin Mary. He saw that some who twice attempted to ascend the red ladder fell back. They were then exhorted to ascend the white ladder. The Blessed Virgin stretched out her hand to them, and they securely ascended to paradise."

mitted to enter if he was able to conciliate its guardian bull with 4 horns, and, when there, to feast upon the provisions given by his relatives on earth.

Again the believers in the world-encircling Ocean, and its Fortunate Isles, pictured the spirit as passing from this world, like Hiawatha, in a skiff, or on a boat which he commands, and models are frequently found in tombs, whilst the mention of the "lake of the west" or the "most excellent lake of the west" is quite common.

When the "Amenti" came to be regarded as merely a facsimile of Egypt, situated behind her western hills, the deceased could proceed there on foot. The spot to be attained on the mountain of Manu was called the "mouth of the cleft," and was the entrance to the first hour of the night of the "Book of the Tuat." Thither, at sunset, the souls of defunct Egyptians hurried in crowds from all parts of the fatherland, and the vignettes to chapter 117 of the "Book of the Dead" show them to us marching with long walking-sticks, placing one foot upon the mountain slope, and commencing the ascent. To those who regarded the tomb as being the home of the spirit, it was a most important question that the funerary offering provisions should be rendered at all fitting feasts; either the walls of the funerary chapel, or the sides of the sarcophagus, have the imitation ones fully represented upon them. Whether the surviving spirit was in the bird form of the *Ba* or a "shade," or the *Ka eidolon*, he was able to go in and out, to take his siesta by day beneath the shade of the trees in his garden, to breathe the cool evening wind, to travel to any part of Egypt or even soar up to the sky, but the "anchor of the soul" was the mummy in the cavern in the hillside, or the mastaba pit, and thither he returned.*

These dissonant ideas do not seem to have been con-

* "On aurait tort de s'effrayer de ces dissonances et d'essayer de les écarter en torturant les mots et les phrases pour en extraire un sens symbolique dont la vague sublimité permet de tout concilier. Il faut prendre la pensée égyptienne telle qu'elle est, avec ses obscurités et ses absurdités sans fin, trop heureux si les textes nous permettent de la saisir partout et de la présenter à nos contemporains dans toute sa simplicité." Maspero, *Le Livre des Morts*.

sidered as incompatible, for a series of tomb paintings or writings may in one place picture or refer to the ladder of ascent, in another to the bird-form spirit, elsewhere assert that the soul dwells in the sepulchre, and yet in another or even in the same chamber show the soul seated in the Gardens of Ialou, or crossing the lake of the Altar, or sailing in the daily sky, or nocturnal one rowing in the galley of Ra Osiris.

Precisely so do the papyrus "books of the dead" reflect the confusion of doctrines in their numerous *formulae*, all of which have for object the continuity of the spirit's life and its protection from torturing demons or annihilation, for the means employed and the variety of incantations and the rubrics stating for which each was efficacious show them to have originated under the various divergent conceptions as to the destiny of the surviving soul.

Some are intended to insure the capability of the *Ka* assimilating nourishment from the funerary offerings,* others to obtain from the *Ba* a tithe of those offered to the gods; some speak of journeyings about this world and promise a hearty welcome at Heliopolis, some guarantee the spirit a berth in the boat of Ra, whilst others grant him a lease in the land of Osiris.

These conceptions carried out in their minutest details with Egyptian prolixity, so that every possible contingency was provided for, furnish the ground for the many prayers and *formulae* which as all the activities of the soul are described as being repetitions of the physical necessities of the body were requisite to accord it, not merely the right to "go in and out" from this world to the other, for which purpose the "Book of the Dead" as a whole was the talisman, but gave him the use of all his organs and retained them for him against the special foes who would "rob him of his heart," "extinguish his sight," decapitate him, and so

* Book of the Dead. Chap. 15: Chapter of provisioning "the double." Chap. 16: Chapter of giving abundance to the defunct at Memphis daily. Chap. 122: Of knowing the souls in "Pou." Chap. 42: Of repelling destruction in Kher-ne-ter. Chap. 134: Of going in the Barque of Ra and being among the god's followers. See MS.

forth, and even rendered him invulnerable to death or annihilation. It was in fact a repetition for his members of the means employed by Isis to reconstruct the body of Osiris.

Often more than one formula is found having the same object: this originated in the earlier ones having been imagined to have been imperfect in their efficacy and consequently new and potent ones were produced, but, in case the primitive ones should still be of some value, they were both retained that both might be employed, besides, what but good could accrue from thus affording the defunct a selection to choose from?

In many individual cases the "Book of the Dead" was doubtless talismanic; in another sense, its object being to assert for the deceased a knowledge of its contents, which perhaps, indeed probably, he never possessed, it was thus a sort of passport made out by the priests, a token that he knew the veritable doctrines of religion, and even in the minority of cases where the defunct may have committed to memory the chapters it contains, but a very small number ever had any true perception of the esoteric meaning of its elaborate symbolism. It is very unlikely that the priests themselves, excepting in the earliest ages, understood the work thoroughly, for the copies found upon sarcophagi dating from even the 11th dynasty contain explanatory glosses interspersed with the text.

Books of the dead were probably produced by scribes, members of the large semi-sacred guilds who congregated in the neighbourhood of every Egyptian necropolis, where dwelt the mummyfiers and manufacturers of funerary furniture. The length of the papyrus would depend upon the wealth of the purchaser or of the patron who ordered it, and upon its length depended the number of the chapters which could be engrossed. In the price paid was also involved the question whether it should be of careful execution, in both red and black ink, and whether or not an illustrated edition with the pictorial vignettes at the top.

However great the dimensions of a papyrus might be, it

never contained all the chapters to be found in the others, so far as we know; for no papyrus found—and we have those executed for the most mighty princes—has ever done so. Nor have we reason to think that any papyrus ever contained all the chapters considered to be canonical at the time when it was written. For except in quite late times, when there had probably been some authoritative revision committee which had decided the order in which it was preferred for the chapters to appear, there is no common order for their succession at any one period.

It should be remembered that we have no *papyrus* bearing the "Book of the Dead" earlier than the 18th dynasty, though we know from the Egyptians they had portions, at any rate, of it dating from prehistoric times. Consequently all the papyrus versions contain the explanatory rubrics or glosses, and as the scribes, for fear of omitting matter of sacred importance, instead of selecting the version which appeared to them the best, incorporated all the various readings, the confusion may be imagined. As stated, it is probable that the sense of the book was doubtful even by the 11th dynasty, and Mr. Le Page Renouf adds that the "text was nearly as corrupt as in later ages." Many errors arose from the scribes misunderstanding the direction of the writing in these early copies, the last column being taken as the first, so that cross-readings, absolutely unsoluble, arise therefrom. In addition to being unlearned, Mr. Renouf accuses the copyists of being grossly careless, and concludes by saying, "Manuscripts in all languages are known to be full of mistakes, but the blunders of the Egyptian scribes exceed all that has yet been discovered in the palæographical aberrations of other nations."

It is an interesting fact, as illustrative of the limits at present imposed upon the knowledge of Egyptologists, that they should still be disputing as to what is the true translation of the very title of the book itself.

The words in Egyptian are *Per-m-hru*, and, according to Dr. Pleyte, the proper rendering is *The book of*

"going forth from the day," referring to the passage of the soul from this life considered as a day's journey to the other existence beyond the grave; for in some papyri the phrase is added "to live when you are dead," so that, in fact, the information given in the work was to enable the deceased to be justified and attain immediate bliss.

M. Naville is disposed to acquiesce in this interpretation, merely adding, after an elaborate dissertation upon the matter, that the supplement frequently attached to the title of the words "under all forms that he (the defunct) pleases," indicates that it assures to him also the power to assume any bodily form as the spirit's home.

Lefébure,* Maspero, and Le Page Renouf, are in favour of rendering *Per-m-hru* by "coming forth by day," and it is probable that this translation is the most accurate we are likely to attain. The full signification of *Per-m-hru* to an Egyptian is not far to seek. We have briefly examined their most important conceptions upon these subjects, and seen how much value they attached to the *Ka* ghost being able to live, and move, as it desired; and to the *Ba* spirit being able to return from the Amenti, and revisit the earth and the tomb. Both these functions of these two of the spiritual subdivisions into which a deceased Egyptian became separated are evidently included in this title. It meant that it would prevent the *Ka* from remaining inert by the mummy, or the *Ba* from being confined to the nether world; by its means it could prevent itself from being imprisoned in Hades, or annihilated there, and, knowing its *formulae*, the *Ba* could return to earth at will. During the earthly day, night hovered over the nether world, and then the spirit wished to return to earth and "come forth by day," whilst Ra-Osiris was illuminating Egypt with his beams. Upon the approach of sunset, the soul would wish to depart again to Amenti with the sun-god. Accordingly we find a rubric to chapter 58 telling the owner that, if he

* "*Le Per-m-hrou, Etude sur la vie future chez les Egyptiens*," by Lefébure, in the *Mélanges Egyptologiques* of Chabas.

knows this chapter on his papyrus, "he can come back after going out." The title may also, by some sort of *double entendre*, have betokened the spirit's departure at death from this world, for in the Ani papyrus,* and others of the middle and subsequent literary periods indicated, the concise older title of "Coming forth by day" is amplified by the following explanatory words which gave what the priests at those periods believed was the full signification of meaning in the words, and we are not likely ever to surpass them in knowledge of the matter. "The Beginning of the chapters of coming forth by day, of the words† which bring about Resurrection and glory, and of coming out of and entering into Amenti, said upon the day of burial of N the victorious (justified), who enters after coming forth. Here is N the victorious. He saith." The rubric of this chapter, of the title of which the above is Mr. Le Page Renouf's latest rendering, says: "If this book is known upon earth or inscribed on the coffin, he will come forth by day in all the forms he pleases, and return to his place without hindrance."

* The Papyrus of Ani, page 14.

† A papyrus at Dublin tells us by this addition to the title upon what occasion the "Book of the Dead" was to be efficacious:—"Beginning of the book which is said on the day of the funeral." Another variant title under the 18th dynasty is "Chapters of passing over to the power of Osiris," so that it seems to have been supposed to admit the deceased into the Amenti. See Renouf, "Papyrus of Ani," page 11.

CHOLERA AND EXCHANGE.

FROM A NATIVE INDIAN STANDPOINT.

CHOLERA is the return which India makes for European commerce. Guarded by the Ocean and the mountains on the North, India has always been self-contained for good or for evil. From time immemorial, Cholera has been a disease confined to India, till in 1830 the ship "Hugh Lindsay" brought it to Europe. In 1817 English vessels had, however, already introduced the scourge to Oman on the West, and to China on the East of India. By the most rigid quarantine Russia protected itself and Europe against Cholera in 1821, but commerce seems to be dearer to England than life, and the exigencies of gain have since blinded Englishmen as to the necessity of precautions even in a country where the sea and ships offer the easiest and most efficient quarantine all around her coasts, and where the perfection of sanitation is already an obstacle to the spread of the disease. "Prevention, however, is better than cure," and, at the risk of delaying trade, we should insist on intelligent quarantine as well as inspection. The silver streak that divides the tight little island physically and politically from the Continent is also sufficient to guard it against Cholera, and the Minister or Sanitary Authority that allows a single case of Cholera to reach these shores, that could have been stopped by quarantine, is guilty of a crime. The inefficiency in continental practice of quarantine regulations is no reason against rendering them efficient, as they *can* be rendered here. Cholera is invariably brought into a new place by travellers, and there it spreads under such insanitary conditions only as facilitate certain absorptions. During the fearful outbreak in 1867 at the Hardwar fair, whenever one of the scattered 3 million pilgrims went off the main road to his home, there he brought Cholera, if he himself was affected by it. The village which he did not

visit remained free, and whereas, say, the native City of Lahore had one case in ten of the population, and the European Station one in a hundred, the villages in the Lahore District, that have comparatively little intercommunication, had 14 cases only in a population of nearly 700,000, or one in fifty thousand. Wherever the observance of Caste, as in marriage and social intercourse, develops the power of resistance to epidemics, as, practically, is the case among the Jews; wherever the religious sentiment regulates diet, dress, and bodily purifications, there the headless "woman in white," that has lately travelled from India to the Pomeranian moors, claims few victims. It is Mammon that mainly sacrifices the world to Moloch.

Just as Cholera is the return for English commercial enterprise in India, so is Exchange the price that India pays for a foreign rule, that deprives her of an indigenous history, if not of her arts and manufactures, of her ancient and picturesque creed and culture, so full of lessons to modern civilization, of her marvellous literature and languages, that give reputations to those that scarcely skim them in Europe like Professor Max Müller. India suffices for all her wants—mental, moral and physical—and does not require any European interference. The allegiance to Her Majesty, which is generally a real feeling in India and which should be cultivated by indigenous methods, and the presence of the Military, are all that is really needed to maintain the political connexion between England and India. The scientific departments, which cost the Indian Government so little, although they justify its existence to European nations, might be retained, till the natives of India, as those of Japan, are able to administer them themselves.

The present is an excellent opportunity for restoring the equilibrium of the Indian finances, and for developing the resources of India. Already overpaid foreign officials may complain of losing half their salaries, but it is precisely their reduction to half (payable, however, by a gold standard in

the case of Europeans) that is desirable in all cases in which half the pay would exceed £1,000 a year. Persons of good family, whether English or native, accept public positions for the honour, not the salary, that they confer. It is only the low-caste Banya, whether dark or white, that seeks in Government an easier enrichment than in his trade. We want the higher Classes to rule India, not a race of hungry adventurers, whose reputation is due to their writing their own history, and having to deal with defenceless and mute millions.

The appointment of Lord Ripon to the Colonial Office offers the long-deferred opportunity of replacing India under its wiser and more economical control. Its Ceylon scale of pay, for instance, will satisfy Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen of birth, as it does men in the Diplomatic and Military services. No foreigner should also henceforward be appointed to an Indian post whenever a native of the country can be found competent to fill it. No article that can possibly be supplied in India is to be ordered from England. If the retention of India on these terms is "not worth our while," the sooner it is given up the better in the interests of justice and of the national life of India.

Only 12,000 native shopkeepers, in a population of 254 millions, of whom at least 20 millions are engaged in trade, and all, more or less, in agriculture, are alleged to have supported the application of the Indian Trading Association for a gold standard, or for the stoppage of the coining of silver or for other panaceas that neither they nor their European customers, nor the Association or the Indian Government understand. If they were to give up importing European goods, including drinks, there would be a chance for the more durable Indian manufactures and the gradual disuse of European liquors, now sold at a fancy price, would leave more money for household expenses and the neglected household gods. In proportion as Indian Commerce is unremunerative to foreigners,

it becomes remunerative to natives of the soil, and in proportion as Indian service becomes unattractive to the sons of European tradesmen, it will be desired by the native Aristocracy. There is no reason why, for instance, the loyal and wise Raja of Nabha should not, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, convert the province into that gem of cleanliness, happiness, and prosperity that Nabha has so long been. Indeed, now that the Indian Chiefs have to place their military and financial resources at the disposal of the Indian Government, it is high time that they should be entrusted with a larger share in the Administration, especially when this can be done, not only without extra expense, but at a positive saving to the exchequer.

I have advocated bi-metallism since 1867, when the very name was unknown in India and one sapient Finance Minister after the other looked as wise as he does now in misunderstanding its application. It is now too late to throw Indian finances into confusion by complying with proposals, for the failure of which their advocates will not render themselves personally and pecuniarily responsible. Nothing can now be done except to watch events and to thank God as, with the reduction of Indian official salaries, the abolition of the India Office, and the diminution of foreign trade, India comes a little to herself, cultivates her own government and manufactures, and by being independent of Exchange is less under the temptation of introducing Cholera into Europe along with other exports. In the meanwhile, the European exploiter will still be able to purchase for his gold more than its value of Indian produce, and should bi-metallism be re-established by international agreement on the former French basis, then—nominally at all events—the Indian finances will, to the outside world, show a prosperity that, intrinsically, is not affected, out of India, by the equivalent in gold of the Rupee. The debasement of silver, by limiting its coinage, and the purchase of gold at the present high and variable rates is certainly not an advantage to India.

Whilst, however, no European or Indian merchants, trading with England, can recommend any measure to the Indian Government that is more than "catching at a straw" or leaving the India Office to its own—and this time inevitable—incompetence, there is one measure which would at once beneficially affect both Exchange and Indian Credit. It is that Parliament should guarantee the various Indian loans that have been raised by the Indian Government, and which now have only a value because it is supposed that England cannot, if it comes to the worst, repudiate her Indian obligations. Already the threat of Russian complications has lowered Indian securities to the Continental standards of a little over 60 per cent. When it is thoroughly understood that the British Parliament is not responsible for the Indian debt, Indian securities will still further fall, till the dishonesty that has conceived the incurring of a debt by an Agent—the Indian Government—which neither its employer—the British Parliament—nor the Indian taxpayer will guarantee, will receive its punishment in the collapse of the present Indian Administration.

"Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization" have ever been the excuse of the European meddler in the East. The negro who drinks brandy becomes of "Massa's religion"; Queensland is fertilized by kidnapped Kanakas, and the Baboo reproduces at second-hand the small-talk of European infidelity. Even European philanthropy has a tendency to degrade or destroy the motives of native charity, and the official pressure, used to get subscriptions for a fund in aid of Indian women who neither really require nor could use it, has diverted the gifts of the "pious donor" from the poor that were always with him, from the Temple or Mosque, and from the infinitely more useful Dharmshala, the guest-house and the well at the roadside, into a pretext for official favour.

SHASTRI.

MEMO. ON CHOLERA.

SURGEON-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM MOORE, K.C.I.E., Honorary Physician to the Queen, writes to us :

DEAR SIR,—The general supposition that India is the “home of cholera” is correct, if by home is meant, where the malady is most prevalent. But the general supposition that all epidemics of cholera originate in India, especially in the Valley of the Ganges, spreading thence westerly to other countries, is certainly not correct. The theory of the western progress of cholera has been formulated from a collection of reports of cholera occurring in countries west of India, on the main lines of communication. But such reports are not always reliable. No one knows what takes place even a few miles north or south of the main lines of traffic. Had similar attention been directed to countries east of India, equal reason would probably have been found for believing in an eastern progress of cholera. That cholera occurs in Persia, or on the Caspian, or in some country west of India, is no reason that it must have been imported from India. While experience shows that cholera may be imported, there is equal reason for the statement that it may occur irrespective of importation. It often breaks out in localities and villages, where communication with infected places could not possibly have taken place. Notwithstanding the many theories, the precise cause of cholera, as of various other diseases, is yet unknown. It is not yet proved by sufficient evidence whether the celebrated Koch’s comma bacillus, found in the discharges of cholera patients and regarded by some as the cause, is really the cause or only the result of the disease. There is however evidence to prove that cholera evacuations, in a certain condition of fermentation, constitute the principal, if not the only channel of contagion ; and therefore Koch’s bacillus is a good workable hypothesis. To produce cholera three

factors are required. The poisonous principle which may be the comma bacillus—the introduction of the poisonous principle into the human system—and predisposition of the recipient. There is abundant evidence that one great means by which cholera is disseminated is the contamination of drinking water by the dejections of persons suffering from the disease. There is reason to believe that the poisonous principle becomes rapidly multiplied in water. Milk adulterated with water may become a medium of dissemination. Or the poisonous principle protected in clothing, or in the soil, may dry yet remain vital (as germs of various fungi are known to remain vital) until brought into activity by favourable circumstances of heat moisture and atmospheric conditions. In no other way except the hypothesis of a *de novo* origin, or of transference by the winds, to both of which theories there are more forcible objections, can the occurrence of cholera be explained, at places where there has been no communication with infected localities. Now the connection of cholera with unsanitary conditions is not questioned. In almost every epidemic the incidence of cholera is on the most unsanitary localities. And it is in such localities that cholera generally commences. The countries west of India are much less advanced in sanitation than the worst parts of India. In most of those regions there is no sanitation whatever. There is at least equal reason to believe that the dormant poisonous principle of cholera is there called anew into activity, as to believe that the disease is imported from India. Cholera may, more especially during hot weather, revive in any country, irrespective of importation.

It has been the custom to regard cholera as a disease always characterized by certain symptoms, and to say that an attack is not cholera, unless all those symptoms are present. As respects other maladies, *e.g.*, scarlet fever, typhoid, diphtheria, very mild and very severe phases are admitted : so it is with cholera. It may be present, although all the symptoms do not appear. It is suggestive, that

when cholera first occurs, in almost any place, it is reported as *cholera nostras*, "choleraic diarrhœa," or some other term is used, which while probably awhile allaying public uneasiness, is not correct, and is calculated to afford a false feeling of security. The only difference between the *cholera nostras* and "summer diarrhœa" of this country and the so termed Asiatic cholera, is one of greater or less severity. Many cases which have been called *cholera nostras*, cannot be distinguished from Asiatic cholera. When cholera occurs there are always *many more* instances of diarrhœa, evidently due to similar influences. And the question has never yet been answered, at what stage sufferers from diarrhœa become the victims of cholera ?

It was mentioned above that a third factor in the production of cholera is predisposition to the malady. Whatever tends to lower the vital powers is a predisposing agency ; for instance, the depression following intoxication, fatigue particularly from long journeys, overcrowding, damp, hunger and famine, bad food, destitution, heat, and especially fear of the disease, and an atmosphere impregnated by exhalation from filth. In India though general sanitation is as much as possible attended to, and personal hygiene enjoined, experience has demonstrated that the most satisfactory method of evading cholera is to march away from it. This, however, is only applicable to troops. As in this country we cannot march away from it, our first line of defence is to prevent importation of the disease. The passage of aliens into the country should be *altogether stopped*, for many come from infected centres, and they are all, from manner of life, predisposed to the disease. The importation of rags has very properly been stopped ; and it now remains to prevent the importation of the wearers of rags. As regards other public precautions, the modified system of quarantine already in operation is the best course to be adopted, viz., examination of vessels from infected ports, and isolation of any suspicious case. The period of incubation of cholera (*i.e.*, the time within which the disease

develops after the reception of the poisonous principle into the system) has been variously stated; but the weight of evidence shows that development, though occasionally later, is very unusual after 48 hours. Hence the absurdity of placing vessels in quarantine, from Bombay, *e.g.*, when they arrive at Suez, unless cholera has occurred recently on the voyage. Our next line of defence is the immediate destruction of the poisonous principle contained in the evacuations of all cases occurring. This may be satisfactorily accomplished by the corrosive sublimate solution recommended by the London Local Government Board, under Dr. Thorne Thorne's signature.* A pint or more should be immediately added to every evacuation, whether from the stomach or bowels. Soiled clothing of all kinds should be immediately placed in the solution. Next it would be well if the bodies of all persons dying from cholera were cremated, instead of being placed in the ground, where the poisonous principle may remain vital, and being afterwards released may cause an outbreak. Such instances are on record. Cholera not being infectious in the sense that small-pox, typhus, or scarlet fever is, no danger attaches to the nursing of cholera patients, provided the attendants use simple precautions. These are perfect cleanliness, and washing the hands in disinfecting solution before taking food. Rooms in which cholera patients have been, should be disinfected by burning sulphur therein. We may thus confidently provide against danger from imported cases, or from those cases which under the term *cholera nostras* always occur in the autumnal season in European countries. But we have still to provide against summer diarrhœa assuming a more virulent phase than it usually does. Our sanitary system, although not perfect, and our temperate climate, do to a very great extent accomplish this. We

* Half an ounce of corrosive sublimate, one ounce of hydrochloric acid, and five grains of commercial aniline blue, in three gallons (a bucket-full) of water. Cost about 3d. Non-metallic vessels should be used; and articles that have been soaked in it should be put in water for some hours, before they are sent to the wash.

should be still more secure if water and milk were boiled before consumption, and if stale fruit and (especially) stale fish were avoided. In addition, no accumulation should be permitted in ash-pits or in dust-bins, whether the dustmen get the extra 2d. or not. Drinking-water cisterns should be cleansed, and drains flushed frequently. The larder should be well ventilated, but protected from flies; for no one knows what these insects may have previously investigated, or what disease germ they may carry. During seasons of cholera or of summer diarrhœa, purgative medicines should be avoided. If positively necessary, pure fresh castor oil is the best. Plenty of salt should be taken with the food. Another rule is to avoid advertised *nostrums*. As an acid fluid is more or less destructive to the poisonous principle, or at least to the comma bacillus, fifteen drops of *dilute* sulphuric acid may be taken three times daily between meals in a small wineglassful of water. Lastly, do not be afraid; for fear produces that nervous depression which is one of the great allies of cholera, in whatever phase it appears. Remember that in the worst epidemics, attack is the exception, immunity the rule. It would too much lengthen this communication if all precautions to be adopted and the reasons were mentioned *seriatim*. It is therefore merely added that in general sanitation and in personal hygiene, in the fullest sense of the terms, we shall find our safeguard against cholera, as also against various other maladies. If a tithe of the zeal which has been given to the discovery of microbes by our continental neighbours, had been devoted to sanitation, Hamburg would not now be a menace to England. Neither would India have been credited as the *fons et origo* of the cholera, from which so many parts of the continent have suffered as the result of their unsanitary conditions.

THE HON. ROLLO RUSSELL ON CHOLERA.

LORD ROLLO RUSSELL writes :

DEAR SIR,—Science has done so much for the elucidation of cholera that the remaining difficulties of prevention are almost entirely practical and administrative. The regions of the globe in which cholera is endemic are few and not very extensive ; the banks of the Ganges and of the Brahmaputra, and a very few other localities appear to be adapted to the continuous growth of the organism as a saprophytic microbe. Its continuous existence there is explained by the character, dampness and high temperature of the soil, and probably to a great extent by the amount of filth distributed in it, tainting the supplies of water for domestic use. Whether the microbe was originally a harmless one or capable only of setting up a minor disease like diarrhœa until the pollution of soil grew to be excessive, or whether the soil of the alluvial flats of the Ganges was always so favourable to it as to evolve the virulent form from the beginning, it is beyond question that the cholera bacillus flourishes extremely well in foul water and wet organically polluted earth at a high temperature. It thus somewhat resembles Malaria and Yellow Fever in its growth and influence apart from the human body. Wherever the microbe meets foul refuse and especially foul water at favourable temperatures it multiplies enormously, and in some seasons to such an extent as to overcome the resistance of the human body to which it gains access by food and drink. No place where soil and drinking water are much polluted can be considered safe from its invasion, whatever the temperature or altitude ; it has occurred at all seasons of the year in many widely differing climates.

The first means of prevention of cholera in the region of its origin must undoubtedly be the supply of the purest available water, and wherever possible, drainage of the soil and removal of decaying organic matter from the neigh-

bourhood of dwellings. Cultivation and drainage banished the ague which once prevailed in the London area ; draining, increased cleanliness, and good water will, in course of time abolish cholera as a pestilence. The new water-supply to Calcutta has greatly improved the health of the city but the suburbs which still use the tainted sources suffer severely as before.

The spread of cholera from its habitat in the East is greatly favoured by the movements of pilgrims and travellers and by the filthy condition of Asiatic and Eastern European towns and villages. It has been truly said that "cholera is spread by dirty people to dirty places." Like many other diseases it can hardly gain a footing where purity of water and air have been well cared for. The infection, however, is subtle and the microbe lives well in damp linen, slightly impure water and on many articles of food, so that the most careful watch and provision must be made for preventing sources of infection from gaining access to any locality however well ordered. Where streams are the source of water-supply and are also used to receive any kind of sewage the greatest care should be exercised to prevent the contamination of the upper stream by any person arrived from an infected country or place. When cholera is near all articles of food and drink should be cooked in time of danger, and the hands should be washed in pure water before eating. While cholera prevails in neighbouring countries, no town is safe which, like London, obtains its water from a river of which the tributaries are befouled with sewage. If there be any suspicion in this respect either pure water from an unsuspected source should be used, or the water used for drinking should be boiled.

To prevent the importation of cholera the means now in use appear to be efficient so long as the centres of virulence in communication with this country are few. If the disease were to increase greatly in populous places in Western Europe it is improbable that precautions at seaports would

be sufficient to prevent the landing of many incipient cases, and that their whereabouts would always be known, although their names and addresses were taken. Detention in quarantine may be regarded as out of date and ineffectual ; but in certain circumstances isolation for a few days of suspected immigrants answers well, allowing ablution and disinfection of clothes. High authorities have recommended as disinfectants steam at the boiling temperature, carbolic acid or chloride of lime. Infected bedding, clothing, etc., should be boiled or steamed, or, better, destroyed. The disinfection of ships as now practised seems to be successful.

For the arrest and suppression of this and other plagues moral qualities are after all supreme. With cleanliness the probability of an outbreak is small ; with honesty the very first cases, which may result from importation, are reported to the world, and with humanity not only are the sick cared for, but neighbouring nations warned and preserved.

R. RUSSELL.

THE
NATURAL HISTORY AND EPIDEMIOLOGY
OF CHOLERA.

BY SIR J. FAYRER, K.C.S.I., ETC., ETC.

WE regret that want of space absolutely forbids our quoting as largely as we had intended from a most valuable work on the Cholera question, of the above title, (published by Messrs. J. and A. Churchill) which the distinguished author was kind enough to send to us. The early portion of the book gives a most scholarly and carefully-compiled history of Cholera, commencing as far back as with the records of the ancient Hindus, the Chinese, the Greeks, the Arabs and the Romans. Contrary to what is supposed, Cholera has been noticed in Europe as early as the 16th century. In 1564 an epidemic of Cholera occurred at Nismes; in 1643 and 1665 in Ghent as described by Van der Heyden. Sydenham writes of an epidemic of Cholera in London in 1669-1672.

As causes predisposing to Cholera are regarded variation in the atmospheric pressure or moisture, extraordinary stillness of the atmosphere, deficiency in the tension of positive electricity, absence of ozone, fogs, blights, and low forms of life in the air. Attention has been called, remarks the author, to the disappearance of birds from Cholera-affected districts at the outset of an outbreak. The dreadful visitation of Cholera at Kurrachee in 1846 was preceded by days of intense stagnation of atmosphere, and other outbreaks have been preceded or attended by similar phenomena. As regards the distinction of *Sporadic cholera*, or *cholera nostras* and *Asiatic cholera*, it is one without difference except that sanitary conditions generally render the former less virulent.

The suddenness of certain outbreaks is remarkable and points to some factor apart from contagion or local insanitary causes. The following is a case in point: An outbreak of

cholera occurred on one of the late East India Company's ships while proceeding up the China Sea. The men fell on deck as if struck by lightning. This continued for three days when the visitation as suddenly ceased. The same water (contained in tanks absolutely protecting it from contamination with extraneous matter) was used all the time and for three months previously from the time of leaving England. A precisely similar outbreak occurred on board H.M.S. *Undaunted* while proceeding down the China Sea. As the cases continued to increase, the surgeon at the end of three days recommended the captain to change the course of the vessel; as soon as this was done the attacks entirely ceased; not a case occurred afterwards. The learned author then reviews the various theories accounting for the cause or causes of Cholera; subsequently in touching upon the subject of quarantine the fallacy underlying its theory is exposed. The writer says: "The British and Indian Governments, basing their measures for protection on ascertained facts, and not upon theories, have discontinued quarantine, whether by land or sea, relying upon sanitation and medical inspection as the only and sufficient means of safety."

Sir J. Fayrer towards the conclusion of his book then sums up thus :

Although much remains to be known about the causation of cholera and its apparent caprices of incidence and diffusion, yet, from what experience and observation have taught us, we seem to be warranted in stating the following to be facts with reference to the disease :

1. That cholera has been present in India and other countries from the earliest times, and that isolated cases occur in almost all countries.
2. That cholera is always present, not only in certain parts of India, but elsewhere, and that in India outside these areas its prevalence varies in different years and according to the season of the year.
3. That cholera does not attack all the places within an endemic area.

4. Meteorological changes produce sudden alterations in the activity and intensity of an outbreak.

5. That the rate and direction of an epidemic are not influenced by facilities of communication or by the greatest streams of human traffic; the opening of the Red Sea route, *e.g.*, not having increased its diffusion.

6. That the cases are more frequent and more severe at the commencement than in the continuance of an outbreak.

7. That hygienic measures afford the greatest security, although they are not an all-powerful safeguard against cholera, whilst local insanitary conditions and impure water favour its incidence and increase its intensity, and that it is important to check diarrhœa in times of cholera prevalence.

8. That cordons and quarantine have not only utterly failed to prevent the spread of cholera, but, on the contrary, have done harm.

9. That to enter an area in which cholera is present, or to travel within that area, is especially dangerous to newcomers, while residents, whose circumstances of living are favourable, have a better chance of escape.

10. That removal is the best course when cholera attacks a regiment or other body of men.

11. That attendants on the sick have not suffered more than others.

12. That impure water, irritating articles of diet, unripe fruit, saline aperients are liable, during epidemic prevalence, to bring on diarrhœa and cholera.

13. That fatigue, exhaustion, fear and anxiety are powerful predisposing causes.

14. Some circumstances attending an outbreak of cholera, and the pathological conditions then developed, seem opposed to a specific poison as being the cause of the disease.

15. Having suffered previously from cholera gives no immunity from recurrence of the disease.

ORIENTAL AND PSEUDO-ORIENTAL CREMATION.

WE wish to raise a warning voice against the precipitateness with which modern cremations are conducted. It is true that a certificate from two medical attendants of the deceased is required, as also evidence of his express wish to be cremated, but we know with what dangerous facility often the former is granted and the latter is assumed. In India the widow used to perform Sati on her husband's pyre, an act of sublime, if exaggerated, devotion, which was the proud privilege of a high-caste wife. She still, in many places, is the first to apply the funeral torch to the framework that bears her husband's corpse, but in England the wife rarely accompanies it and is therefore wanting in her last duty to him.

We are so much under the slavery of scientific or pseudo-scientific fads, that many, who have never been present at a cremation in this country, advocate it for themselves and others on theoretical grounds of sanitation, as if the first duty of civilized man was to get rid of his departed fellow-creature as so much refuse fit only to be burnt, whereas the whole of modern society rests on the past with which the departed are our links. Our laws, our religion, our politics, our art, our poetry are questions of the past, and in apportioning a spot for the burial of our predecessors, we create the landmarks of, at any rate, family history. The higher culture of India has hereditary Charons to chronicle the deeds of the departed as an example to their descendants. The urn in the Mausoleum or Samad is an object of mysterious veneration. In civilized Europe we are satisfied with an obituary notice in the *Times* of an eminent relative or friend and, instead of perpetuating his memory by domestic rites and by the preservation of his mental creations, even the "inconsolable" widow's object often seems to be to forget her grief by the time that she can put aside her becoming weeds. As grows the modern spirit,

she will be able to exhibit her husband's ashes on the mantelpiece of her drawing-room in a graceful vase, and thus will have done all that can be expected from good taste combined with genuine grief.

If those who talk so glibly of its being better to be burnt than buried were to be present, in the rare cases that they are allowed to do so, at the last scene of a cremation, conducted with the vulgar and mechanical routine of Europe, they would receive an impression that might for ever haunt their lives. A Commissioner of the Italian Government, who has been present at no fewer than 150 cremations, narrates that in the majority of cases, the bodies, suddenly contracted by the fierce heat, raise themselves up in their coffins. In others, the arrangements for the disposal of the effluvia are so defective as to cause, to our knowledge, fainting fits among those brought in contact with persons returning from "the burial"; in all, the ashes of the dear departed, reduced to a white mass sufficient to fill a large snuff-box, after being separated from the black matter left by the incineration of the coffin, are collected without reverence or care—so unlike the tenderness of Indian relatives—by the human scavengers in attendance who may sometimes leave burnt fragments of the corpse lying about the place. The circular bits, we may add, belong to the head, the lengthy bits to the tibia, and the rest is the dust of Alexander that fills a chink in a wall to keep out the wind.

A natural, and yet most horrible, feature connected with cremation is the prevention of the funeral party from accompanying the coffin to the furnace. The passage round it is generally too narrow to permit of their following it, but if they could be allowed to attend, the shock would be avoided that is now felt by even the most hardened when the door of the inner room is suddenly closed on the funeral party and they are told that two of the nearest relatives only can be permitted to attend the body, not, alas, to its last home, but to the scene of the last outrage committed on it.

For it must be remembered that burning the dead by a

process of incineration taking from two to four hours has the same relation to an ordinary burial, that a violent end bears to a natural death. Cremation is an outrage on the human image by impatiently and artificially forcing on its dissolution into dust, thus anticipating by the violence of a few hours the gradual decay of the grave. The body does not even resolve itself into the sky and seek its home with Indra, as is the Hindu belief, but it is a malodorous mass to be got out of sight as soon as possible.

The fragments of ancient superstition still survive, but will disappear with the respect for the dead. When the crematory will dispose of other rubbish beside one's parents, children and friends, its utility will become generally acknowledged. Dead animals, if not voters on the wrong side of politics, will be consigned to it, as the brutality of modern pseudo-science brings us back to primitive barbarism.

In the meanwhile, the Fetish man will continue to jabber at cremations the mutilated service of the Church of England that is intended for burials, and he will slink away with his guinea and shame when the iron door opens into the barrack miscalled a chapel and ill-featured cormorants remove from the slab the coffin over which the parson has prayed. We have seen men, grown grey in wars, turn pale and leave the building, when the doors leading to the horrid rite are slammed in their face as they are prepared to follow the coffin.

The chapel or shed or barrack-room contains shelves in which are placed earthenware boxes of varying sizes labelled with the names of the persons who have been cremated. We have no doubt that some of these urns are for ever forgotten there. Others may be buried behind the building in a spot, a few yards square, in which also float some labels. The furnace in the meanwhile sighs forth the quick breathings of its shameful work.

Far better is the burial, accompanied by troops of friends, in a resting-place consecrated to past memories by other motives than commercial greed. Best of all it is to repose

under the tree in one's own garden or in a family Mausoleum, which, unlike our sombre final homes in Europe, introduces the dead to the living in all the elegance and light of a drawing-room, at Sekandra. Clustering round the monuments of the dead, beloved or illustrious to their relicts, are memories which unite the past with the living present and both with the glorious hopes of an eternal future.

FIRE-WORSHIPPER.

The following remarks by a Brahmin gentleman may serve to compare Indian with European cremation :

I have been an eye-witness of several cremations in my caste as well as in others. The mode from beginning to end is as follows :

The coffin is laid by the place where the funeral pile is to be erected ; the nearest relatives sprinkle with water the logs of wood that have been brought there for the purpose by Shudras, to purify them ; the coffin is placed on the pile with great resignation and other logs of wood placed on it so as to cover it ; the son or the nearest relative present applies fire to the toe of the right foot of the deceased and then to the pile. In most cases some sandal wood, *tulsi*, *pimpal*, etc., are used which give out a fragrant odour. The relatives and friends, who are sitting all round the mournful pile, watch it with feelings at once serene and edifying as at every moment the flames consume the once much-beloved one's image. When the body is burnt away, all bathe themselves and return homewards. I have remarked very often that persons who would ordinarily think of nothing else but their animal wants, discuss the frailty of our life and moralize upon good deeds and their results, making special references to the qualifications and virtues of the departed. One could almost learn the life of the man during those long hours. The ashes are not removed till the third day, when the son or the nearest relative gathers them and presents them to some sacred river—all this while none but the closest relatives are allowed to touch the remains of the dead. In every case, we have an uncontrollable impulse to have the sight of the body as long as possible, which becomes stronger in proportion as the total deprivation comes nearer. Then, how shocking must it be when we are forced to hand over the body to one who has little respect for the departed and turn our backs on it, although we would remain there but for some unsympathising rules of a commercial company and merely for their convenience !

M. D. VEDANT.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS OF 1892.

BY A MEMBER.

YES, I was a member—but for the last time. Not readily will I again submit to a renewal of such sad solemnities and hollow unrealities as characterized the Oriental Congress of 1892. From start to finish it was stultifying; the disappointed feeling that even the opening day induced, grew steadily in force until my energies were absolutely stolen from me. The mind must at times surrender to its environment, and a five days' contemplation of the lukewarm interest which was manifested *passim* in long-winded papers, and the sight of long-suffering and listless audiences, lulled at times into seeming lifelessness, left me a derelict upon a sea of thwarted hopes.

The reflection is a melancholy one, but it is none the less a fact, that the first jarring note within the Congress was struck by the gentleman who was its most conspicuous ornament—Professor Max Müller. I know that I express the sense of many members when I say that in some respects his inaugural address was almost nauseous. Nothing could have been in worse taste, considering the presence of so many subjects of foreign powers, than the fawning adulation of the Duke of York, filling three pages, nor the adroit flattery-all-round which occupied a further three. Then followed a far from dignified attack upon the holders of the prior London Congress, and a proud vaunting of alleged exclusive scholarship on behalf of members present. If one's disgust had ended there thus much might have been forgiven, but the President proceeded for more than an hour longer until forced to pause for lack of breath. The audience was no less wearied with the *copia verborum*, the precise value of which was subsequently appraised by an able member of the Congress, whose privately expressed opinion was that "half an hour would

have been ample for due treatment of such facts as the address contained."

The limp feeling that the President's address engendered was followed later by one of almost feverish dissatisfaction on the part of some, and in others by cynical disgust. It seems almost incredible that a gathering which had been so long predetermined, and on to which had been focussed, from one cause or another, so large an amount of attention, should have been so inadequately provided for and miserably mismanaged. Something might be urged in palliation of the condition of affairs prevailing throughout had the assembly been the pioneer of its kind, but of course no such apology is for a moment permissible. Past experience appeared to have taught nothing to the congress-ruling powers. On the opening day the officials in the secretaries' room were—I don't know which is the kinder thing to say, "witless," or "at their wits' end"; at any rate their replies to queries were of the most unsatisfying kind. Lest I should appear to be speaking without my book let me mention one solitary instance which ought to be sufficiently convincing. I addressed myself to one of the assistant secretaries, with a request for a copy of the President's address then about to be delivered. Promptly I was assured that they were not yet printed. Will it be believed that, casting my gaze upon the table at which the official in question sat, I saw a whole pile of copies of the address ready for distribution? And the official ignorance in this one case of preparation was in converse ratio with the official unpreparedness in other directions.

All who have attended them must have observed how admirably managed are the meetings of the British Association. Last year's Congress of Hygiene and Demography, too, in spite of one or two little mishaps, was excellently administered. Summaries of nearly all the papers to be read were obtainable at the very commencement of the meetings, and from day to day complete printed copies of many were obtainable for the asking.

Provisions of this kind are essential to the success of a great international gathering. They enable members to make judicious selection of the sections in which they desire to sit, and of the papers to which they prefer to listen. But chief among the advantages of such preparation is this, that the educational loss resulting from the impossibility of attending all the sections at once is reduced to the minimum if all the papers be procurable. For the daily newspapers to report each and all is obviously impracticable, and the wisdom of the course I have indicated is incontestable.

But how did *we* fare, we deluded mortals who on the 5th of last month expectantly foregathered in the dreary halls and draughty corridors of the University of London? Nothing was ready but Professor Max Müller's paper, the "congress badges," a list of members and a programme of agenda for the day. The first to many, doubtless, as to me, was denied; the second, a puny bit of cheap Brummagem, very different from the artistic medal of the Hygienic Congress, was so weak as to quickly become useless; and the third and last represented the entire provisional arrangements in the way of literature, to which the labours—save the mark—of committees and secretaries had been equal! On Tuesday there was a little pamphlet ready containing a scrappy enumeration only of the papers to be read throughout the day, the production of which *ridiculus mus* had kept the printers working half the night—presumably through secretarial incompetence or delay in the furnishing of "copy." Wednesday was the day for the delivery of Mr. Gladstone's paper on Archaic Greece; and here was perpetrated another blunder. Tuesday's programme had contained an intimation that Dr. Ginsburg was in receipt of Mr. Gladstone's manuscript, and that printed copies would be available on the morrow. Naturally these were applied for on Wednesday morning, and a number were distributed. But Dr. Ginsburg was furious on discovering the fact, on the ground that he had

not yet verified the proof corrections of the distinguished author of the paper, and it was positively Friday afternoon before copies were available for general distribution.

In the interim one section—and one only—had roused itself to a faint appreciation of its responsibilities. The Indian, with which was merged the Aryan, section contrived to astonish us—I believe on the Wednesday morning—with a batch of half a dozen summaries of forthcoming papers. Exhaustion, however, must have supervened on this mighty effort, for no further abstracts were issued on the succeeding days. The daily programme did contain a passable *résumé* of the doings of the previous day, in this one section, which alone could claim to be just decently awake; the secretaries of the remaining nine appeared only jealously eager to perform the miracle of hibernating in September. There was inaccuracy even in the bald daily agenda with which they furnished hungry members, and one gentleman at least was set down to deliver a lecture in two sections on the same day. I saw another wandering anxiously about, in wonderment as to the time when his paper would be reached, and quite destitute, apparently, of any official information on the point.

Was it, then, a matter for surprise that the attendances throughout were of attenuated dimensions? There assembled in one section in which I sat an audience of six all told, including the chairman and the lecturer, whose remarks, by the way, were practically inaudible. Other sections, too, in which I was interested were oftentimes only characterized by a beggarly array of mostly empty benches. In one case indeed much else could not have been expected, for the room would scarcely seat a score; nevertheless there was no rush for chairs! Let all this be compared with last year's meetings in the Inner Temple Hall, where an average attendance was recorded of over 50 to each meeting, and where ten hours' work was done daily for as many days. The roll of membership of the Ninth Statutory Congress shewed a muster of more than

600; the complete list of members of the Congress meeting at Burlington House and the University of London totalled 440 only; but the average sectional attendance was by no means *pro rata*. These figures, I fear, must somewhat inconveniently affect the "comprehensive" claims of Professor Max Müller.

There was one direction in which the secretarial mismanagement of the Congress affected the public rather than its members. I refer to the treatment of the Press. From what I gleaned from the reporters themselves, and from what I myself casually saw, they had certainly good cause for being aggrieved, and their editors, through them, might reasonably have omitted all mention of the Congress in their columns. It can be readily understood that the difficulties—inherently great to begin with in the case of an Oriental Congress—under which the representatives of the press had to labour were not lessened by the non-preparation above referred to of efficient summaries of the papers, nor by the simultaneous sitting of ten different sections. But when uncivil curtness verging on absolute rudeness was meted out—as I myself observed—to the reporters in some cases, it cannot be supposed that they were rendered particularly anxious to advertise the Congress at great length. The President of one section, to my certain knowledge, was plainly warned by one reporter that that section would have to be entirely ignored unless some disposition was shown to facilitate the labours of himself and comrades. The hint was taken. At the final meeting on the Monday following, Professor Max Müller paid an elaborate compliment to the reporters present, which, "coming so late in the day," they accepted, I should imagine, for the little it was worth. Nor was their *amour-propre* more delicately considered by the doling out, at the last minute, of tickets for the evening dinner, in a manner, I am informed, contrary to all established precedent. Very little, if any, post-prandial eloquence appeared in the papers next morning; maybe this was an

* of which the method of the invitation was the cause.

This, curiously enough, was the sole exception that could be taken to the one department which was generally well administered. Mr. Rapson deserves praise as organiser of the excursions and entertainments. It is a suggestive commentary on the presidential boast of the gravity and solidarity of the occasion, and the presence of experts only at the Congress, that *the* successes of the week were those that lay in the region of frivolity and relaxation. Successful they undoubtedly were, and nothing could have been pleasanter than the jaunts to Ightham Mote and Dorking on the Tuesday, to York House at Twickenham on the Thursday, or the Universities on Saturday. And truth to tell, no one seemed to enjoy them more than Professor Max Müller.

Something remains to be said of the concluding meeting. From some unexplained cause the President was in a singularly mournful mood—at times, indeed, almost lachrymose. But this solemnity did not prevent him from occasional lapses into militancy, induced by the mention of such words as “Lisbon,” or “The Ninth.” There was the same disposition to adulate Royalty, and great was the satisfaction at the intimation from Sir Francis Grenfell that a telegram might be expected momentarily from the Duke of York, and grievous the disappointment at the said telegram’s non-arrival! With curious complacency, too, the President announced the gift—as though a new one—of the drinking-horn from the King of Sweden, already once presented at Upsala. In view of the opposition shown at Stockholm to the proposed formation of an Institute of Orientalists, it is well to note that the election of a provisional committee was not carried without several dissentient votes. Much animated discussion was waged around the proposals as to the so-called “Tenth” Congress of 1894. The date was adopted with no less than 18 adverse votes, and some amount of opposition was shown to the recommendation that subsequent congresses should be triennial. Then Geneva was selected as the meeting-place. The very slight applause

which followed the announced decision was made the most of by Professor Müller, who sententiously exclaimed, "I wish I could have transmitted the plaudits by telephone; but I charge our secretary to distinctly emphasize the proviso that the Congress be called the Tenth!" The rules which the committee had elected to draw up for the conduct of this "Tenth" Congress were then discussed with painful tardiness, and yet finally adopted without alteration. All mention of the weighty "opinion" of Dr. Pankhurst as to their status in the matter was studiously avoided by the Congress leaders, even the thin and feeble counterblast they had thought it necessary to obtain being likewise unnamed. This document, by the way, along with a catalogue of presented books, represented about the whole of the printed literature of the Congress, over and above what has been previously described. A final note of failure seemed to be struck by the President's farewell remarks, which, though of the most commonplace order, he had yet deemed necessary to commit to paper, and to personally deliver with a flourish to the reporter for the *Times*. One sentence may be quoted because of the breadth of its pretensions: "All true Oriental scholars in Europe, whether present or absent, have declared for our Congress." *We shall see.*

Another member informs us that "the Congress officials had recourse to the *Times* reporter for matter which they ought to have supplied, and he strongly expressed himself on the subject, as also on the dulness of the Congress of 1892 as compared with the interest and life shown at that of 1891. At the Geographical Section, nothing was said about the countries on the slopes of the Pamir which have been the theatre of a recent war, nor was the existence of that Section in an Oriental Congress justified by pointing out the importance of a study of Oriental languages to geographers and explorers. Indeed, as Sir Grant Duff significantly remarked at the farewell dinner to the foreign

visitors, it was an open question whether congresses were useless, as stated by M. Renan, or useful as believed by him and his audience. All the *Times* had to say as to the results of the Congress of 1892 was that it had satisfied curiosity and had sought for light. I was at a garden-party when members were photographed for an illustrated paper, but the illustration never appeared. Indeed, whereas the journalistic and public interest never flagged during the 12 days of the Congress of 1891, comparatively few London and country papers noticed the 1892 Congress, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Daily Telegraph*, etc., almost ignored it. There was no recognition of the good work done by the members. No translations or prize-essays were forthcoming. Where the Congress of 1891 distributed volumes of new matter, that of 1892 issued a few leaves. Japan, which with its scientific, literary, and even musical evenings, was quite a feature of last year's Congress, was not even officially represented in 1892 ; indeed, Max Müller reigned over a solitude, and called it a Congress of true Oriental scholars."

LEGENDS, SONGS, AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN.

(SONGS IN THE GILGITI, ASTORI, GURAIZI, AND
CHILÁSI DIALECTS OF SHINÁ.)

(Continued from Vol. IV., page 148.)

5. A WOMAN'S SONG (GILGITI).

[THE DESERTED WIFE AND THE FAITHLESS HUSBAND.]

The Wife :

Mey kukúri Patan gayta béyto djék tòñ ?
My kukuri Pathán going he sat what am I to do ?
Pípi batzísse garáo dên ; míso tshúsh.
Aunt ! from the family he absence has given : I cocoon.
Gá sikkím qatì bring báleo dês ;
And coloured silk spinning animal bind do = could.
Mió dudélo tshút biló !
My milk-sweet late has become !

The Husband :

*Anì Azari rey**
That Azari, [is] a Deodar cedar [?] *sómno ? anì Azareo rôk bilôs.*
Kingly, is it not so [my] love ! That Azari illness I have.
Anì Waztreyn shuyi gas-mall, na sommo !
This Waztr's child 'princess, not [so] love ?
Bállì dapújo gî bem ; anì pâr
Then from my waist (girdle) taking I'll sit ; this beyond
tshísheyn
the mountains.
Súri war tshísheyn djondjît tzæe bijôte.
Sun this side's mountain birch tree (?) to you both.
Somm tshinèm ; anù shèd goáreyn kinì — ga
Alike I love ; This white hawk black and
Tshikki† méy begà beih ; balli pashéjo
fragrant bag mine being sit ; Then on my turban
gi beyim.
wearing I will sit.

* More probably "rey" is the pine called the *Picea Webbiana*.

† Part II., page 16, gives the following for "Birch." "Birch ? = Djônjt (the white bark of which is used for paper) in Kashmîr where it is called the book-tree "Burus kull" lit : Burus = the book ; kull = plant, tree."

"Tshikki" is a black fragrant matter said to be gathered under the

Translation of "A Woman's Song."

The deserted wife sings:—My Pathan! oh kukúri, far away from me has he made a home; but, aunt, what am I to do. since he has left his own! The silk that I have been weaving during his absence would be sufficient to bind all the animals of the field. Oh, how my darling is delaying his return!

The faithless husband sings:—[My new love] Azari is like a royal Deodar; is it not so, my love? for Azari I am sick with desire. She is a Wazeer's princess; is it not so, my love? Let me put you in my waist. The sun on yonder mountain, and the tree on this nigh mountain, ye both I love dearly. I will recline when this white hawk and her black fragrant tresses become mine; encircling with them my head I will recline [in happiness.]

6. THE JILTED LOVER'S DREAM.

[IN THE ASTORI DIALECT.]

*Tshunni nazdik mulayi.**

(Oh) Little delicate [maid] woman.

Barêyo báro, na.†

The husband old is, [is he not?]

Hapótok thyayé gé.

With a bear done it going, [you have "been and gone and done it."]

Sómmi rátijo Sómmi shakejo Mey nish

In the sleep of night The sleep from the arm. My sleep

harayé gé. Mashàq phirè phùt

awake has gone. Turning round again opening hastily

talósto Méy laktéy píribann tshítsho hüün. Datshêno

I saw. My darling waistband variegated was. Right

wing-pits of the hawk; "djónji" is, to me, an unknown tree, but I conjecture it to be the birch tree. "Gas" is a princess and "mal" is added for euphony.

* ["Mulayi" for woman is not very respectful; women are generally addressed as "kaki" sister, or "dhì" daughter.]

Na ? is it? is it not so? *na* seems generally to be a mere exclamation.

hata-jó aina gint, Tshakéje wazze. Nu kabbo
 hand-from mirror taking, Looking she came. This left
hata-jó surmá gini. Paléje wazze.
 hand-from antimony taking, Applying she came.

The above describes the dream of a lover whose sweet-heart has married one older than herself; he says :

Translation.

"That dear delicate little woman has a frightful old husband.

"Thou hast married a bear! In the dead of night, resting on my arm,

"My sleep became like waking. Hastily I turned and with a quick glance saw

"That my darling's waistband shone with many colours,

"That she advanced towards me holding in her right a mirror into which she looked,

"That she came near me applying with her left the antimony to her eyes."

7. MODERN ASTORI SONG.

This Song was composed by Rajah Bahadur Khan, now at Astōr, who fell in love with the daughter of the Rajah of Hunza to whom he was affianced. When the war between Kashmir and Hunza broke out, the Astoris and Hunzas were in different camps; Rajah Bahadur Khan, son of Rajah Shakul Khan, of the Shíah persuasion,* thus laments his misfortunes :

Lotshúko sabäin kên nimâz thé duwá
 Early in morning's time [usual] prayers done supplication
them Qabûl thé, Rahîma Garîbëy duwa
 I make Accept, oh merciful [God] of the poor the prayer.
Dôn mahî—yeen dim
 [her] teeth [are] of fish bone = like ivory, [her] body
puru—yeen tshamûye tshîké hane me armân
 [like a] reed† [her] hair musk is. My longing
tâte hane Bulbûl shakâr.
 to you is [Oh] nightingale sweet!

* The people of Astor are mostly Sunnis, and the Gilgitis mostly Shíahs; the Chilásis are all Sunnis.

† A reed which grows in the Gilgit country of white or red colour.

Chorus falls in with "*hai, hai, armán bulbúl*" = "oh, oh, the longing [for the] nightingale!"*

Translation.

After having discharged my usual religious duties in the early morning, I offer a prayer which, oh thou merciful God, accept from thy humble worshipper. [Then, thinking of his beloved.] Her teeth are as white as ivory, her body as graceful as a reed, her hair is like musk. My whole longing is towards you, oh sweet nightingale.

Chorus: Alas, how absorbing this longing for the nightingale.

8. GURAIZI SONGS.

This district used to be under Ahmad Shah of Skardo, and has since its conquest by Ghulab Singh come permanently under the Maharajah of Kashmír. Its possession used to be the apple of discord between the Nawabs of Astor and the Rajahs of Skardo. It appears never to have had a real Government of its own. The fertility of its valleys always invited invasion. Yet the people are of Shiná origin and appear much more manly than the other subjects of Kashmír. Their loyalty to that power is not much to be relied upon, but it is probable that with the great intermixture which has taken place between them and the Kashmíri Mussulmans for many years past, they will become equally demoralized. The old territory of Guraiz used in former days to extend up to Kuyam or Bandipur on the Wular Lake. The women are reputed to be very chaste, and Colonel Gardiner told me that the handsomest women in Kashmír came from that district. To me, however, they appeared to be tolerably plain, although rather innocent-looking, which may render them attractive, especially after one has seen the handsome, but sensual-looking, women of Kashmír. The people of Guraiz are certainly very dirty, but they are not so plain as the Chilásis. At Guraiz three languages are spoken: Kashmíri, Guraizi (a corruption of a Shiná dialect), and Pan-

* It is rather unusual to find the nightingale representing the beloved. She is generally "the rose" and the lover "the nightingale."

jabi—the latter on account of its occupation by the Maharajah's officials. I found some difficulty in getting a number of them together from the different villages which compose the district of Guraiz, the Arcadia of Kashmir, but I gave them food and money, and after I got them into a good humour they sang :

GURAIZI HUNTING SONG.

*Guraizi.**English.*

Père, tshaké, gazàri meýáru = Look beyond ! what a fine
Beyond, look ! a fine stag. stag !

Chorus. *Père, tshaké, djók maar* = Chorus. Look beyond !
âke dey. how gracefully he struts.

Beyond, look ! how he struts !

Père, tshaké, bhapûri bay bâro = Look beyond ! he bears
Beyond, look ! shawl wool 12 loads. twelve loads of wool.

Chorus. *Père, tshaké, djók maar* = Chorus. Look beyond !
âke dey. how gracefully he struts.

Beyond, look ! how he does strut !

Père, tshaké, dònî shilélu = Look beyond ! his very
Beyond, look ! [his] teeth are of teeth are of crystal.
crystal [glass]

Chorus. *Père, tshaké, djók* = Chorus. Look beyond !
maarâke dey. how gracefully he struts.

This is apparently a hunting song, but seems also to be applied to singing the praises of a favourite.

There is another song, which was evidently given with great gusto, in praise of Sheir Shah Ali Shah, Rajah of Skardo.* That Rajah, who is said to have temporarily conquered Chitrál, which the Chilasis call Tshatshál,† made a road of steps up the Atsho mountain which overlooks Búnji, the most distant point reached before 1866 by

* Possibly Ali Sher Khan, also called Ali Shah, the father of Ahmed Shah, the successful and popular Rajah of Skardo in the Sikh days—or else the great Ali Sher Khan, the founder of the race or caste of the Makpon Rajahs of Skardo. He built a great stone aqueduct from the Satpur stream which also banked up a quantity of useful soil against inundations.

† Murad was, I believe, the first Skardo Rajah who conquered Gilgit, Nagyr, Hunza and Chitrál. He built a bridge near the Chitrál fort. Traces of invasion from Little Tibet exist in Dardistan. A number of historical events, occurring at different periods, seem to be mixed up in this song.

travellers or the Great Trigonometrical Survey. From the Atsho mountain Vigne returned, "the suspicious Rajah of Gilgit suddenly giving orders for burning the bridge over the Indus." It is, however, more probable that his Astori companions fabricated the story in order to prevent him from entering an unfriendly territory in which Mr. Vigne's life might have been in danger, for had he reached Bûnji he might have known that the Indus never was spanned by a bridge at that or any neighbouring point. The miserable Kashmîri coolies and boatmen who were forced to go up-country with the troops in 1866 were, some of them, employed, in rowing people across, and that is how I got over the Indus at Bûnji; however to return from this digression to the *Guraizi Song*:

9. PRAISE OF THE CONQUEROR SHEIR SHAH ALI SHAH.

Guraizi.

English.

Sheir Shah Ali Shah	= Sheir Shah Ali Shah.
Nōmega djong	= I wind myself round his name.*
Ká kōlo shing phuté	= He conquering the crooked Low-lands.
Djar súntsho taréga	= Made them quite straight.
Kāne Makponé	= The great Khan, the Makpon.
Kāno nom inega djong	= I wind myself round the Khan's name.
Kó Tshamūgar bōsh	= He conquered bridging over [the phuté Gilgit river] below Tshamūgar.
Sart súntsho taréga	= And made all quite straight.

I believe there was much more of this historical song, but unfortunately the paper on which the rest was written down by me as it was delivered, has been lost together with other papers.

"Tshamūgar," to which reference is made in the song, is a village on the other side of the Gilgit river on the Nagyr side. It is right opposite to where I stayed for two nights

* The veneration for the name is, of course, also partly due to the fact that it means "the lion of Ali," Muhammad's son-in-law, to whose memory the Shiah Mussulmans are so devotedly attached. The Little Tibetans are almost all Shiahs.

† "Sar" is Astori for Gilgiti "Djor."

under a huge stone which projects from the base of the Niludâr range on the Gilgit side.

There were formerly seven forts at Tshamûgar. A convention had been made between the Rajah of Gilgit and the Rajah of Skardo, by which Tshamûgar was divided by the two according to the natural division which a stream that comes down from the Batkôr mountain made in that territory. The people of Tshamûgar, impatient of the Skardo rule, became all of them subjects to the Gilgit Rajah, on which Sher Shah Ali Shah, the ruler of Skardo, collected an army, and crossing the Makpon-i-shagaron* at the foot of the Haramûsh mountain, came upon Tshamûgar and diverted the water which ran through that district into another direction. This was the reason of the once fertile Tshamûgar becoming deserted; the forts were razed to the ground. There are evidently traces of a river having formerly run through Tshamûgar. The people say that the Skardo Rajah stopped the flow of the water by throwing quicksilver into it. This is probably a legend arising from the reputation which Ahmad Shah, the most recent Skardo ruler whom the Guraizis can remember, had of dabbling in medicine and sorcery.†

CHILASI SONGS.

[The Chilasis have a curious way of snapping their fingers, with which practice they accompany their songs, the thumb running up and down the fingers as on a musical instrument.]

10. CHILASI.

Tù hùn Gítshere bódje sòmmo dímm bamèm
Mèy shahínni pashalóto dewà salám dáute
Rás; Aje góje bómto méy dùddi aje nush
Hargènn Zúe déy mo bejómos
Samat Khánay sóni mó báshémm tutàk
Mùugà deyto; mó dabtar dèm

* The defile of the Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, where the Indus river makes a sudden turn southward and below which it receives the Gilgit river.

† The Shiah Rajahs of Skardo believed themselves to be under the special protection of Ali.

11. A. Tshekòn thónn ; tikki wéy nush, oh Berader
 Adòn ; thōn ; madéy nush ; ey Berader
 B. Hamírey tshúki, púki thàs, palútos
 Ni rátey ló ne bëy, oh Berader !

The last word in each sentence, as is usual with all Shín songs, is repeated at the beginning of the next line. I may also remark that I have accentuated the words *as pronounced in the songs* and not as put down in my Vocabulary.

Translation.

MESSAGE TO A SWEETHEART BY A FRIEND.

You are going up to Gitshe, oh my dearest friend,
 Give my compliment and salute when you see my hawk.
 Speak to her. I must now go into my house ; my mother
 is no more

And I fear the sting of that dragon,* my step-mother—
 Oh noble daughter of Samat Khan ; I will play the flute
 And give its price and keep it in my bosom.

The second song describes a quarrel between two brothers who are resting after a march on some hill far away from any water or food wherewith to refresh themselves.

Younger brother.—Am I to eat now, what am I to say, there is, oh my brother, neither bread nor water.

Am I to fetch some [water], what am I to say, there is no masak [a water-skin], oh my brother !

Elder brother.—The lying nonsense of Hamír (the younger brother) wounds me deeply (tears off the skin of my heart).

There will be no day to this long night, oh my brother !

12. THE TRANSITORINESS OF THIS WORLD.

Kàka, mosè djò ráum | Mèy dásnga nè bèy | Tàbàm
 Brother! I what am to say? | My choice it is not | In the
aresà dáro | Módje làshga nè béy | Dajála
 whole of the present time | To me shame is not | The next
éle jílto | Jáko udàsóne han
 world near has come | People despairing will be

* The "Harginn," a fabulous animal mentioned elsewhere.

2nd Verse.

<i>Watàn dâro zâr</i>	|	<i>Tu mashahûre billé</i>	|	<i>Ash</i>
In my country famous	|	You famous have become	|	To-day
<i>bajóni dégi bárri musafiri</i>	|	<i>Zari mójó</i>		
to get you prepared on a great journey	|	Openly me		
<i>lai langtddi = tje</i>	|	<i>Djill mey hawallí</i>	|	<i>Stn qattida</i>
much pains	|	My soul is in your keeping	|	The river
<i>phúne</i>	|	<i>Sudà chogarong</i>		
is flowing, the large flower	|	Of silver colour.*		

A PRAYER OF THE BASHGELI KAFIRS.

[*In the Kalásha dialect.*]

The ideas and many of the words in this prayer were evidently acquired by my two Kafirs on their way through Kashmir :

“Khudá, tandrusti dé, prushkári rozì de, abattì kari, dewalat man. Tu ghóna asas, tshik intara, tshik tu faidá káy asas. Sat asmán tì, Stru suri mastruk mótshe dé.”

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. IV., page 164.)

XVIII.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE "SALIGRĀMA."

BY A NATIVE.

[The Saligrāma is a small, smooth, spherical black stone, curiously marked with one or more circular hollows, as if made by some burrowing insect. At the side of the hollow is a small knob, like a fossil shell or whorl, called the *chakra* of Vishnu. Every worshipper of Vishnu keeps one as an object of daily adoration. Saligrāmas vary in price. A common one costs from 3 to 5 Rs. One that has come down for generations in a well-to-do family, or that has belonged to a man of renowned sanctity may fetch as much as from 150 to 200 Rs.—R. S.]

ON the north side of the River Gandaky, near Oudh, there is a mountain called the "Saligrāma Purvatum," extending to 12 Yojanas, (or 120 miles) in length, and held sacred as partaking of the omnipresence of the god *Hurri* or Vishnu. On its lower part, there abounds a species of sacred stones of which "Saligrāmas" are formed. These are carried down into the Gandaky river by the *Chakra-naddi*, a stream running from the mountain. Certain gold-coloured insects, borne on that river and called "*Vujjrakutum*," attach themselves to the stones, and in the course of several years bore the holes and *chukrams* or circular marks seen on them.

The stones are of 2 kinds :—" *Jalajum* " or born in water, and " *Sthalamum* " or born on dry land ; the former are smooth and handsome, the latter rough and uneven. Each insect engraves two "Chukrams," up and down, in a hole. The stones often have more than one hole, some as many as 7 or 8. The engraving is sometimes made on the outside of the stone. Stones without the "Chukram" are useless. The "Chukrams" wrought in various forms are the distinguishing marks for recognizing the "Saligrāmas,"

and naming them after the different incarnations of Vishnu :—as, *Vansudeva, Narraina, Gopala, Matcheya, Kurma*, etc.

“*Saligrámas*” vary also in colour ; as white, black, yellow, red, blue, etc., which are said to confer different blessings on the possessor, both in this and the other world. The white ensures salvation ; the blue bestows wealth and health ; the black confers popularity ; the red gives power ; and so on. The most esteemed and venerated are those which are neither too large nor too small in size, and are round, smooth, deep-holed and engraved inwardly. Such as are wide-holed, crooked either in form or engraving, broken, cracked, or not bright, are considered of less virtue, except for “*Recluses*,” who may keep and adore all kinds of “*Saligrámas*” indiscriminately.

We are told that the way to distinguish a good from a bad “*Saligráma*,” is to put it into a measured quantity of cow’s milk or rice, for a day ; and to mark whether the quantity increases or diminishes. If it increases, or at least does not diminish, the “*Saligráma*” is to be considered lucky and acceptable ; if it diminishes, it is not suitable. These “*Saligrámas*” are adored as the domestic gods of all classes of Brahmins in India. They wash them and pray to them every day, offer them, in the first instance, the victuals prepared for their own use, and drink the water in which they are washed as conducive to every blessing and happiness. They cannot become polluted, nor do they require any ceremonial purification as idols do.

X I X.

SATI.

[The Form and ceremony of performing the *Sagamánam* or *Sahagamánam* (departing of a woman with her husband) commonly called *Sati*, translated by C. V. Ramaswamy, Brahmin ; Madras, 1846.]

When a man of the Brahmin caste dies, the wife rubs turmeric powder over her body and places on her forehead the *Kumkam* or spot made with a red powder. She chews betelnut, and holding a lime in her hand, she makes the

usual declaration of wishing to ascend the funeral pile. She then dresses herself in a yellow cloth, and adorns her head with flowers, sandal and other perfumes. With a smiling countenance she distributes her jewelry among her children and relatives, giving a part also in charity to Brahmins. Then praying to God, she accompanies her relations in procession to the Burning ground (*Smasanam Bhumi*) where (on a pile of fuel) the corpse of her deceased husband is laid. Taking leave of all the people about the place, as the Rajah of the country, the principal personages and other spectators, she recites prayers for the safety of the Rajah and country. She then walks thrice round the funeral pile, mounts it and reclines close to the body of her departed husband. The people then place large faggots and bundles of wood on the pile, and pour on it many pots of oil, resin, etc., to quicken the fire. Sometimes the woman in proof of her courage and fidelity to the deceased, exhibits to the spectators her glass bracelets, the lime she holds in her hand, the part of the cloth folded in front, the marriage *Tali* (nuptial golden ornament), or some other object. If this is found afterwards unconsumed by the fierce flames, it is believed by all to be a proof of her fidelity to her husband. In the case of even those who have not thus antecedently appealed to the spectators for this proof of their virtue, any portion of their bracelets, clothes, marriage *Tali*, etc., which may remain unburnt, are separated by the people, the next day, from the ashes, are put in a clean place, and are worshipped with sandal. On holidays they offer them milk, fruit, etc., in the place where the *Sagamanam* was performed. They used formerly to make two stone images of the departed couple* and erect small temples to them. The images were rubbed with turmeric powder, and adorned with glass beads and rings. On the following Friday boiled milk, rice and fruit were offered to them. Travellers and villagers used to make

* These old stone images are to be seen all over Southern India, on roadsides, in villages, and in the fields.—R. S.

vows to repair these temples, with the object of recovering from illness, obtaining offspring, etc. If they obtained their desires, they moreover offered milk, rice, and cloth, according to their means. They held that these new deities would appear to them in dreams, favour them with their commands and grant them their wishes. Some persons vowed to consider them as their household or family deities (*Pérantálu*); and others promised to give their names to their expected children, and believed that they would remove unhappiness, sickness and all misfortunes from the family. The deities thus recognised were expected to warn the master of the house of all future ills in the family, and how to avert them. Thus they were held to fulfil the wishes of the heads of families, for some years; but in time their power was believed to cease, though the departed couple were still expected to protect their own family during the lifetime of its members. Sometimes it happened that they did not help them at all. If the cloth, glass rings, and limes of the woman were all burnt to ashes, no virtue or power was ascribed to the couple, except for people of their own clan; and therefore no others would respect or worship them, or vow to perform any ceremonies, because they had not the power to fulfil their wishes.

This custom of the *Sahagamánam* is directed in the Puránás to be observed by all sects or castes. Pregnant women, however, of all castes are not permitted to burn themselves with their husbands' corpses, because they are then considered to enclose *double souls*. Any female who is made to die thus by force or compulsion will certainly have to wander about as a *Bhuta* (ghost) for a long time before she attains *Moksham* (salvation).

There are slight variations in the rules for the Kshatriya (warrior-caste) woman, who performs the *Sahagamánam* for her husband.

When a *Kshatriya* man dies, his wife at once bathes, anoints her head with oil, rubs her person with sandal and other perfumes, adorns herself with flowers, dresses herself

in a long saffron-coloured cloth, and takes a lime in one hand and a mirror in the other. Accompanied with music, she goes with her husband's corpse to the burning ground, engaged in prayer to God. Into a pit previously dug is thrown a quantity of sandal wood with roots of some jungle trees, and around it a screen of mats is raised. The woman now takes off her jewels and distributes them among Brahmins and women ; looks up, and prays to the Sun for the prosperity of the country and of the Rajah. Then, breaking one side of the screen, she jumps into the flaming fire. The people then throw the surrounding matting into the fire, and pour on it pots of ghee, resin, camphor, and other fragrant things, until both the bodies are consumed. Some women at the moment of going into the flames, take up some of the fire in their hands. Others quietly lay themselves down alongside the corpses of their husbands. Some die before they can lie down thus, but others have answered, twice or even thrice, the call of the spectators. After both bodies have been entirely burnt, the sons or relations of the departed collect the glass rings, beads, cloth or other articles which the flames have respected, and preserve them in a pure place in their houses as relics, believing that thereby their desires will be accomplished.

The same rules are ordained for the *Vaisyas* and *Balijas* ; but in the caste of the *Vacariwa* the wife enters the pile with her husband's corpse. The *Reddis*, *Velamds*, *Cummds*, *Maharathas*, *Rajputs*, and *Bondelies* act as the *Vacari* caste ; the *Arava Velamas*, the *Kollars* and some others observe the forms of the *Kshatriyas* or the *Brahmins*.

If the husband has died in a distant country, the widow on receiving the news of his death, rubs herself with turmeric, adorns herself with flowers, wears a yellow cloth, and does her hair in 5 or 10 plaits, to which she hangs limes. With the drawn sword of her husband in one hand, and in the other a mirror into which she looks, she proceeds, attended with music, to the adjacent villages in which she has relations residing. These are bound to pay for the musicians and

to supply her with all she needs or reasonably demands. She thus visits the neighbouring villages for 10 days, spending her time in pleasure, (witnessing) dances and music, etc. She does not sleep, but continues night and day in a state of exhilaration and excitement. As a rule, she takes no food. Some women however eat a little rice; others are prevailed upon, by the earnest request of their relations, to take a little milk.

On the eleventh day, a funeral pile is prepared in the name of her husband; and when it is lighted, she enters into the fire according to the abovementioned rules. Her unburnt ornaments are gathered and kept by her relations, who worship them, as is said above, and believe that thereby some of their wishes may be accomplished, should fate be propitious.

According to the *Purānas*, women departing thus with their husbands live in heaven for 3 *krōres* of divine years, and enjoy every felicity and happiness in *Dēva-Lokam*.

Various motives may induce women to perform *Sahagamānam*; as 1st, affection and love to her deceased husband; 2nd, because she has no children to live for; 3rd, fear of want of food and straitened circumstances; 4th, resentment and anger against their relations; etc. The Brahmins call this ceremony *Sahagamānam* (going with the husband); the Kshatriyas call it *Agni Pravesam* (entering the fire). The custom is common over all India.

A letter from Captain Robert Gill, dated Mahum, near Julna, May 1st, 1848, says: “. . . I have not forgotten your wish about monuments erected over Sutties. At Bajain I found 9—all erected by the side of a beautiful tank, but totally different from those you described. They were simple square *tumuli*, twice as high as broad, surrounded by a cornice. The upper half was hollow and arched on every side, and contained within sculptures of the two feet and a *lingam*. My informant, moreover, told me that other images were placed in the interior of the house of the deceased woman's nearest relations, and wor-

shipped daily. One of the Suttees took place so late as within the last 3 years ; and the monument erected on that occasion was quite new.

“At Karinjah I was too unwell to go out, but made enquiries and learned that a Suttee had taken place there within the last year (1847), and that the monument was similar to those just described. I have not yet found any of the description of sculptures which you wish for, though I never fail to stroll round almost every village I pass, in hopes of doing so.”

XX.

LEGEND OF THE KOLAIR LAKE.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE *Márkandeya-puranam*, BY A
BRAHMIN.)

[The Kolair (or Colair) Lake forms the drainage area of the richly irrigated rice-growing tract between the Godáveri and Krishna Rivers, on the East Coast. It is about on mean sea level, and runs into, or is filled by, the sea, according to the tides. It is mostly overgrown with tall reeds, and is the abode of millions of aquatic birds of every description.—R. S.]

IN former times, at an examination of the learning and acquirements of the Pándavás and Konravás, Duryódhana was rejoiced to see that Karna displayed skill superior to that of Arjuna ; and being pleased to find one who could overcome that hero, he appointed Karna Sovereign of *Anga-désam*, the country lying between the Krishna and the Godáveri, northward, up to the River Nirmala. Karna took possession of his dominions, and founded a large town, 3 yojanas (30 miles) in length and as many in breadth ; and called it Karnapuram, after his own name. He also consecrated a pagoda to *Gokarnésvara*. During his prosperous reign he attracted Brahmins in great numbers to the town, by granting *Agrahárams* (Brahmin hamlets) for their support. On his fall, in the battle between the Pándavás and Konravás, Dharmaraja succeeded to the throne ; and after him came a long line of kings of the Soma Vamsa (family of the Moon). During the Yudhisthir

epoch of the *Kaliyuga*, Mahanandi of the Magadha family, being the most powerful chief of the age, ruled to the utmost limits of the earth. He took four wives from the Kshatriya caste, and one, of remarkable beauty, from the Sudras. He had sons by all. By the four Kshatriya wives he had Pumsapatadu, Vakshyapudu, Karadandu and Mandapáludu. By the Sudra wife he had Mahapadmudu; and being particularly fond of this last son, he made him supreme king over all his dominions, bestowing only 4 minor districts on his other sons. He then retired from the world, for contemplation and prayer. While Pumsapatadu, Vakshyapudu, Karadandu and Mandapáludu reigned respectively in their kingdoms of Kalinga, Pulinda, Anga and Vanga, Mahapadmudu, their stepbrother, undertook a great warlike expedition, and received homage from all Kshatriyas, whom he subdued and reduced them to the same level as the Sudras, forcing them to live by cultivating the earth. He subjected the whole world to his sway.

Karadandu, King of Anga, whose capital was Karnapuram, reigned with benevolence; but the 8th descendant from him, having no issue, entrusted the management of his kingdom to his *Mantri* (minister); and accompanied by his wife, retired to the river Nirmala, to offer up prayers for a son. In a few years, a spirit of wickedness and disregard for his master entered the *Mantri's* head. He made himself absolute king, and even altered the name of the metropolis from Karnapuram to Kolairpuram, and proclaimed the change everywhere. He also wickedly deprived the Brahmins of their *Agrahárams* and *Mányams* (rent free lands) granted by former Rajahs; and thus reduced them to great distress for want of even food and raiment.

It happened that a *Yogi* came to the town, and stopping before a wretched, half-ruined house, he questioned its mistress, who told him the whole history of the local poverty. Moved with compassion, he communicated to her a *mantram* (spell), called *Múltracontí*; and explaining its process to her, with many other things, he went his way.

This *mantram* gave riches to all—Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. It consisted in the woman's washing white rice in a particular manner, and giving it to her husband at the morning *Onposanam*; and when the *hóman* is made with them the grains are said to be converted into so many grains of gold. A first trial having been found successful, the Brahmin joyfully directed his wife to continue the practice daily. In time, however, the woman communicated the secret to many other women; and for 18 years the town enjoyed unparalleled prosperity and wealth:—houses and *Mahals* were even erected with gold.

But *Agnihotra* could not endure the sight of the wickedness involved in the preparation of the spell. There then resided near Mahadevi's pagoda a very good Brahmin called Nilakuntha, whose wife Sumati was a woman of great virtue. She one day said to him: "My Lord, the whole town is become rich by means of a *mantram*; will you permit me also to use it?" The Brahmin thereupon rebuked her, and would not consent to the wicked practice. Jataveda condescended to visit this Brahmin's house, and said that he, the God of Fire, intended to consume the town; but he blessed the Brahmin and his wife, so that, through his mercy, they would remain safe under their own roof, and would have all necessities that they wished for. He then disappeared. Before long, however, *Agnihotra* began his work of destruction. He went round the town in a circle; and a fire sprang up, which continued raging for 21 days. The soil too subsiding to the depth of 7 Palmirah trees, the influx of the sea eventually quenched the fire.

Meanwhile the king had continued his prayer for 50 years, after which *Iswara* (Siva) was pleased to bestow on him a son, whom he named Bhimadatta. Disguised as an Ascetic, the king, with great joy, set out with his son for Karnapuram. He sought and inquired for it everywhere, but none could tell him of it. Prosecuting his search, he came to Indra-Kiladri, and asked an old Brahmin whom he

found there if he knew where Karnapuram was. The Brahmin told him the whole past history of the place. The king was struck with surprise ; and seeing that these disasters were caused by the wickedness of the *Mantri*, he asked advice how he might recover his lost kingdom.

The Brahmin was a great worshipper of *Durga* ; and praying fervently to the goddess on behalf of the king, she appeared and asked him what he wanted. The Brahmin answered that the king then present was the former ruler of Karnapuram, and that he wished her to do him good. At the prayers of the goddess, the sea retired from *Angadesdm*. Then she erected there a fort and established the king in it, conferring great riches upon him. He subsequently elevated the ground for 100 villages, and peopled them.

While the tenth descendant of this king was on the throne* Chola-rajah, belonging to the race of Sáliváhana, wishing to conquer this fort, built another over against it ; but it was only after 12 years' labour that he succeeded at length in taking it, by reopening a channel from the sea, information regarding which was given to him by a shepherdess. The letting in of the sea thus refilled the Kolair Lake, and made the king quit his fort. Chola-rajah, however, permitted him to erect another village and fort, not far away, called after his own name, Kaldindi, which is still in existence. But during the victorious career of Raja Narendra he was again restored to his own. Subsequently to the Sáliváhana era, during the reign of Tanisha Padsha,† the Rajah was again expelled by the Sirdárs Akkanna and Madanna ; and a portion of land on the seacoast was allotted to him, where he erected his capital and over which he continued to rule.

But the waters have never again retired from the Kolair Lake.

* This would be in the XI. Century A.D.—R. S.

† Probably a Golconda general. Muhammad Kuli Kutb Shah conquered this country in A.D. 1567.—R. S.

XXI.

A DHARWAR VILLAGE FESTIVAL OF DURGA.*

(COMMUNICATED BY A NATIVE OFFICIAL TO SIR W.
ELLIOT, APRIL 20, 1829.)

[This is a festival in honour of Durga as *Mahishásuramardani*—the destroyer of the Demon *Mahishásura*.—W. E.]

AT the village of Mangalagudda, appertaining to the Potadkhal division of Badami Taluk, in the Dharwar Collectorate, is a temple of *Mahishásura-Mardani* (destroyer of a giant transformed into a buffalo) under the name of Mangalavva Devi; and a great feast is solemnized triennially in honour of this deity. Your orders to report in writing on this festival caused inquiry to be made from several well-informed persons, with the following results:

The *Mahákutakshetra* (holy place) is 12 miles in circumference, and is full of *Lingams*. In it is the village of Mangalagudda, of which the goddess is *Mahishásura Mardani*. Formerly to extend her fame in the Kaliyuga (the present Iron age) she appeared to certain *Hatikars* or herdsmen, with whom she was pleased; and from that time the festival has been held every third year. The following are the details with the names of the performers of the festival, and of the *Hatikars* devoted to the goddess.

The worshipper is named Nāgunnah. He is about 60 years old and of the Khshatri caste. The person now actually performing the *Puja* ceremony to the goddess is Mangalavva, a female connected with the family of Nāgunnah's brothers or cousins, and her husband is dead. During her lifetime she alone ought to perform the *Puja*. After her death any one of the worshipper's family who may be commanded by the goddess, shall make the *Puja*. This is the practice at present.

The headmen residing in the village of Nāgarhal, who are of the kurumbar or shepherd caste are: 1 Kenchana Gonda, 2 Bhimana Gonda, 3 Karí Hanumanna, 4 Jádida Papanna.

* Another such Sir Walter described in Trans. Ethnog. Soc., N.S.I., 97-100. Here the details are more complete.—ED.

The four Hatikars or performers of the festival are Hanumanna, Satyanna, Mudakanna, and Ninganna, residents of the village of Bachanagudda, and are of the shepherd caste.

On the 14th day of the decreasing moon of the month *Māgha*, which is the day called *Sīvaratri* (the night of Siva), the four Hatikars pray to the goddess; and, in obedience to her instructions, go to villages where there may be *Sidi* trees, make *puja* to them, and then cut them down and bring them away. They also cut and bring trees from the country wherever procurable. With these they erect a wooden *Mantapa* (porch) called *Hire-handara*, forming a large *pandal* (shed) in front of the goddess.

During the night of the 8th day after the erection of the *Handara*, the four Hatikars, calling out *Sami! Dévara!* (Lord! goddess!) slaughter 6 sheep and cook 1 *kudo* (about 80 quart measures) of *joree* grain (*Holcus Sorghum*), which with repeated cries of *Sami! Dévara!* they dedicate to the goddess, who is seated on the *Maradi* (platform) close by the temple. Then all eat it. The next day, the four Hatikars again slaughter 6 sheep and cook 1 *kudo* of *joree*, as they did the day before, but on the banks of the *Atimara-devâ* River, at the place where the deity resides.

From the 5th day of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, for 8 days, the four Hatikars pay the priests at the rate of half a pagoda each, for their eating expenses, and as wages.

On the day of the new moon of the month *Phālguna*, the space in front of the goddess is oramented with the coloured powder called *Arki*, which is thus made: An earthen pot is filled with 11 kinds of grain, cleanly washed in river water, and is placed for 3 nights before the large lamp called *Nanda Dīpa** in the priest's house. After 3 days, the grain is pounded, and the powder, dyed in different colours, is used to draw lines in different patterns on the ground in front of the goddess, on the 5th day of the increasing moon, when she is placed on the platform.

* Properly *Ananta Dīpa*,—the light kept burning before the idol in every house.

From the 1st to the 4th of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, the priests, Hatikars, etc., worship and distribute charities in their respective houses : nothing is done before or near the goddess. On the 5th of *Chaitra Suddha*, the goddess takes her seat and the female named *Man-galavva*, who has to worship the goddess, must from that day fast from the preceding night. In the morning, after bathing in the river, she sits, still fasting, before the goddess, and must not stir from that place, till sunset on Saturday. So strictly does she maintain her vigil, as not even to eat, drink, sleep, yawn, etc. On the same day (the 5th of *Chaitra Suddha*) the goddess is placed on her seat, thus : In the evening she is taken to the river and brought back to the pagoda, with drums, tomtoms, and other music ; and her ablution (*abhishika*) takes place in the pagoda with river water. Then she is dressed in a *sári* (or woman's cloth) and the ceremony of "filling the *onti*" (skirt) is performed,—the worshipper clothing the goddess with a new *Sári* and *choli*, and then filling up the receptacle formed by holding up its edges, with dry coconuts, dates, rice, betel nuts, etc. The ceremony is repeated, on the 2nd day by the headmen of the village *Nágarhal*, and on the 3rd and 4th days by other officials. Afterwards meat offerings are presented by them, in order, and the skirt filled. Next, the Desai (Chief) of the *Khata* presents a new *sari* and *choli*, the *onti* of which is also filled, and meat offerings made. Then the clerks of the Desai, without presenting a *sari*, fill the *onti* of the one already on. After them the headmen of the village of *Potadkhal* do the same, and are followed in turn by the village accountants.

During this ceremony, they throw over each other, before the goddess, the *Ranga* or coloured powder of a certain grain mixed with saffron, turmeric, and other powdered colours : the priests begin, and the Hatikars continue in succession. The *Circar* presents 12 sheep,—four named villages giving each two sheep, and four others each one sheep. The worshippers kill the sheep, placing their heads on the spot covered with coloured powder, and the flesh is

carried to the worshippers at the *Bhandar* or place where the kitchen stores of the goddess are kept.

After this, about daybreak, bull buffaloes are offered. First comes that of the Chief, either already dedicated for this purpose or merely purchased; then that of the inhabitants of Nágárhál, of Revadi, of Undi-Atar; then the Circar Buffalo, and lastly that of the headman of Potadkhal. Buffaloes are also offered, during five days, by those who have vowed to do so. It is the command of the goddess that thousands of buffaloes and *lakhs* of sheep should be killed. Last year from 20,000 to 25,000 sheep and over 400 buffaloes were sacrificed.

The sacrificer of the Buffaloes is of the Dhangar caste. The priest takes up the head of the first buffalo sacrificed, and placing it on his own head, goes with it five times round the pagoda, and then places it on the coloured powder. All the heads are thus placed in the *Mandapa*, while the bodies are carried away by those who offered the animals. On the 6th of the increasing moon of *Chaitra*, mutton is dressed in the kitchen of the goddess, and the married women of the priests' caste, with others, eat it in the presence of the goddess.

Those who have vowed to walk about the Pagoda, clothed only with cinctures of leaves (*hutagi*) now do so for 5 days. This the priests and 3 or 4 of the Hatikar or shepherd families do without paying any fees; and none are paid by the headmen, accountants, chiefs and priests of the 8 villages which offer sheep; but all others who do the ceremony under a vow, pay a fee. There were between 200 and 300 last year.

Another kind of vow now performed is that of rolling their prostrate bodies on the ground 3 or 5 times round the pagoda.

On the 8th and 9th day of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, the ceremony of *Bhagad*, or swinging with the back or side pierced with an iron hook,* here called *Chedal*, is performed by the 4 Hatikars, the chief, head-

* This is now forbidden.—R. S.

men, accountants, etc., without paying any fees ; and then, with a fee, by those who have vowed to do so : last year there may have been about 40 such *Bhagads*.

On the 9th day, the saturnalia connected with the sprinkling of red water called *Vakali* and the plunder of sheep and buffalo heads called *Talisurí* (tali=head, suri=plunder) takes place, the former about noon. Before the *Talisurí*, the *Rákshasa* (demon) who was formerly brought away from the country of Badami, and kept (buried) at this place, is taken out (or raised) by digging a pit in the *Mandapa* and putting into it a cocoanut, with 5 pice, and a black ewe, brought in covered with a cloth, and slaughtered in the pit, which is then filled up. Thereupon all present become frenzied, as if possessed ; and while in this state, they snatch up and carry off the heads of the sheep and buffaloes sacrificed ; and for a couple of hours, during which the plundering lasts, great confusion prevails.

After this, the goddess is taken to the river, and brought back again, the Hatikars washing and cleaning the pagoda in the interval. During the 5 sacrificing days, flies do not swarm about ; but they do after the plunder of the heads.

Performance of *Hutagi* and *Sidi* and the sacrificing of Sheep and buffaloes continue to the full moon of Jyishtha, and depend on the number of devotees from remote parts.

XXII.

SORCERY AND MURDER.

[Extracts from statements made during the trial of two men, Barradu and Suggadu, in 1852 in the Sessions' Court of the Godáveri District ; evidently translated by a native.—R. S.]

The prosecutor, Marla Davan Dora, deposed : “ I see the prisoners now before the Court. I entered into *Nyastam* (engagement of friendship) with the first prisoner whereby I am prohibited from telling his name : the other's name is Suggadu. My plaint is, that on the Dassara feast day, my wife, Viri, went for fuel and brought it to the house. At 7 a.m. she went to a field, when the two brothers, now prisoners before the court, came across to her

on the road. The first had a cudgel in his hand, and the second a bill-hook. The first struck my wife on the head with his cudgel, and she fell. Then the second gave her 2 cuts on the neck with the bill hook, severing the head which fell to one side, apart from the body ; and she died. They did this on the supposition that she was a sorceress. She never killed any one by sorcery. The first prisoner's daughter died ; but I do not know whether naturally or by sorcery. My younger brother's daughter also died ; but sorcery was not suspected, and she died a natural death. The first prisoner's daughter died 15 days before the Dussara feast, after a week's illness. My wife did not attend her or give her any medicine. They were friends ; but on this occasion she did not go ; and I do not know why she was suspected of using sorcery against her. I do not know if any one told the prisoners so. My wife knew no sorcery, and did not say that she would kill the first prisoner's daughter. The belief in sorcery does not exist among men in my (part of the) country. . . . When the prisoners killed my wife, my younger brother Mallu Dora and the first witness, Chota Reddy Dora, were also present. We did not interfere, for fear lest they would kill us also. . . . The cudgel was as large as a hand ; . . . the blow from it broke my wife's head, and blood issued from it. . . . The head was taken away by the same man who cut it off—the 2nd prisoner now before the Court. He carried it off by the hair, under the impression that she being a sorceress, it would otherwise reunite with the body. . . . They buried the head under ground . . . my wife's jewels, *viz.*, 2 marriage plates (worth each 8 annas) and a nose-ring (worth 4 annas) were stolen ; but nothing else ; the second prisoner carried them away, as they had fallen when my wife's head was cut off. . . . I saw them killing my wife, from my house, which was distant, as it is from this place to the Court-house gate (about 30 yards).

* * * * *

[The remainder of the evidence is of the same purport, but of no special rest. The prisoners were convicted.—R. S.]

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(*Continued from Vol. IV., page 180.*)

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND H. E. THE LATE
P. WASSA PASHA.)

PHŒNICIANS, THE INTRODUCERS OF WRITING INTO EUROPE.

THE Phœnicians who dwelt southwards from Tripoli were the first to invent an alphabet in the proper sense. The previous Egyptian writing had been of three kinds, Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic—written from right to left. Hieroglyphic was kyriologic and enigmatic. Hieratic, derived from hieroglyphic, was phonetic and symbolic; while Demotic was a simplified form of the latter. Phœnician on the contrary was written from left to right and was alphabetical. It was from the 21 Phœnician letters that the 16 original Greek letters, mentioned by Pliny,* were taken and these were, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Ο, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ, Υ. Palamedes, at the time of the Trojan war, is said to have added 4 : Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ; and Simonides 4 more : Ζ, Η, Ψ, and Ω. But on this unimportant point authors differ. The Etruscans never had these 8 letters; but they certainly had *F*† the sixth letter in the old Greek alphabet, which though omitted by Pliny is stated by him to have been introduced by Kadmus—a Phœnician—and used from B.C. 1500, upwards to B.C. 1000. The Phœnicians were well known, and were in alliance with that great ancient commercial monopolist, Solomon; but even 100

* Plin. vii. 56.

† Gruter: Inscript. Antiquæ, Tom. I., p. 144, where, however, we have Ξ written from right to left. Marsh makes a great point of the Digamma, or, as he calls it, the Æolic Digamma, but he falls into the error of confounding form with substance, and rendering intricate a very simple question. The oldest written form of the *w*, *ou*, or *v* sound was the Latin **F**, which was the 6th letter of the alphabet.

years before that epoch, they had founded Gades. In race they were Semitic, and coming from the borders of the Red Sea were hence called Erythræans. About 869 B.C., being conquered by the Assyrians they wandered westward, and founded Carthage, B.C. 864.

We hear nothing, however, of the Greek Race or language, and it is therefore, reasonable to suppose that the advance of this race occurred at a far anterior period, and that it preceded the Phœnicians as traders; or if it existed in those regions contemporaneously, it was overshadowed by the superior commercial acumen of Semitic traders, and it was not till the destruction of these that they acquired pre-eminence.

Still this does not show that even at that early period the Pelasgi were a wholly savage and uncultivated nation. We find them to have been well instructed in certain arts; though in the sense used by the Greeks they were barbarians, that is to say non-Greeks. When the Pelasgi adopted the Greek language as a general means of intercommunication, they would naturally speak it in dialects bearing some affinity to their own language, and varying in intonation and construction. In the same way, the Irish, Welsh and Scots speak a peculiar English, though they have lost their own language, which was the basis of the present linguistic variations, by which they are unmistakably distinguished from the natives of England.

The dialects of Greek are therefore, the result of the translation, by a foreigner, of his own language into Greek, furnishing a proof that Greek was a language adopted by a foreign race, and not its native tongue. Their native tongue, however, left its impress on the adopted language, even after their own had been forgotten. Thus in the present day Greek is recognizable in the mouth of an Albanian, and is easily distinguished from the speech of those who from infancy have been educated in the Athenian Schools, and have never known any other language but Romaic.

Moreover the dialects of various parts of the present kingdom of Greece, where Romaic is the official language, are easily distinguished. Thus it is easy to detect among the higher classes in the Ionian Islands and other places formerly occupied by the Venetians, an Italian, in Athens a French, and in Constantinople a Turkish element. So the dialect of ancient times also arose out of the native language, namely Pelasgic and became impressed on the speech of the people even after their own language had faded from memory.

CONQUEST BY TRADE.

The Anglo-Teutonic invasion of England was begun by the settling of traders on the *Litus Saxonicum*, and afterwards accomplished through their being called on for assistance by one of two contending parties of native Britons. This ended in the auxiliaries subjugating the country and introducing their language to the exclusion of the Gaelic. Not that it is supposed that they exterminated the native population, though this may in some respects be considered an invasion in force. Trade had been the motive for entering the country, and not conquest, as in Cæsar's time; yet the Romans, notwithstanding an occupation of 400 years, failed to implant their language on British soil.

The history of Ireland does not afford an exact parallel. The Norwegians, Normans and English began by invasion, gained a firmer footing by aiding one or another party; and finally subdued all. The difference is that, in the case of England, the settlement began in trade, but in the case of Ireland, it was from the very first an enterprise of war and aggression for the object of plunder.

THE WARS OF THE HERACLIDÆ NOT AN INVASION FROM WITHOUT.

The only invasion of which history gives any trace in the Peloponnese is that of the Heraclidæ, who, however, were not foreigners, but a neighbouring Pelasgic tribe.

They made five attacks. Hercules having re-established Tyndarus on the throne of Sparta obtained thereby a supposed claim to the Peloponnese. This claim he bequeathed to his son Hyllus, as the chief of his numerous progeny, who even at the time of his death formed a large clan, termed the Heraclidæ. These settled in Trachinia; and having, under the leadership of Hyllus, slain Eurystheus, they occupied the country, but were soon after compelled to retire to Athens.

On a second attempt, Hyllus was slain by Echemus, the champion of Atreus; and thus the second attempt failed. Cleodacus, the son of Hyllus, made a third attempt, which was equally fruitless. His son, Aristomachus, who made the fourth attempt, perished in battle.

Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes, the three sons of Aristomachus, made a fifth invasion, with a large force of men and ships; and having succeeded, 80 years after the Trojan War, divided the Peloponnese between them. These attacks covered a period of 120 years. Thus if the Trojan war occurred B.C. 1184, these attacks must have commenced 40 years before that event (A.D. 1224), and been still in progress during that expedition.

Now as Atreus, ruler of Mycenæ, is described as the antagonist of the Heraclidæ, and as Agamemnon and Menelaus were his sons, it follows that these leaders of the forces against Troy, must have been engaged in wars at home, when they are represented as spending 10 years in war abroad! Thus the dates do not coincide; for if, according to Gladstone's chronology, the siege be put back 241 years beyond the Arundelian date, what becomes of Atreus, who was then not even born? and of his sons, Agamemnon and Menelaus, the leaders of the Trojan expedition?

Hercules must, of course, be taken as a mythic person, a mere ideal of prowess and strength—a Samson, to which Semitic hero he bears some similitude. Hence, on the presumption that the Heraclidæ represent an invasion,

or immigration in force, of another race, it is sufficiently clear that it was not they, but some antecedent race, which besieged Troy. This could only be the Pelasgi; for not only is there no intimation that Hercules was of the Greek race, but on the contrary he is stated to have been and must have been of a Pelasgian tribe. He was the son of Jupiter by Alcmena the daughter of Electryon ruler of Mycenæ, and wife of the Theban Amphitryon who was educated in Bœotia. His father being a god, and if anything a Pelasgian god, Hercules himself must be a Pelasgian, for he was not the son of his mother's husband; and on that mother's side too he was a Pelasgian like his putative father. Hercules therefore was in every respect a Pelasgian. Hence the coming of the Heraclidæ was no foreign invasion in force, but only an internal conflict,—the attack of one tribe on another, of the same country.

THE BESIEGERS OF TROY, PELASGIANS.

According to the Arundelian (or vulgar) chronology, the siege of Troy began in B.C. 1194, and Troy was captured in B.C. 1184. If Agamemnon and Menelaus were 50 years old at the capture, they must have been born about B.C. 1234, when Atreus was already dead! The first invasion of the Heraclidæ is placed in B.C. 1224; the fall of Troy in B.C. 1184; and the return of the Heraclidæ in B.C. 1104. This would be 80 years after the Trojan war, which must have been going on during the attacks of the Heraclidæ. But this is not presumable, since all Greece is represented as making common cause against the Trojans; and yet there is no trace of such a truce or compact at that time. This, however, is immaterial, since the real point resolves itself into the question, *Were the Besiegers of Troy Pelasgians or Greeks?* According to the Mythical History itself, they must have been Pelasgians, consequently the siege must have occurred anterior to the arrival of any other foreign race within the Pelasgic area. *Ergo*, the Greek race must have been already there.

For Greeks, the Latins used the two words *Græci* and *Pelasgi*, but not the word Hellenes. The Arundelian marbles inform us that the word Γραικοὶ was not confined to the neighbourhood of Dodona; and those who were formerly called Γραικοὶ, afterwards were termed Ἕλληνες. Pliny* says that before the time of Hellen, a son of Deucalion called Græcus was king in Thessaly. Both these names therefore were local names. Ἕλληνες τὸ πρότερον καλούμενοι.†

Hence it would seem that the Pelasgic immigration into Italy was anterior to the adoption of the name Ἕλληνες by that race, and before the change of the tribal name. Generically, therefore, they were Pelasgi, and tribally Græci.

THOSE CALLED GREEKS IN FACT PELASGIANS.

Thus the Greeks were not a foreign and intrusive race, but a Pelasgic race which adopted the language now called Greek. Some other term is, therefore, wanting to express the speakers of the Greek Language.

THE SYSTEMATIZATION OF THE NEO-PELASGIC.

It being thus sufficiently clear that Pelasgians and Greeks were originally distinct in race and language, a few observations on the Albanian language—the actual representative of the Pelasgian—may now be in place, showing that it is entirely unconnected with Greek.

The Albanian form of speech has now been systematized by three Albanian Scholars, one of whom has reduced it to a regular grammatical form. Heretofore but very little of it had been reduced to writing, and that little had been put down in what is termed the Cyrillic Alphabet. Dr. Hahn‡ had made a more or less successful attempt to reduce it to a mixed Alphabet of Latin and Greek letters, with certain variants. At length a Society was expressly formed for this purpose, of which the leading members were the

* Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 7.

† Marm : Oxon. p. i. t. ii., Ed. Lond., 1782.

‡ Albanische Studien.

Effendis, Pasko Wassa of the Western, Joan-i-Adanash Vrétose of the Eastern, and S. Sami Traseri of the Muhammadan confessions. They ultimately adopted the characters of Western Europe, namely the Latin alphabet, with some modifications and additions.

The Albanian alphabet now consists of 35 characters, of which 26 are those of the Western alphabet. Seven are vowels, *viz.*, *a*, *e*, *i*, *j*, *o*, *u*, and *y*; and there are 9 combinations, *viz.*, *dh*, *gj*, *nj*, *lh*, *rh*, *sh*, *th*, *zh*, and *xh*. These make a total of 35 signs, which, with the grave, acute, circumflex and nasal marks (*viz.*, *`*, *´*, *ˆ*, and *˜*) suffice to express all necessary sounds. The *θ* and *δ* of the Greek are represented by, and equivalent to the *th* as in *with*, and the *dh* sounded like the *th* in *that*—the *dth* or Saxon *ð*. They have the French *j*, and the English *w*; and the nasal of the Gaelic and French is indicated by an accent.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GREEK AND PELASGIC.

The Albanian has the Semitic “*shin*” or “*sh*,” which is deficient in the Greek.

The Genitive inflection is the same as the Dative.

The verb has no Infinitive in an inflected form; it is expressed by a prefix.*

There are but two genders, and no dual number. All these are points of construction differing from the Greek. The circumstance that Æolic Greek has no dual is some evidence that those who spoke it were Pelasgic foreigners. In like manner, as Italy is said to have been peopled by these Æolian Pelasgi, Latin, at least as now known, has no dual, whereas other languages of Aryan root, Slavonic and old Teutonic, had a dual number, as also had ancient Greek and the Semitic tongues.

SUMMARY.

Hence it would appear: 1. That the whole Peninsula of Asia Minor was invaded and settled by a Pelasgian race,

* Romaic is remarkable for the same deficiencies, showing that it is a mere translation of Albanian.

superseding, or extirpating the previous population or amalgamating with it by taking its women as wives and concubines,—whereby the speech of the intruders became corrupted, and a new language was created ;—

2. That another tribe of the same Pelasgian race passed the Hellespont into Thrace, and subsequently, onward through Macedonia, into Illyria, dispossessing the previous race, of probably Iberian or Turanian, or Greek speaking Aryan origin, and finally occupying all the country and Islands to the south, viz., the Peloponnese and adjacent Islands of the Archipelagos ;—

3. That at a subsequent period they passed across to the Po, colonized Tuscany or Etruria, and penetrated southward, and were followed and driven on further by the Tyrrhenians of the same race ;—

4. That after they had become grecicized, they sent further colonies to Italy, in which movement Herodotus joined ;—

5. That they passed from the Peloponnese to Crete ;—

6. That after they had become grecicized, they sent out other Colonies to the Islands and coasts of Asia Minor, whither some Pelasgian colonies had preceded them. and settled in the Islands ;—

7. That although these newer Colonies had become Greek in speech, the foundation of the population was Pelasgic in race ;—

8. That these grecicized Pelasgi founded colonies beyond the limits here mentioned, and extended themselves even to Kherson in the Tauric Chersonese ;—

9. That the Greek race did not invade the Pelasgic area in force, but were settled in the country anterior to the Pelasgi ; preceded the Phœnicians as traders, disseminating their language as that of civilization and commerce ; and ultimately grecicizing a large proportion of the inhabitants. especially in the Peloponnese and Attica ;—

10. That the besiegers of Troy were, like the Trojans selves, Pelasgi who became subsequently a Greek speaking race ;—

11. That the Pelasgi have ever since uninterruptedly maintained themselves in the area in which they originally settled ;—

12. That they attained the zenith of their power under Alexander the Great ;—and

13. That with a singular tenacity they have, even down to the present day, triumphantly maintained and preserved their ancient language manners and customs, through the lapse of time, amid the change of circumstances, and despite the distractions of disastrous wars, the difficulties of frequent devastations and the disintegrating effects of successive subjugations.

PART II.

THE PELASGIC ORIGIN OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

Heretofore the Homeric poems have been considered original, on the same principle that the Sanskrit was once held to be the most ancient of all languages and the parent of other Aryan tongues, from being the oldest of which any knowledge has been preserved ; and in fact, just as a people are held to be autochthonic, until some more ancient race is proved to have existed.

It is admitted that there were languages anterior to those now used ; but what they were is only known through their present descendants, while their parents are lost in the haze of antiquity. The comparatively recent discoveries regarding Sanskrit, however valuable they may be, carry us philologically but one step further back ; for they merely demonstrate that there had once been a form of speech more ancient still,—the parent or predecessor of Sanskrit itself, as well as of the other existent Aryan tongues. Sanskrit, therefore, stands in the position of a brother or cousin, and not in that of a parent, to so many dead and living languages.

THE ORIGINALITY OF ANCIENT AND MODERN EPICS.

It is admitted that Virgil not only copied the general scheme of his epic from the Homeric poems, more especially

from the *Odyssey*, but that he carried his plagiarism often to the extent of literal translation. Neither can it be denied that Dante owes his conceptions to this latter author; and Hogg's rendering of the *Paradise Lost* into Latin Hexameters restores from Virgil's *Æneid*, the lines translated textually from that author by Milton. The Homeric Poems are, therefore, so far undeniably the basis of these Epics: but it remains to be seen whether even those in their present shape, be entitled to the claim of originality.

It is a bold act to assail the Gospel of classical scholarship and impugn its authenticity. Yet it is trusted that in the sequel will be clearly seen that this King of Epics is no more original than the revised version of the New Testament,—albeit from the hands of more able and careful translators. Our assertion, however, does not, in any wise, impugn the merit of the Homeric Rhapsodies in the abstract, but only in the concrete; and it amounts, in the end, only to showing, that they are an admirable rendering, in a most powerful language, from another, maybe equally powerful and eloquent one.

THE CYCLIC POEMS, THE TROIKA AND THE BARDS.

That eminent classical Greek scholar, the late Mr. F. Paley of St. John's, Cambridge, in the preface to his edition of the first 12 Books of the *Iliad*, alludes to the "Cyclic" Poems and the "Troika"; but as both of these has perished, it is only possible to speculate on their possible existence and probable tenor. He seems to imply that both these poems existed in a form as complete as the present Homeric Poems, which are mere fragments or selections from these antecessors: a view hardly consistent with the present theory. That such a Poem as the "Troika" may have existed, it is unnecessary to enquire, however improbable that may be; but that the Cyclic Poems did exist is consistent with the present contention and with probability. The same however cannot be said of the Homeric Poems, in their present form they are compiled out of the

“Troika.” To contend that a perfect epic existed at that early period, of which the scattered fragments have been woven into Iliad and Odyssey, like the scattered portions of the body of Anubis, is inconsistent with probability, and untenable also on other grounds, which the sequel will show. On the other hand, it is a far more reasonable supposition that these two epics took their origin from the panegyrics of bards attached to the several heroes of the deeds recorded, and were so many isolated odes by different Bards: bards in those, as in the Gaelic Countries, were attached to the persons of leading chiefs or rulers, to whom the title of King had been ignorantly applied. Their oral utterances afterwards became the folklore, the history, and the only record of past events, handed down by professed Bardic reciters, who at a later epoch fell into disrepute as a mendicant class, devoid of all originality, the mere living book of past events. The art of writing would undoubtedly give, sooner or later, to this class, a *coup de grâce*. They would cease to be a necessity, and the fittest alone would be tolerated, as quasi dramatic personages, analogous to the great Italian *recitatori*, or those in this present age and country, who make a livelihood by reciting the well-known poems of standard authors. Thus acted on by time and because no longer necessary, the bardic panegyrics on great chiefs fell into decay. Many of them were lost, only some survived in a fragmentary form, because the men whose minds had been trained to the retention of many thousands of lines no longer existed, or existed at least so sparsely, as to be even as difficult to find as would now be a Welsh harper.

The retention and repetition of long poems is not even in the present time an unusual feat by persons who have never thought of making it a speciality; and some, though occupied in important and all-absorbing professions, can repeat the greater part of Virgil, Horace, Greek plays, or even Homer, from the mere recollections of school or

college ;* and this, it must be remembered, not in their mother tongue, but in dead languages. In like manner the Shastras were handed down orally in India in a tongue which had ceased to be the vernacular, and many of the so-called Ossianic poems, the remains of the old historical bardic odes, may be heard in an antiquated Gaelic, from the mouths of illiterate people, who undoubtedly have this faculty in a far higher degree,—the result of necessary dependence on memory, — than their educated fellow countrymen, who place their reliance on books. Thus the preservation of these bardic pieces presents no difficulty, and certainly less in semibarbarous ages than at the present epoch, especially when we remember that the oldest chronicles were, for the convenience of memory, composed in rhythm.

Two classes of these poems have survived, those in the Homeric collection, and those of which the substance alone has been preserved by the tragedians. In how far these latter worked the *ipsissima verba* into their dramatic productions is necessarily unknown ; but on account of the change in language and expression, presumably to no greater extent than that of paraphrasing them, so as to render them free adaptations. That in so doing they preserved the feeling and barbaric force of the original, tempered by the Attic language and culture, is obvious from internal evidence. The ruffianism of Ajax, and the discourteous imperiousness of Agamemnon and Menelaus, as depicted by Sophocles, are true to their character in the Homeric poems, while that of Ulysses and Teucer are toned down ; but Tecmessa is an Attic matron rather than an Homeric concubine : she receives more prominence than even Andromache or Helen. Nor is this true of Sophocles alone. Æschylus and Euripides adopted the same type and followed the same rule, yet it cannot be denied that these characters are more forcible and natural in Homeric than in Attic Greek.

* Sir Robert Collyer, now Lord Monkswell, would undertake the recital of the whole Iliad in 6 months.

SUMMARY OF THE LONDON ORIENTAL CONGRESSES OF 1891 AND 1892.

THE "*Occasionally* Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" is now over. In May it advertised itself as the "Oriental Congress 1892"; in June as the "Ninth Oriental Congress"; in July it boldly assumed the title of the "Ninth International Congress of Orientalists"; in August it became simply an "International Congress of Orientalists"; and in September it was reported as the "International Oriental Congress." In its opening address it started by abusing the "Statutory Congresses," their Founders and promoters, and at its final meeting, it professed to issue "Regulations for the organization of the *International Oriental Congress*" in accordance with the original Statutes, when its very existence and object were a defiance of the principles of the International Republic of Oriental letters, founded in Paris in 1873. These "regulations" are only in so far based on the Statutes, as the Statutes themselves are based on the alphabet. Otherwise there is no real connexion. The "regulations" may apply to almost any Congress—Oriental or Occidental; they "can be repealed, varied or revised" by any Congress; they have no element of permanence and are a mere cover for the encroachments made and contemplated on the existing Series, whilst appropriating its name, whenever this can be done with impunity. The new "Müller Series" shall "*if possible* determine the time and place of the succeeding Congress"; its President may be nominated by the inviting *Government*; its organizing Committee shall "settle the conditions of Membership"; "the Proceedings shall be handed over for custody of the (respective) Asiatic Society." These and other provisions are incompatible with the non-official and non-professional character of the international, private and open Institution, as founded in 1873.

The Congress of 1892, with its intermittent appellations, had five days' easy work—about 18 hours—relieved by two

half-holidays and followed by excursions to Oxford and Cambridge and a visit to the Zoological Gardens. The latter was natural after the bear-gardens of the Stockholm-Christianiana Congress from which this year's Congress claims to be descended and from which it has received the un-Oriental heirloom of a drinking-horn. The speech also of Professor Garner's Simian protégés was calculated to afford speculation to those Orientalists who had never heard an Oriental Language. That speech is, perhaps, connected with solar myths or with the inarticulate Sanscrit of Chamber-Philologists. Among the blind, the one-eyed is King; and Englishmen, forgetting that the material which they collect in the East, is worth any number of "chips from a German workshop," have hitherto been such poor linguists that they readily acknowledge as a leader one who cannot speak, if he can otherwise command, a single Oriental language, but who has a perfect knowledge of the ways to manage an English audience and the English Press.

Among the English Orientalists who stood aloof from the London Congress of 1892 may be mentioned Dr. Pope, Dr. Rost, Prof. Margoliouth, Dr. C. Taylor, Dr. Cust, Mr. R. Cull, Sir Monier Williams, Dr. Isaac Taylor, Dr. H. Adler, Mr. Hyde Clarke, Sir Austin H. Layard, Sir Ch. Nicholson, Prof. G. Oppert, and a host of others, most of whom took an active part in the Congress of 1891. The Scotch Universities took no interest in it. Of France all but two out of the 125 of last year were absent, as were also the leading Sinologists Schlegel and Cordier, Cartailhac, Capus, Foucaux, Robiou, Marre, Vinson, Lincke, Merx, Maspero, de Rosny, Amélineau, Derenbourg, Beauregard, Graffin, René Basset, Lamy, Tsagarelli, Esoff, Montet, Turrini, Severini, Ludwig, Grünert, Carolides, Vasconcellos-Abreu, Gayangos, Donadiu, Simonet, Vambéry, Monseur, Van den Gheyn, Fausböll, Skarstedt, Leland, Hein—names of last year's Congress. The French Founders, of course, did not attend and no Summaries of Research were prepared. The great Pandits, Nyaratna, Guruprasada, and others of equal standing were

silent. Are all these scholars not true Orientalists, and how about men like Glennie-Stuart, Simpson and Vincent Smith who read papers at *both* Congresses? How also was it that even the Geographical Section under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society did not attract explorers, as did the Congress of last year and that it ignored recent discoveries in Dardistan and the regions round the Pamirs? How was it that there were no Deputations from the City and British Chambers of Commerce, no ambassadors and no heads of religious communities that would have anything to say to a Congress which was MAINLY Max Müller and little else? Even the illustrated papers, unlike last year, had nothing to show of men and things Oriental, but only brought Max Müller's portrait. The Congress of 1892 will be chiefly remembered for ignoring what is practical and useful in Oriental learning. Oriental Medicine, systems of Education, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Laws, Agriculture and other branches of applied sciences, so prominent in 1891, have been omitted from the 1892 programme. Whereas last year a number of countries and districts were first brought to European notice by natives of Hunza - Nagyr, Yasin, Chitrál, Gabriál, Koláb, etc., 1892 scarcely touched Central Asia, but it created the Kingdom of Armenia, from which it appointed a representative on its Committee, in ignorance or defiance of Turkey!

The Congress of 1892 has had a number of excellent papers and has signalized two important discoveries—the Hechler MS. of the Septuagint and the work of Mr. F. Petrie in Egypt which was so appreciated at last year's London Congress. In both instances, however, private enterprise had to draw public attention to their merits. The Congress of 1892 has dragged the controversy regarding its legality into its literary meetings, and has in that respect not imitated the reticence of its predecessor of 1891. When the time for stopping it by injunction was supposed to be passed, it felt no longer "afraid or

ashamed" to resume a number and title to which it has no right. 1892 has further instituted comparisons between the Scholars it attracted and those of the last Congress which are doubly odious as they include members who took part in both meetings. It has made a definition of what is a "true Oriental Scholar" which is as one-sided as it is egotistical. Not "only he who publishes texts that have not been published before or translates what has not been translated before" is a true Oriental Scholar. It is possible to conceive of Publishers of Oriental texts who may not be Oriental Scholars. Valueless texts and valueless or bad translations are also not uncommon. Texts also for which the nominal Editor may have gained large sums and a reputation have been revised by unknown sweaters. He who has been to the East and can speak an Oriental language, or the native Oriental Scholar, may often correct the Orientalist of the closet in deciphering texts or in translating, as he almost invariably surpasses him in insight into Oriental thought. It is true that Prof. Max Müller will admit to his Congress "dragomans and intelligent couriers," say one who has become a Count, but otherwise he will draw a hard and fast line between Orientalists who, like himself, are not Oriental linguists, and others who are. The former will be the main constituent elements of his Congresses; the latter of the "so-called Statutory Congresses" that not only bring Oriental specialities up to date, as did the meeting of last year, but that also try to show the utility of Oriental learning in Education, Art, Industry, Commerce and Administration. The former will propose to the Foreign Office to subsidize "modern Arabic"; the latter has shown that the study of Classical Arabic alone gives influence among Muhammadans and that an European, learning only an Arabic dialect runs the risk of being misunderstood beyond its limits or, within them, of being considered an adventurer. The proposal of a "Muhammadan Encyclopædia" is better, though almost as impracticable. The improvement of the "School of Modern

Oriental Languages" in connection with the Imperial Institute is not only desirable, but also most urgent. The Congress of 1892 also repeated "the pious wish" of other Congresses in favour of Folklore, but that of 1891 actually gathered hundreds of proverbs and scores of legends and songs. What we, however, chiefly object to is that Lord Reay should have been used to again bring forward the proposal of an "International Institute of Orientalists" which was lost at the Scandinavian Congress in 1889 and which elicited the protests of 600 Orientalists in 37 countries. It is, indeed, intolerable that a number of persons should, even at the risk of making themselves ridiculous, attempt to control by means of such an Institute the progress of Orientalism all over the world, which is the special business of each country interested in it. When we remember the miserable shots made by the self-elected Past-master of Sanscrit learning and others to translate Her Majesty's Indian title and the offensive rendering of our National Anthem which was advocated by supposed Orientalists in the India Office ; when it is borne in mind what the "toujours perdrix" of an edition of the Veda, ever renewed at Oriental Congresses, has cost this country and India, we may well hesitate before giving such persons the control of a research that should be alike scientific, disinterested, and practical. Above all, we should not allow the conspiracy to be repeated, with or without the Swedish drinking-horn and Swedish decorations, which intends to convert an open international gathering of Orientalists in their private capacities into an official, if not a political, instrument. When the Russian Government attempted to do so in 1876, on the occasion of the third Session of the Congress founded in Paris in 1873, English Scholars protested and Russia gracefully yielded by re-asserting the original principles and by ratifying and republishing the original Statutes. At Stockholm-Christiania in 1889, a similar attempt was made and was defeated. It is much to be regretted that in 1892 Englishmen should have been

found so dead to the dictates of honour as "to eat their words," after signing a pledge to oppose the Institute Scheme, as an encroachment on an International Republic of Letters, and the man who was identified with it, and that they should themselves have proposed such an Institution to be placed in his hands. We are, however, glad to hear that the proposal was not accepted without the opposition of some honest members. What the protestations of peace of Messrs. Müller and Co. are worth may be inferred from his repeating Abraham's parting words to Lot : " If thou wilt take the left hand, I will go to the right : and if thou depart to the right hand, I will go to the left." It may, however, be observed that Lot remained in possession of the field, that Abraham left it and that he did not depart with anything belonging to his relative, whereas the party that secretly and irregularly—in a meeting of 9 persons—elected Max Müller to be President of a Congress whose *raison d'être* was to oppose the Christiania encroachments have not yet returned the subscriptions for 1891 which were paid to them. No wonder that they should wish to go to the right when the Congress of 1891 goes to the left and *vice versa*.

Nothing was easier or more logical than for the London Congress of 1892 to acknowledge the already organized Lisbon Congress as the "Tenth" of the Series, whilst reserving its absurd claim to be the "Ninth," but, in spite of 18 members objecting to the selection of Geneva in 1894 as the "Tenth," that city was selected on the alleged invitation of 7 persons, when neither the University, nor the State nor any learned body of Geneva had joined them. This was purposely done to perpetuate the strife, especially if the following report which has appeared in almost all the newspapers is correct : "*The Special Committee reported that it had been decided to accept an invitation to hold the tenth Congress in Geneva in 1894, on the express condition that it should be distinctly recognised as the tenth, and as having no connection with any other body* (applause). *It*

was decided that after the next meeting the Congress should meet only once in three years," as if the practical demands of Oriental learning could wait till some new and perhaps unfounded theory had been elaborated out of the inner consciousness of a so-called Orientalist "once in three years!"

Among the many manoeuvres of a Congress constructed by intrigue was the one which used the influence of Lord Cross to get the Foreign Office to invite Foreign Governments to send delegates to the anti-statutory Congress of Max Müller. The letters which we publish elsewhere sufficiently indicate the nature and method of an attempt, which has proved to be singularly abortive. Never was our Foreign Office so snubbed all round. For this it has to thank the India Office. It had never taken any interest in Oriental Congresses, and, when it did, it was by a mistake, due to carelessness and to an inexcusable ignorance of what had occurred in 1891. Most of the Governments did not care to join in this insult to France, to Portugal, and to the eminent men and measures connected with last year's Congress. France marked her sense of Lord Salisbury's invitation by delegating three high officials to the Lisbon Congress; in Portugal his fall has led to the renewal of the old friendship that binds that country to England. Even the German Governments were afraid to wantonly offend French susceptibilities and stood aloof from the Congress—as did Russia, as did most Governments—except Holland, which has excused itself on the ground of having been invited by the British Government and which with Sweden and Austria were represented on the "Quatuorvirate" of the Christiania Committee, which was for ever to rule the Oriental Congresses. Italy, we believe, which had specially delegated her Ambassador to the Congress of 1891, was misled into the self-stultification of being twice represented at a "*Ninth*" Congress. That title, we have it on the distinct authority of Lord Cross, had been abandoned by "the gentlemen connected with the Congress agreeing

to leave it out," and again, on still higher authority that "Lord Cross deeply deplored the schism which had occurred and that his sole desire was to induce the two parties to re-unite," and, finally, "that the difficulties about the Congresses had been removed. There were several minor points on the question raised about the Congresses, which would settle themselves, but the real point was the title of the coming Congress, which he had settled was not to be called the Ninth Congress." We must, however, do the Indian and the Foreign Offices the justice to admit that they retraced their steps as soon as they discovered the *faux pas* of their Conservative predecessors. They did not send any delegate to the Müller Congress and gave it no official reception—omissions in which they were followed by all other Government Departments, in contradistinction to last year's Congress; then the British Government in the Colonial Office not only sent a Delegate to it, but also deputed the Commissioner of Fiji and Rotuman to take part in the work in the Polynesian Section. Above all, must it be remembered, that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress sent a gracious Message to last year's Congress as the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

The schism among Orientalists was, therefore, on the point of being healed, when those whose interest it is to fish in troubled waters, have brought infamy on themselves and their Congress by again resuming the title as soon as in their opinion they were out of legal danger. Professor Max Müller may yet learn to know when he is spoken to in Sanscrit; he may give as learned a disquisition of the influence of Babylonia on China, as he has, by mistake, made on the erroneous supposition of China influencing Babylonia; he may even emulate Sir Monier Williams in starting an Institute and prevent anyone joining it or his Congresses who does not subscribe to his solar and other myths, but he will never wipe out the stain of his improper election, or the disgrace on his Congress for having evaded

by a trick the legal consequences of their acts. Now as in March 1891, the demand for the return of subscriptions due to the Congress of that year is maintained by its organizers. Their determination is to be found in the words of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Q.C., the President of the Committee for the Congress of 1891, that "without in the least opposing the assembling of AN Oriental Congress in 1892, we forbid the use of the name, organization, and of any portion of the funds of *the* Ninth International Congress of Orientalists for any other purpose than that of 1891; and we are prepared to take all such measures as may be within our power to enforce, if necessary, the rights which the founders and 400 signatory members, representing thirty countries, have confided to our care."

The very thin legal "opinion" which the Oriental Congress of 1892 has obtained in its favour and which we publish elsewhere, condemns its conduct, if read with fuller knowledge or "between the lines." The legal action, however, which will be taken is not precisely what the opinion in question tries to meet. *Qui vivra verra.* In the meanwhile, the adjoined rough comparative statement will show to those interested in the matter the success of the open private Congress of 1891, in spite of all difficulties, against the would-be official Congress of 1892, which had one more year than its predecessor for its construction, besides the aid of the traitors from an existing organization and the aid of a misled Conservative Ministry and of subsidies of certain Indian Chiefs. Mr. Gladstone, it may be remembered, although in perfect health, never came near the Congress, which he wisely abstained from calling the "Ninth," for he sympathized, like every honourable man, with the object to get that title removed, although "he was not in a position actively to interfere." Indeed, there was a stampede among the honorary Vice-Presidents. Even Lord Northbrook did not often attend, although, in spite of assertions of a benevolent neutrality between the Congresses of 1891 and 1892, the Royal Asiatic Society's officials had

all along covertly aided the Committee for the Congress of 1892, till they had substituted themselves for the original office-holders of the latter. The Congress of 1889 showed us Alexander drunk; that of 1892 Alexander dull. "Scholars on the Rampage" (*A. Q. R.* of January, 1890) chronicled the deliria of the former; our forthcoming revelations will describe the rude awakenings of the latter.

We prognosticate a desertion of the pseudo-Ninth Congress as long as it calls itself "the Ninth" by all persons who are not part of the conspiracy. The toady may yet miss many names in the revised list of ornamental supporters of the 1892 Congress, but the student will have no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion regarding the true value of the respective Congresses of 1891 and 1892 in comparing the following statements of work and support:

SECTIONS.

1891 (London).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886 in 16 specialities. | (m) Dravidian. |
| (b) 1. Semitic languages, except Arabic. | (n) Malayan and Polynesian. |
| 2. Arabic and Islám. | (o) Instructions to Explorers, etc. |
| 3. Assyriology. | (p) Ethnographical Philology, including the migrations of races. |
| 4. Palestinology. | (q) Oriental Art, Art - Industry, Archæology and Numismatics. |
| (c) Aryan: 1. Sanscrit and Hinduism. | (r) Relations with Oriental scholars and peoples. |
| 2. Pali and Buddhism. | (s) Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, etc., with sub-sections regarding the various modern Oriental languages, (the Indian Vernaculars, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, etc.). |
| 3. Iranian and Zoroastrianism. | (t) The Anthropology, Science, and Products, natural and artificial, of the East. |
| (d) Africa, except Egypt. | (u) Exhibition and explanations of objects illustrative of Sections (b 2), (b 3), (c 1), (c 2), (e), (f), (g), (q), and (t). |
| (e) Egyptology. | (v) Exhibition of Publications relating to Oriental Languages, Travels, etc. |
| (f) Central Asia and Dardistan. | |
| (g) Comparative Religion (including Mythology and Folklore), Philosophy, Law, and Oriental Sciences (including Medicine), History (including the relations of Greece and the East), etc. | |
| (h) Comparative Language. | |
| (i) Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies. | |
| (j) Indo-Chinese. | |

SECTIONS.

1892 (London).

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. India. | VI. Egypt and Africa. |
| II. Aryan. | VII. Australasia and Oceania. |
| III. Semitic. | VIII. Anthropological and Mythological. |
| (a) Assyrian and Babylonian. | IX. Geographical. |
| (b) General. | X. Archaic Greece and the East. |
| IV. Persia and Turkey. | |
| V. China, Central Asia, and the Far East. | |

This final classification was very gradually and waveringly reached after the first-issued programme, which resembled that of the Stockholm-Christiania Congress. It is, however, still most unscientific, as we have already pointed out in our last issue, in spite of its evident desire to imitate some of the features of the Congress of 1891.

1889 (Stockholm).

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| Semitic and Islám. | African, including Egyptology. |
| Aryan. | Central Asia and the Far East. |
| | Malayan and Polynesian. |

ABSTRACT STATEMENT COMPARING THE CONGRESSES OF 1891 AND 1892.

1891.	1892, (after an additional year of preparation.)
Countries represented ... 37	... 18
Governments ... 8	... 6
[and 5 British Colonies,] viz : <i>The British Colonial Office,</i> <i>France, Russia, Italy, Spain,</i> <i>Portugal, Greece, Persia.</i>	[and 5 Indian provincial Govts.,] viz. : <i>Austria, Holland, Italy,</i> <i>Sweden and Norway, Egypt,</i> <i>Siam.</i>
<i>Learned bodies</i> ... 45	... 40*
4 <i>Scotch Universities</i> and Chancellor of Cambridge.	Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.
Chambers of Commerce and Deputations from City ... 3	... None
<i>Members</i> (including 11 literary Ladies, but excluding Ladies accompanying Members) ... 632	... 440†

* This number includes 3 Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society. In an official list of the monopolists of learning, the "Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien," and its translation, "the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna," is also given as two Institutions!

† This includes 75 Ladies, sometimes three Ladies of one Member's family, and scarcely any Orientalists.

Papers	160	...	...	...	...	101
Summaries of Research in Oriental Specialities	16	...	...	...	...	None
Donors of books, etc.	55	...	...	...	...	40
Separate books presented	342	Separate books and pamphlets	61			
Hours of work	100	...	...	...	...	18
Sections	36	...	...	...	...	10
Average attendance at ordinary meetings	57	(to judge from newspaper reports.)				

Ambassadors or Ministers accredited to the Court of St. James'	11	...	...	...	...	None
Ministers of Public Instruction	4	...	...	...	...	None
Cardinal, Bishop, Chief Rabbi, etc.	5	...	...	...	...	None
Special collections illustrating recent Discoveries	5	...	...	Hechler's Manuscript.		
Publishers exhibiting Oriental works	12	...	...	...	...	1

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON.

Whilst the Congress of 1892 has no Members even from such countries as *Spain* which contributed 19 to the Congress of 1891; none from *Turkey* which gave 9 members to 1891; none from *China* which had 6 Members in 1891; none from *Japan* which was represented by 11 Members in 1891, except the Japan Society, founded by the Congress of 1891, it has even in *Great Britain* only 188 Members to 215 in 1891, and only 26 in *India* including 5 Governments to 45 in 1891. In Central Asia and Dardistan 1892 has none. France has *nominally* 6 Members in 1892 against 125 Members in 1891; Austria has 16 against 20; Italy 18 against 27; and Russia 14 against 17; only Germany is the country better represented at the 1892 Congress, there being 50 German Members to 20 in 1891, but it may be noticed that even the German Government, following the example of France and Russia, has not sent a Delegate to the Congress of 1892.

DETAILS OF COUNTRIES.

1891.		1892.	
1. Algiers (including 1 society	7	...	None
2. Australia (including 2 learned bodies)	4	...	None
3. Austria-Hungary (including 2 learned bodies)	20	1. Govt., and including 5 learned bodies	16
4. Belgium (including a learned body)	10	2.	6
Canada	1	...	None

6. Ceylon (including 1 society)	4	...	...	...	None
7. China	6	...	...	...	None
8. Denmark	5	3.	...	...	1
9. Egypt	9	4. Govt. including a Library and its Librarian	...	7	
10. France (its Govt. and including 9 societies)	125	5.	...	...	6
11. Germany	20	6. including 9 learned bodies	50		
12. Gt. Britain (including Col. Office and 7 societies)	215	7. including 11 societies	188		
13. Greece (including Govt. and University of Athens)	7	...	...	...	None
14. Hayti	1	...	...	...	None
15. Holland (including 1 society)	6	8. Govt. and including 2 societies	13		
16. India and Burma (including 1 society)	45	9. 4 Local Govts., and including 4 learned bodies	26		
17. Italy (including Govt. and 3 learned bodies)	27	10. Govt. and including 6 learned bodies	18		
18. Japan (including 2 learned bodies)	11	11. (a Society)	1		
19. Johore	2	(created by the Congress of 1891.)	None		
20. Malta	1	...	...	...	None
21. Persia (Govt.)	2	12.	...	...	1
22. Portugal (including Govt. and 3 learned bodies)	9	13.	...	...	1
23. Roumania	2	...	...	...	None
24. Russia and Finland (Govt., and 2 societies)	17	14. including 3 learned bodies	14		
25. Servia	1	...	...	...	None
Siam	None	15. Govt.	...	...	1
26. Spain (Govt. and 6 learned bodies)	19	...	...	...	None
27. Sweden and Norway	12	16. Govt.	...	...	3
28. Switzerland (including Geneva University)	5	17.	...	...	5
29. Tonquin and Annam	1	...	...	...	None
30. Tunis	2	...	...	...	None
31. Turkey	9	...	...	...	None
32. Polynesia	4	...	...	...	—
33. U.S. America (including 2 learned bodies)	14	18. including 2 learned bodies	14		
34, 35, 36, 37. Kashmir-Gilgit, Gabrial, Kolab, Yasin-Chitral, Hunza - Nagyr, Badakhshan.	9	Total	...	...	373
	632	Ladies	...	...	75
					448

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF
ORIENTALISTS (1892).

COUNSEL'S OPINION.

I am of opinion that the organisers of the Congress cannot be restrained from the use of the designation "Ninth" at the suit of Dr. Leitner or any other person. In the first place, I think* that the Congress about to be held is properly described as the "Ninth." It appears to me that the Congress of 1889 had power to appoint the Committee for arranging the place of the next Congress, and that this Committee has duly fixed the intended Congress accordingly.† By Article 3 of the Paris Statutes each Congress appoints the place for holding the next Congress; and I think that under this Article, as well as by virtue of its inherent powers, it was within the scope of the Authority of the Congress of 1889 to appoint a Committee, and to delegate to that Committee the choice of the next place of meeting. Considering that it was impossible during the Session of that Congress to name a place for the next meeting, I think that the course pursued was the only reasonable and practicable course to be taken under the circumstances. It was clearly not contrary to the spirit of the Statutes referred to as a matter to be observed in Article 17. I notice, also, that Article 18 contemplates the appointment of a Committee for carrying out the next Congress. I may add that Article 2 appears only to apply to the case where, the place of next Session having been fixed by the Congress, there is a failure on the part of the Committee for the next Session to notify before the 31st December the time for opening the new Session, in which case only the fixing of another Country for the next meeting devolves upon the Committee of the last Congress. As to the alleged resolution of 1873, relied upon by Dr. Leitner and his friends, I think that, even if it was passed, it did not in any way bind the Congress of 1889, and could not have any operation so as to take precedence of the provisions made by that Congress for the continuation of the meetings.

In the second place, I do not see any harm from confusion of names or otherwise that can ensue proper to be prevented by injunction. The Congress alleged by Dr. Leitner and his friends to be the genuine ninth has already been held in September, 1891. The Congress at Lisbon is described by the same persons as the tenth, and cannot be affected by the proposed Congress.‡

In the last place, I think that any application for an injunction is too late.§ It is clear that the matter has for a long time been in controversy.

* "I think," "I do not see" are insufficient statements without giving the grounds for the assertions.

† The Christiania Committee never fixed any place. London had been fixed—and that too for 1891—before it accepted an accomplished fact.

‡ This paragraph is sufficient to show the "thinness" of this opinion. The obvious confusion of publications being issued for several years from two Series of Congresses each calling themselves "The Ninth" or "The Tenth" would seem to prove the necessity for a distinctive appellation.

§ Precisely. See the correspondence on the subject.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, and others withdrew from the Congress of 1891; and a letter of protest, dated 28th January, 1892, is stated to have been written. All the arrangements having been allowed to be made,* I think that it would be improper that in such a case as the present any injunction should be granted on the eve of the time appointed for the meeting of the Congress.

(Signed) A. G. MARTEN.

11, New Square, Lincoln's Inn,
26th August, 1892.

1891. PER CONTRA.

Conclusions of Dr. Pankhurst's opinion (for his "opinion," in its entirety, see last number of the *A. Q. R.*).

In the state of things disclosed by the matters aforesaid, I am of opinion as follows:

(1) That the representations and acts of the persons aforesaid in arranging or attempting to hold, and purporting to hold, "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1892" constitute an unwarrantable and wrongful usurpation and assumption of the name, style, title, number, rights, and functions of the International Congress of Orientalists founded in Paris in 1873, and of the series of Congresses based thereon, and forming part thereof.

(2) That the holding of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, having regard to the fact that "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" has already been held in London in 1891, besides of necessity involving confusion and leading to absurdity, is wrongful, and a violation of the Statutes by which the holding of the International Congresses of Orientalists is governed.

(3) That the retention by, or on behalf of, these persons of subscriptions paid or intended for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," held in London in 1891, is illegal.†

(4) That the receipt and application of subscriptions, and the issue of circulars and papers soliciting subscriptions for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, the holding thereof being wrongful, as aforesaid, are also wrongful.

R. M. PANKHURST.

5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn,
3 June, 1892.

* Protests have been constantly made, sometimes with a temporary apparent success, and reliance was, therefore, placed on sense and good feeling prevailing eventually.

† Counsel also refers in his opinion to the following fact: "Dr. Badenoch by letter, on behalf of the organising Committee of such last-named Congress, addressed to Dr. Bullinger, says: "You have not yet returned the subscriptions which you obtained for the Congress of 1891, and in lieu of which literary and other papers have been sent by us to the subscribers at our expense."

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

(NINTH AND TENTH SESSIONS : LONDON, 1891 ; AND LISBON, 1892.)

THE following letter, which explains itself, was addressed by Dr. G. W. Leitner to the India Office :

TO J. A. GODLEY, ESQRE., C.B., ETC., UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Woking, 12th July, 1892.

SIR,—As I am convinced that the action taken by the India Office with regard to the projected London Oriental Congress of 1892 will lead to much ill-feeling, unless an early remedy is applied, I beg to inform you that I have received information* from responsible persons in Portugal and France respectively which clearly shows that any official support given to that Congress would be considered an affront to those two countries.

The reason is obvious. In the case of Portugal, the King is the President and all the Ministers and other leading persons, native and foreign, in Portugal are Members of the Committee organizing the Xth International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Lisbon from the 23rd Sept. to the 1st of October. Now, the London Oriental Congress for 1892 not only proposes to hold its meetings from the 5th to the 12th September next, but also announces a Tenth International Congress at Geneva† thereby showing the animus which inspires it as regards the Portuguese Congress. As for France, the President of the Republic, M. Carnot, is the son of Senator Carnot, who was connected with the foundation in Paris in 1873 of the series of the non-official gatherings known as “the International Congress of Orientalists” of which “the Ninth” took place *de facto* in the order of sequence last year, and was further the *de jure* Ninth Congress in the opinion of the Founders of the Series. Now the 1892 Congress started originally in connection with the attempt made by a minority at the 8th Congress of Stockholm-Christianania in 1889, with which Prof. Max Müller was identified, to set aside the Statutes and original principles of these open Congresses, in which all schools and nationalities are on a footing of perfect equality, in favour of a monopoly by mainly a few German Professors. (See Prof. A. Weber’s proposals on pages cxxiv-cxxvii of forwarded proceedings.)

This attempt was, at first, defeated ; but it has since been practically revived by seceders from the Committee of 1891, although they had

* 1. Lisbonne le 5 Juillet “Je puis vous garantir que le Ministre Anglais à Lisbonne a invité notre Gouvernement à se faire représenter à ce Congrès, ce qui prouve que l’on persiste dans l’usurpation.” 2. The news from France is to the same effect.

† I have just heard from a Geneva authority : “Ni l’Université, ni la municipalité, ni l’Etat de Genève n’ont, à ma connaissance, prit part à l’invitation que vous m’annoncez. . . . Le Congrès de Londres (1891) est un fait qu’on ne peut supprimer.”

pledged themselves to the maintenance of the Statutes and to hold a Congress under them in 1891, some of whom are intimately connected with the India Office. To ask, therefore, the French Govt. to send a representative to the London Congress of 1892 is to ask it to support a movement which, in its *raison d'être*, is intended to destroy every vestige of the French origin of this International Republic of Oriental letters.

It is, therefore, quite clear to me that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India could not have had before him the material bearing on this point, whatever other material he may have had. Further he could not have been fully advised as regards the confusion and manifold inconveniences, not to speak of legal and other difficulties and the manifest absurdity arising from the London Congress of 1892 calling itself by the same name as that of 1891 and the reproach which any support of a rival Congress, under that name, conveys on the eminent men and measures, including a Library of publications in progress, connected with the London Congress of 1891.

H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught was a Patron of that Congress ; Her Majesty sent a Message to it ; the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies was represented at it ; 600 Orientalists from 37 countries and 38 learned corporations supported it, and it would be ignoring them all to ignore that the Ninth Congress in which they took part was really the Ninth. Were the Congress of this year to call itself, as once suggested by Prof. Max Müller himself, "the International Congress of Oriental Scholars" or by some other distinctive name, confusion would be avoided and peace would be restored. Lord Cross knows that, for that desirable consummation, we were willing, as far as possible, to admit last year the seceders on their own terms, provided they recognised the Statutes, in the Congress of 1891 and, even now, were they to admit Lisbon as the Tenth Congress, the reunion of Orientalists would *ipso facto* and immediately take place, whereas by the conduct which they are pursuing and in which they are officially assisted by what is obviously a mistake, the schism must be perpetuated through the simultaneous recurrence of Congresses of which two call themselves Tenth, two Eleventh and so ad infinitum. (See enclosed Circular A.)

I have the most perfect confidence in the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for India fully and faithfully adhering to his promise, made last year, to observe complete impartiality as regards the Congresses of 1891 and 1892. If he has desired the Foreign Office to suggest to the various foreign Governments to send representatives to the London Congress of 1892, he will either withdraw that desire or request that the same consideration be extended to the statutory successor of the Congress of 1891, namely, the Lisbon Congress, presided over by an Orientalist King and in a peninsula that is full of Oriental memories and monuments. This gracious and impartial course is specially indicated by the circumstance of his having been unable to do anything for *our* Congress last year, and of officials and others connected with the India Office being on the London Committee for 1892. He will also I hope, send a Delegate to the Lisbon

Congress and, if no other person is available, I beg to offer my unpaid services in that capacity.

Hitherto the support of the India Office to the Oriental Congresses has been confined to sending a Delegate to it and when the Congress was first held in London in 1874, to ask its Members to visit the India Office Library. Even this last formal and slight favour was not shown to us, on the ground, I presume, of the necessity of preserving the strictest neutrality. I am, however, now told that if the India Office show an unusual interest in the London Oriental Congress of 1892 and have induced the Foreign Office, which never took any part in these gatherings, to move aill over the world on its behalf, it is because Lord Cross has convinced himself from material laid before him of the thoroughly representative character of the body that intends to meet in London this year. I am, therefore, obliged to show that the body in question is infinitely less representative than the one to which all countenance was refused last year.

Taking the end of June 1891 and of this year as a convenient date for comparison, I find by the circulars then issued by the respective Committees that 1891 had then 500 Members representing 32 countries; 90 papers, and Delegates, promised or sent, by 7 Governments and 28 learned bodies. It had completed the organization of over 30 Sections, including those specially interesting to the scholarship and commerce of this country and its relations with Orientals. (The Lisbon programme is even more extensive.)

The last Circular, on the other hand, of 1892 bears no longer the 140 odd names of previous Lists, perhaps owing to the protests of those erroneously included in it; H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught does no longer figure on it; and only the *promise* of 13 papers is mentioned in it of which it would be too much to say that 3 are likely to be important additions to knowledge; 5 of their 10 authors have yet to make their reputation and only 11 learned bodies, including 3 of minor standing, are mentioned as adhering to the 1892 London Congress and no Government has as yet deputed a Delegate to it. It has only increased the original 6 stereotyped and sterile Sections by two and has lost some specialists as Sectional Presidents and Secretaries. No wonder, therefore, that an artificial stimulus is required in order to prop up a Congress that cannot stand on its own merits. Indeed, it altogether detracts from the representative character of a non-official gathering, like the International Congress of Orientalists, to use, however indirectly, the pressure of a Government Department like the India Office or the Foreign Office, in order to obtain Delegates from the various Foreign Governments. This was not the course adopted, at any rate, by the Congress of 1891, nor was it necessary; for the mere intimation of its being about to be held to the various Governments, including our own Colonial Office, sufficed to obtain from those interested in it, Delegates who took an active part in its proceedings or literary work.

This work occupied 10 hours daily during 10 days. The daily Press of this and other countries reported its proceedings at length, and thus drew attention to the importance to the public of subjects that had till then been

ignored. The last Congress had four times as many papers as the average of previous Congresses ; it covered all branches of Oriental learning and for the first time brought up to date "Summaries of Oriental Research" in 16 specialities so as to facilitate further progress in them ; it has affected Oriental Education and Examinations in this and other countries and learned Societies have been formed from several of its Sections. Above all, it represented the triumph, against a dishonest opposition, of the original progressive and yet truly conservative principles of the institution, which alone are worthy of the support, not only of the independent Scholars but also of the officials of this and other countries interested in the East.

It is impossible to ignore a Congress of 600 scholars representing 37 countries, presided over by the Lord Chancellor of England and guided by high Indian officials and by leading Members of British Universities, including the scholarly Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and supported (for the first time) by nearly all the Ambassadors and Ministers accredited to the Court of St. James and by the heads of the various religious denominations.

It seems to be equally impossible to recognise a Congress of seceders, as long as it uses a name and title that do not belong to it, and does not return certain subscriptions originally paid for 1891. (See Resolutions of Founders and public letter of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Q.C.)

The restoration of peace among Orientalists is now, to a great extent, in the hands of the Secretary of State, if he will adopt any of the courses which I have ventured most respectfully to suggest ; and I shall be glad to hold myself in readiness to wait on His Lordship in order to produce the material in support of my statements should he wish me to do so.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

G. W. LEITNER,

Delegate-General of the Founders and of the Ninth and Tenth
International Congresses of Orientalists.

A copy of this letter was simultaneously forwarded to the Foreign Office with the following forwarding remarks :

" 13th July, 1892.

"In continuation of previous correspondence and of our interview regarding the Oriental Congresses of this year, I beg to enclose the copy of a letter which I have sent to the India Office on the subject. I hope that in the interests of fairness, of the regard to certain countries concerned, and of the scientific and practical value which attaches to the extensive Lisbon programme, you may be able to send the purport of my letter to the India Office as also one of the forwarded circulars of the Lisbon Congress, to your representatives abroad, as has been done for the London Congress of this year."

The following correspondence also passed between two of the Vice-Presidents of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in 1891, and Lords Salisbury and Cross :

TO THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G.

" 21st July, 1892.

" I trust you will excuse me for troubling you on a matter which is of some interest to Orientalists, and in which the action of the Foreign Office, obviously taken under imperfect information, may grievously offend several foreign governments.

" Last year an Oriental Congress in accordance with the Statutes laid down for these series of meetings in Paris in 1873, was held in London under the patronage of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, H.I.H. the Archduke Rainer, with Lords Lytton and Dufferin as Honorary Presidents, and the Lord Chancellor as President, assisted by Dr. Taylor, the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. It was the 9th of the series and was attended by delegates from every country in Europe, many of them of the highest distinction. Italy was specially represented by its Ambassador in London, and France by its most distinguished Orientalists. A powerful party of English Orientalists seceded from this Congress and determined to hold one of their own under the Presidency of Professor Max Müller, who not being an Englishman by birth, would have been ineligible as President of a Statutory Congress.

" The office-holders of the 9th Congress, of which I was one of the Vice-Presidents, have no feeling but that of friendship and cordiality towards the Orientalists who desire to hold a Congress in London this year. They only object, and object strongly, to the term " 9th " being given to it, thus ignoring last year's Congress which was graciously acknowledged by Her Majesty, and presided over by the distinguished persons I have named to your Lordship.

" Last year Lord Cross, whom I had begged to join our Congress and assist it with the influence of the India Office, declined on the ground of not desiring to depart in any way from the impartial attitude which he desired to maintain between the rival Congresses. This year, in spite of this pledge, he has, as I understand from a communication addressed by to, not only given the support of the India Office to the so-called 9th Congress of 1892, but has himself become a Vice-President of it, while he has induced the Foreign Office to move its representatives abroad to have delegates deputed to it from the countries in which they are officially employed. I would venture to point out to your Lordship that had the Foreign Office been properly informed of the facts of the case it is impossible that they could have taken this action which will seriously offend France and Italy and other countries who have been officially represented at the 9th Congress of 1891 ; and I earnestly trust that your Lordship will withdraw any approval or assistance which the Foreign Office may have granted to the so-called 9th Congress of 1892, and maintain the attitude of impartiality which Lord Cross asserted against and Statutory 9th Congress in 1891."

Reply.

"Hatfield House, Hatfield, Herts, 22nd July, 1892.

"I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 21st inst. I have already had a letter upon the other side. I am afraid it is a dispute in which the Foreign Office could not intervene with any likelihood of an advantageous result, and that therefore we had better take no steps in the matter.

"SALISBURY."

Remark by the Delegate-General.

The F. O. is not asked to interfere in any dispute, but to undo the effects of its interference by recalling the Circular to Foreign Governments to send Delegates to the Congress of one of the disputing parties.

Lord Salisbury replied to another Vice-President as follows :

"23rd July, 1892.

"I am desired by Lord Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, and in reply I have to say that His Lordship will make inquiries into the matter to which you refer; he does not, however, think that it is one in which Her Majesty's Government can interfere."

TO THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT CROSS, INDIA OFFICE.

"21st July, 1892.

"As one of the Vice-Presidents of the 9th Statutory Oriental Congress of 1891 I invite your attention to the fact that you promised neutrality between that Congress and the gentlemen who were endeavouring to bring about a Congress in England this year, and you declined to assist our Congress on the ground of your desire to be impartial between these conflicting claims.

"I now understand on the authority of, that H.R.H. the Duke of York has consented to be President of the 1892 Congress styling itself the 9th, as that which has the support of the India Office, Lord Cross being a Vice-President.

"I would beg to say that this seems to be in direct opposition to the pledge of neutrality which was given last year; and not only this, but the India Office has moved the Foreign Office to invite its representatives in foreign countries to procure the deputation of delegates to the so-called 9th Congress of 1892 in London, although your Lordship must be aware that the 9th Statutory Congress was held last year under the patronage of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and received the recognition of Her Majesty the Queen. The action of the India Office consequently puts a slight on Her Majesty and the Duke of Connaught, and compromises the Foreign Office in all those countries which sent delegates to the 9th Congress of 1891, especially France, who were the founders of these Statutory gatherings, and Italy whose Ambassador was the delegate appointed by H.M. the King of Italy.

"The office-holders in the Congress of 1891 have no feeling but one of

cordiality towards the distinguished gentlemen who desire to hold a Congress in London this year, and the only thing on which they insist is that the term 9th Congress shall not be applied to it and the Congress of 1891 ignored. I would therefore beg your Lordship to have the kindness to procure the withdrawal of this designation ; otherwise we shall be compelled, by legal injunction and by full publication of the facts of the case, to place this breach of faith and courtesy before the public of Europe for consideration and decision."

Reply to the above.

" 26th July, 1892, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

" I am desired by Lord Cross to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. His Lordship wishes me to say that the Secretary of State has consented to become a V.P. of the Congress to be held in London and *with the concurrence of his Council* (1) has moved the Foreign Office to invite Foreign Governments to send delegates to it.

" He did so because he was advised that the Congress might fairly be said to represent the Oriental learning of Europe and for no other reason (2). This being so and in view of the interest which our Government of India has in such matters, he would not have considered himself justified in holding aloof. As to the question which has arisen respecting the right of the Congress to describe itself as the '9th Congress of Orientalists,' Lord Cross does not offer any opinion nor would his action have been influenced one way or the other by any answer which might have been given to that question (3). The Secretary of State in Council has given no pledge or promise which is inconsistent with the course which he has taken (4). I am, etc., etc.

"CHARLES F. BRUCE."

Remarks by the Delegate-General on the above letter.

(1) I respectfully deny that the Council were placed in possession of the facts.

(2) This reason applied far more forcibly to the Congress of 1891.

(3) The discussion as to which Congress was the legal one, *i.e.* had a right to call itself "The Ninth," was, at any rate, the alleged reason for the neutrality of Lord Cross between the Congresses of 1891 and 1892.

(4) This is not a matter of opinion, but of fact, and the fact of Lord Cross advising the Queen to be neutral between the Congresses of 1891 and 1892 is alone in favour of the presumption of Lord Cross's own neutrality.

At a well-supported meeting of the members of the Ninth and preceding Sessions of the International Congress of Orientalists held on the 6th August, 1892, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed :

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

1st Session, Paris, 1873.

2nd ,, London, 1874.

3rd ,, St. Petersburg, 1876.

4th Session,	Florence,	1878.
5th	„	Berlin, 1881.
6th	„	Leyden, 1883.
7th	„	Vienna, 1886.
8th	„	Stockholm-Christiania, 1889.
9th	„	London, 1891.

We, the members of the Ninth and preceding Sessions of the above Series of the International Congress of Orientalists, hereby—

(1) approve of the following resolution of the Committee of Permanence of 1873, and of the Committee of Permanence of 1891 (18th June, 1892):

“RESOLUTION.

“The members of the Permanent Committees of 1873 and 1891 protest against the usurpation of the number and title of ‘The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists’ (which has already been held in London, in September, 1891) by a Committee preparing a Congress under the same designation in 1892, in spite of the absolute prohibition of the two above-mentioned Committees. These said Committees claim, along with the number of the series inaugurated at Paris in 1873, also the very title of the Congresses as being their property and that of their lawful successors, and absolutely forbid to any person whomsoever unconnected with these statutory Committees and their lawful successors, to take the denomination of these Congresses, the title of which is guaranteed by the laws of all countries in respect of literary property.”

(2) declare as follows :

“(a) That ‘The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists,’ duly held in pursuance of the Statutes in London in 1891, was recognised by the Governments of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Russia, and of other countries, was attended by delegates of 38 learned bodies and formed by 600 Orientalists, as members, representing 37 countries.

“(b) That the arranging to hold or the holding in London, in 1892, of a Congress designated as ‘The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists,’ constitutes an unwarrantable and wrongful usurpation of the name, style, title, rights, and functions of the International Congress of Orientalists founded in Paris in 1873, and of the Series of Congresses based thereon and forming part thereof.”

The following Circular letter, which has been very influentially and internationally signed, has been addressed to those persons on the Seceders’ List who are believed to be unacquainted with the facts of the case :

“Woking, 15th July, 1892.

“DEAR SIR,—As it appears that the Orientalists’ Congress announced as about to be held in London in September, 1892, with which your name is

associated, is still being described as "the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," notwithstanding the letter of protest addressed by M. le Baron Textor de Ravisi, President of the Comité de Permanence of 1873, to Professor R. K. Douglas, lately one of the Secretaries of the proposed Congress, on the 28th January, 1892, we think it our duty, on behalf of the Organizing Committee of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Lisbon in 1892, appointed by the genuine Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which was held in London in 1891, to call your attention to the illegality and absurdity of the proceedings to which you are thus being made a party by the persistent and wrongful appropriation by this pretended Ninth London Congress of 1892 of a title which does not belong to it.

"That we do not overrate the gravity of the matter will appear from the important opinion of Counsel which we have obtained, and of which a copy is enclosed. While we have the heartiest sympathy and goodwill towards any organization which has for its object the promotion and furtherance of Oriental studies, and wish nothing but success to every genuine Congress of Oriental students, whenever and wherever it may be held, we cannot but strenuously maintain our rights and those of the great body of Orientalists which met at London in the Ninth International Congress of 1891, and will meet at Lisbon in the Tenth International Congress of 1892, to the sole use of those descriptions as against any body taking upon itself to use them without any legal title to them.

"We are, dear Sir, on behalf of the Foundation Committee of 1873, and of the Committees of the Ninth and Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, your most obedient servants." (Here follow the signatures.)

P.S.—The General Meeting held on the 6th instant of Members of the Ninth and preceding Congresses of the series founded in Paris in 1873 unanimously decided to add the following sentence to the above letter addressed to those whose names are presumed to be on the List of the pseudo-Ninth Congress without their full knowledge of the facts: "We are therefore satisfied that on full consideration you will either withdraw from the so-called 9th Congress of this year or take such steps as may be necessary to alter the designation of that Congress so as to prevent the injustice and confusion of which we now complain."

G. W. LEITNER,

Delegate-General for the IXth and Xth International Congresses of Orientalists.

Woking, 10th August, 1892.

ABANDONMENT OF THE NUMBER "NINTH" BY THE
COMMITTEE PREPARING AN ORIENTAL CONGRESS
IN LONDON IN 1892.

The following correspondence is reprinted from the "Pall Mall Gazette" for the information of Members :

[*Copy.*]

2, King's Bench Walk, Temple, 20th August, 1892.

SIR,—We are instructed by our client, Dr. G. W. Leitner, Delegate-General of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists," held in London last September, and acting on behalf of the founders and "the Comité de Permanence" of "The International Congress of Orientalists," to inform you that he has received with much satisfaction an intimation that the committee of which you are the chairman and which is organizing a Congress to be held from the 5th to the 12th proximo, under the designation of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists," has finally abandoned such designation, which belongs to the Congress which was held in London in September last.

When the intimation above referred to reached Dr. Leitner he was on the point of instituting legal proceedings for restraining the continued use and appropriation of the number and title of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists," and we are now desired to inform you that he will not invoke the assistance of the Court in the matter in the event of your being able to confirm the information of your committee having abandoned such user, by your sending us, by return of post, a letter on behalf of yourself and your committee undertaking that the further use and appropriation of the said number and title will be henceforth and finally discontinued.—We are Sir, your faithful servants,

DAUBENY and MEAD.

Sir George Birdwood.

The following is Sir G. Birdwood's reply :

[*Reply.*]

7, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W., Aug. 21, 1892.

DEAR SIRS,—I regret that I cannot give an authoritative reply to your letter of yesterday's date, as I am now no longer in any way connected with the late "9th Congress of Orientalists" who proposed to meet in London next month. On the 9th instant the organizing committee formally withdrew, as I was informed on the 14th inst., the words "the 9th," from the title of the proposed Congress, and as this was the second meeting at which important resolutions affecting the constitution and status of the proposed Congress had been taken in my absence—an absence due to my not having had any intimation whatever of the said meetings being convened—I on the 15th inst. resigned, on the above express grounds, the chairmanship of the executive committee and my vice-presidentship and membership of the Congress; my resignation having been accepted, I have no doubt whatever of the words "the ninth" having been withdrawn from the designation of the said Congress, and that the said Congress is, in fact, voided and has ceased to exist. I have seen also a prospectus of

the Congress still proposed to be held in London next month, in which the words "the ninth" nowhere appear.

There seems, therefore, to be little doubt on the point, but still, having only the information I have given on it, I propose to send on your letter to the "Secretaries to the Congress of Orientalists, 22, Albemarle Street, W.," and I would advise you to at once further address them direct. This is the more necessary as they have issued a Notice of Meeting for 3.30 p.m. to-morrow "to consider" the question of the title of the newly-proposed Congress, and have asked me to attend, but I do not intend to be present in any capacity.—Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Pall Mall Gazette, 24th August, 1892.

Sir George Birdwood also wrote as follows to the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

SIR,—My resignation of the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee of the disnumbered Congress of Orientalists, to be held here early next month, has not the slightest significance in relation to the Congress, the success of which is trebly assured by the presence of its illustrious President, Professor Max Müller, and the brilliant German, Austrian, Italian, and other foreign Orientalists who have promised to attend it; by the scientific importance of the papers contributed to it; and the staunch support given it from all over the world by the enthusiastic admirers of Professor Max Müller. My resignation, in short, is a circumstance of an entirely private and, so to say, domestic character; but as my correspondence with Messrs. Daubeney and Mead on the subject of the designation of the ensuing Congress has been made public, in your issue of the 24th inst., I beg that you will, in simple justice to myself, give publication also to my letter of the 14th inst., a copy of which follows, referred to in the said correspondence, communicating my resignation to the Secretaries of the late 9th, and now disnumbered, Congress of Orientalists, of London, of 1892.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

August 29.

[*Enclosure.*]

7, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W., 15th August, 1892.

To the Secretaries to the 9th Congress of Orientalists.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to tender to the Executive Committee of "the 9th Congress of Orientalists" my resignation of the Chairmanship of the Committee as also of my Vice-Presidentship and Membership of the Congress. You are aware of the trying circumstances under which I was most reluctantly led to accept the Chairmanship of your Committee, and that in consenting to serve the office so long as a certain ignominy might attach to it I have from the first explicitly stated my intention to resign it, when the success of "the 9th Congress of Orientalists" was secured; and, frankly, not only from a sense of my deep unworthiness for the office, in the event of its becoming, as it has now become, one of specific distinction, but because also of my absolutely insurmountably incapacity for any representative position necessitating my having to be in personal public evidence.

Nevertheless I should not have at this moment resigned, nor in this

formal manner, but for the fact that two meetings of your Committee, at which most important modifications in the constitution and character of the Congress were made, have recently been held, without any notice whatever being given me of their having been convened. It was only at the last meeting at which I had the honour to preside that I for the first time heard of the previous meeting, at which Sir Alfred Lyall occupied the chair, having been held. Again, it was only on Wednesday last, the 11th inst., that I casually heard from Mr. Thomas H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., of the meeting of your Committee held on the previous day, at which it was agreed, so Mr. Thornton informed me, to withdraw the term "the 9th" from the style and title of the Congress: a surrender which withdraws the Congress from its regular series, and radically affects its status. Professor Rhys Davids has informed me that the meeting of the 9th was notified to me by telegram. That telegram, however, has not yet been anywhere delivered to me, while a day or two before I left town, on a short holiday, between Wednesday the 3rd and Tuesday the 9th instants, on my writing to know whether the meeting I had suggested for Tuesday the 16th, to-morrow, was to be called, I was told that the notices for it were being sent out;—and I was told nothing more. I feel, therefore, that under such circumstances there is nothing for me but to resign at once and with this formal statement of my reasons for so doing.—I have, etc.,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Pall Mall Gazette, 30th August, 1892.

The following is the letter of the present Hon. Sec. and Hon. Treasurer of the London Oriental Congress of 1892:

To the Editor of the "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

SIR,—In stating that the coming Congress of Orientalists is "dis-numbered" Sir George Birdwood must have been misinformed. It is true that at a meeting of the Organizing Committee, held on the 10th inst., a majority were of opinion that for the present the word "ninth" should be omitted from the title, not as abandoning claim to the appellation, but with a view to allay for the time being an irritating controversy.

But no resolution to that effect was passed, and at a fuller meeting, held on the 16th inst., the idea was decisively rejected.

Accordingly the "Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" will be held on September 5 and following days.—We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Hon. Secretary.

August 31.

E. DELMAR MORGAN, Hon. Treasurer.

[*Pall Mall Gazette*, September 1, 1892.]

Dr. Leitner replied on the whole question as follows:

SIR,—Allow me to observe that the letter from Messrs. Davids and Morgan, published in your issue of yesterday, would seem to bear out the view of Sir George Birdwood, the retired chairman of the organizing committee of the so-called "Ninth" Congress, which is to meet next week, that it had been proposed to drop the words "the Ninth" only until the Congress met, and then, when it was too late to receive an injunction against their use, to resume them.* This view is certainly borne out by the

* Extract of letter from Sir George Birdwood to the Hon. Secretary of the so-called "Ninth" Congress, dated 31st August, 1892:—"Even now, while asking me to 'remain a Member' of the Ninth (*sic*) Congress, I observe

event. To all appearances the words "The Ninth" had been deliberately and finally removed by the organizing Committee of Prof. Max Müller's Congress in consequence of their expectation of our taking legal proceedings to prevent their usurpation of a number that belongs to the Series founded in Paris in 1873, of which "The Ninth" has already taken place in London last September, being "The Ninth" *de facto* in the order of sequence in the above-mentioned Series, and "The Ninth" *de jure* in the opinion of the Founders, whose authority the seceders have themselves acknowledged in their earlier circulars, where they represented that they were acting under powers received from the Founders, who, however, promptly denied it. It is not the case, as asserted by Messrs. Davids and Morgan, that there was no decision of their Committee to drop the words "The Ninth" finally, or that it was only in operation from the 9th to the 16th August. I can prove that the decision was arrived at and acted on, and that too for a longer period than it is admitted, merely as "an idea" by Messrs. Davids and Morgan. The letter of Sir George Birdwood, their former Chairman, to our solicitors shows that "the idea was *not* decisively rejected" on the 16th August, for he advises them on the 21st August to write at once to "the Secretaries to the Congress of Orientalists, Albemarle Street," as they had "issued a Notice" for the 22nd "*to consider*" 'the question of the title of the newly-proposed Congress.' Indeed, up to the 31st ultimo, there was still some doubt on the matter, as appears from the letter of that date of Sir George Birdwood to Prof. Rhys Davids, of which the letter in the *Pall Mall* of the same date (though published yesterday) by Messrs. Davids and Morgan is the result. I saw it yesterday afternoon, when it was too late to apply for an injunction, the writ and affidavit for which had been settled. Yesterday was, I believe, absolutely the last day on which we could have applied for an injunction. We have thus been tricked out of our injunction, but Messrs. Davids and Morgan have strengthened our right to damages by their conduct, which implicates their Committee, for they distinctly assert that "a majority were of opinion that *for the present* the word 'Ninth' should be omitted from the title, not as abandoning claim to the appellation, but with a view to allay *for the time being* an irritating controversy," in other words, meaning all along to resume the very word which formed the dispute, when pretending to give it up finally! Facts, however, are stronger than assertions. I have two of their printed "Lists of Members," a smaller one "corrected to 1st August" and a more complete one "*corrected to 16th August*" on which the words "The Ninth" are omitted from the title of their Congress. I have to-day received a programme, which although dated 14th May, 1892, contains the most recent additions to their Congress, thus showing that the decision arrived at on the 9th August to drop the words "The

the paper on which you write is imprinted:—'International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892,' a circumstance confirmatory, as it would appear, of the amazing statement made to me last week by members of the Committee who sought to induce me to withdraw my resignation, that you proposed to drop the words 'the Ninth' only until the Congress met, and then, when it was too late to receive an injunction against their use, resume them."—*Overland Mail*, 2 September, 1892.

Ninth" was not only conclusive as to the future denomination of their Congress, but that they also wished to give it a retrospective effect by omitting, even in their past documents, the words "The Ninth" from and after the 14th May, 1892. It is, therefore, clear that whatever claim the Müllerites may have had to the title "Ninth," they have themselves relinquished it finally by the documentary evidence alluded to sent to the newspapers and to their Members. As we have never been opposed to the holding of *an* Oriental Congress, provided it did not usurp our number and title, I expressed a hope to some of our Members that they would join it, as it had given up the words "The Ninth"; and I have no doubt that, just as the assumption of the number helped the seceders to form a party among Members of past Congresses, so did its recent abandonment bring over many who would not have lent their names to it otherwise. I do not envy such success or the means and men that obtained it. In spite of it all, the Müller Congress will not have the Summaries of Research in 16 Oriental specialities, the practical results, the 160 papers or the 600 Members from 37 countries of our Congress of last year, which represented the cause of legality and of the independence of scholars and the equality of all schools and nationalities against a conspiracy on our International Republic of Oriental letters. I will not stoop to detail the evasive answers of Professor Müller and Co.* I am convinced that Oriental culture and learning, rightly understood and studied for their own sakes, lead to higher standards of knowledge and life than among some of their self-elected High-Priests in this country. I will, however, conclude by stating that as late as the 27th August I was assured in writing, on an authority that cannot be gainsaid, that peace had been restored, "*all being satisfied that the word 'Ninth' had been dropped.*" Its retention is an insult to the distinguished men and measures of last year's Congress, and to those honourable men and scholars who have lent their names to the Congress of this year, in ignorance of the facts.

Woking, Sept. 2.

G. W. LEITNER,

Delegate-General of the Founders and for the Ninth and Tenth International Congresses of Orientalists (London, Sept., 1891, and Lisbon, Sept. 23-30, 1892).

Pall Mall Gazette, 3rd September, 1892.

It will be clear from the preceding correspondence that Sir George Birdwood's resignation was not on any question of principle, however mistaken, but, as he himself expresses it in his letter of the 29th August, was "of an entirely personal and, so to say, domestic character." Indeed, by his letter to our Solicitors he saved himself from inclusion in the injunction, whilst his letter of the 31st August to the Hon. Secretary of his Committee preceded the latter's public resumption of the word "Ninth" coupled with the admission in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 1st September that the word "Ninth" had only temporarily been withdrawn, so as "to allay for the time being an

* The answers referred to are those to Dr. Badenoch in October, 1890, and to our Solicitors in August, 1892. N.B.—This note, and the one on the preceding page, have been added since reprinting the correspondence.—G. W. L.

irritating controversy." In other words, it was Sir George Birdwood's own letter that helped to stave off the injunction till it was too late to apply for it. He deserves credit for any indignation he may feel at the way in which we have been tricked, but which has earned for us a moral victory, far greater than any legal one could have been. *Ab uno disce omnes*. It was to Sir George Birdwood that the disruption in the London Committee, appointed by the Founders and about 300 Signatories for 1891—and 1891 only—was due. The Christiania Committee had surrendered to it and had accepted 1891, but it was Sir George Birdwood who aided in reviving the schism among Orientalists, by getting the very man secretly and irregularly elected as President—at a meeting of 9 persons—who had been identified with the encroachments of the Christiania Committee on our statutes and principles. Sir George Birdwood had signed the protest against the encroachments of the Christiania Committee, contesting the legality of its composition and proceedings, and thereby had mainly justified his own election as Vice-President of a Committee, formed by the Paris Founders to re-assert the statutes and original principles of 1873, and to oppose the Christiania Committee. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1891, will be found reprinted the letter showing why, in the opinion of the Founders and of 22 representatives of the bodies connected with the origin of the Congress, he could no longer be allowed to retain office in the legitimate Committee of 1891. He is now the "retired" Vice-President of two Committees, of the one that protested against the Christiania Committee, as also of the one of the seceders, who have since supported it. As for Professor Max Müller, he has, of course, every right to found a Congress of his own, and to avail himself, within the limits of fair-play, of the assistance given to him by former opponents, provided he does not usurp the title of the Institution founded in Paris in 1873, or a number in its Series. It may be added that we have copyright in the various and numerous publications already issued, or in serial progress, of "the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," and that "the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists," which will be held at Lisbon in September, 1893, as also its legitimate successors, will be similarly protected. In the meanwhile, we hail with satisfaction, as a possible sign of better feeling and sense, the circumstance that the *Times* has adopted for its reports of the London Oriental Congress of 1892, the heading which our Solicitors suggested to Professor Max Müller, as a *modus vivendi*, namely, that of "International Oriental Congress."

G. W. L.

12th Sept., 1892.

On the *last* day of the Congress of 1892, being unaware of the nature of our contemplated proceedings, Professor Müller has resumed the number and title in the Paris Series to which his Congress has no right. According to the *Times* of to-day, he is reported to have said: "We need no longer be afraid or ashamed of our old title of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, though we all know how cruelly that title has been treated during the last three years." Yes, 600 Orientalists in 37 countries know of its misappropriation by the "*Occasionally* Ninth Congress," but we do not know whether it "need no longer be afraid" as it certainly has every
to be "ashamed."

13th Sept., 1892.

THE LISBON ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

AMONG the 50 papers already promised to or received by the Lisbon Oriental Congress that on "Sea-voyages by Hindus," by Pundit Mahesh Chandra Nyaratna, C.I.E., may settle a vexed question which is causing much stir at present among the orthodox of that race, whilst Professor Felix Robiou's "The Religious Conditions of Iran, Egypt, etc., during Alexander's Conquests" may throw light on kindred "Græco-Buddhistic" influences. The mass of Portuguese material, especially on India, will be an interesting feature of the Congress. Professor René Basset writes on "the Oriental Manuscripts at Lisbon" and reports on those he has found in Oran and other parts of French Africa. Professor Gustav Oppert, of Madras, continues his researches in "Indian Theogony, comprising Sakti worship;" Pandit Dhruva, of Baroda, contributes two very important and exhaustive papers, one on the "Vedic Chronology" and the other on "The First Dawn of Aryan Philosophy." The Aryan Section will be specially strong in papers from European and Native Indian Sanscritists. Morocco yields, through M. Jules Rey, an important contribution to the history of the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula, and may also be represented by a Moroccan Exhibition in connection with the Congress, which, whilst on an excursion to the Alhambra at Granada, will hear from the Spanish Congress of Africanists how important is the study of Arabic in African commerce and exploration. Professor Carl Abel will give the results of further inquiry into his "Indo-Egyptian Affinities." Dr. W. Hein submits the second part of the "Biography of Omar;" Dr. A. Lincke, besides a "Summary of Assyriology," gives a paper on the "Colonization of Assyria," a subject that will be illustrated by an Assyrian collection; the Master of St. John's, Cambridge, "On a MS. in the Royal Library of Parma, in connection with the *Pirke Aboth*," the Rev. Rabbi Gollancz, "Sindbad in Syriac;" Mr. S. Stuart-Glennie on "the Migrations of Nations;" General Showers, "Relations with Orientals;" Mr. Vincent Smith, "Indian Numismatics in 1892," which will be brought up to date; General Furlong, a "Synchronological Map of Religions;" Miss Garnett, "a paper on Folklore;" whilst several Indian Civilians will give their researches into "the Sikh Granth" and "Indian Ethnology." Among Italian and Swedish scholars, Professor C. de Cara and Rector Skarstedt will be represented by memoirs on studies with which their names are identified, whilst Portugal itself gives abundant proof of Oriental scholarship in Prof. Vasconcellos' Oriental studies on the *Lusiade*, etc., Ben Oliel's "*Lokman*," Combargua's "The Gipsies of Portugal," "the Ethiopian Discoveries" by Esteves Pereira, and considerable material on ancient and modern Indian Law and methods of Education.

A paper on "Sanskrit Music" by Raja Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore together with a gift of the Nyastaranga, the curious wind instrument that is played by the mechanical pressure of the muscles of the throat from the outside, will certainly be one of the attractions of the Congress.

The Raja has also composed a musical and poetical address in Sanskrit to the King of Portugal to whom an Arabic Ode has also been presented,

the numerical value of the letters of which gives the dates of his ascension and of the Congress. Pictures and descriptions of the ancient and modern arts and professions of India have also been sent. The illustrations of the trades and trade-implements of Kashmir, including their technical dialects, will be specially interesting as will also be the exhibition of pictures of the various classes of Muhammadan and Hindu ascetics. Morocco and Portuguese Africa will be, of course, represented. M. Meyer, a Batavian Civilian, contributes a paper on the influence of Portuguese in the Dutch Colonies, and the Lisbon archives will unfold much unexpected material regarding India at and after the time of Vasco da Gama's discovery in 1498. The National Press at Lisbon is already printing a number of publications for the Congress.

As we are going to press, we have received the following circular-letter from the Delegate-General :

DEAR SIR,—I have received the following telegram from M. Cordeiro, Secretary of the Xth International Congress of Orientalists :

"Congress of Orientalists adjourned by Government order owing to Cholera precautions. Stop departures Congressists. Continue to send names of new members and papers to organizing and executive Committees."

It is proposed to adjourn the Congress to September '93, unless a majority of Members should desire it to be held at an earlier date. I may add that the Lisbon Congress has already 50 papers and a large number of members representing 20 countries. The postponement for a year, far from injuring the Congress, can only add to the success of the Meeting.—I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

G. W. LEITNER, Delegate-General.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

We quote the following article, written just before the Oriental Congress of 1892 :

AN ANGLO-SWEDISH ORIENTAL FARCE.

ACTS I. AND II. (1889 AND 1892).

We have not yet seen the last of "the Swedish burlesque," as Sir Henry Rawlinson so aptly called it, in recommending that steps should be taken to prevent its repetition in England. The King of Sweden, who is said to have admitted to Archbishop Sundberg that there was "a little humbug" in the Swedish Congress, has again deputed its Secretary to present to Professor Max Müller a second time (the first being at Upsala, in 1889) a Swedish drinking-horn, which, says the *Times*, "is in future to be handed from President to President of the International Congress of Orientalists." It will certainly not be accepted by the Institution founded under that name in Paris in 1873, and of which nine Sessions have already been held, though it is a fitting emblem of what took place at the Swedish Congress, of which the London Congress of next week is the worthy, if illegitimate, successor. The Swedish or 8th Congress ended in a row, did not appoint the place of the next meeting, as bound to do by the Statutes, and was not invited by any less bibulous, or, indeed, any country. A Committee of four German names was somehow formed at Christiania, to permanently guide International Orientalism, with Professor Max Müller as *homme de confiance*; but England, France, Russia, and nearly all other countries interested in the East were omitted from the oligarchy. This led to protests from 600 Orientalists in 37 countries, which obliged the Paris Founders to themselves select a place and date in accordance with a resolution of the first Congress "whenever the continuity of the cause [of the Congress] should require it." The result was "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," which was held in London for ten hours daily from the 1st to the 10th September, 1891, and which will now be statutorily succeeded by the Tenth Session, to be held at Lisbon from the 23rd proximo to the end of the month, under the presidency of the King of Portugal, himself an Oriental scholar. Now, some seceders from the 1891 Committee wished to have their own innings, and allied themselves with the Christiania usurpers to hold a Congress of their own, which they also called "Ninth"—a designation, the absurdity of which was too much for their own wiser supporters, who forced them to abandon it, stimulated by threats of legal proceedings from the Founders. The funny thing is, that some of those who protested against the Stockholm Bacchanalia, and against the attempt to convert an open republic of letters into a close official preserve, under the leadership of King Oscar and of Count Landberg, assisted by Professor Max Müller, are now among their humble supporters, though distracted with dissensions among themselves, which have just ended in the withdrawal of their chairman, Sir George Birdwood. Messrs. Ginsburg, Sayce, Douglas, and others seem to have forgotten their virtuous indignation or written protests, and now form chorus to the hymn in his own glory of Max Müller, who, not yielding to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, by giving kings the usual honorary presidencies, has remembered that royal personages and statesmen are often most proud of what they least know. He has accordingly flattered them and himself by making them his own vice-presidents, so that, if not themselves an Oriental rose, they may at least be near the one that is credited by non-Orientalists with the true perfume of Oriental scholarship. The proper position for royalty and prime ministers is, of course, to be patrons of learning, not assistant-professors. [More recent circulars rectify this presumption.]

The Swedish drinking-horn has already been once presented at Upsala, with the cheers of those that did not suffer from the effects of the hydromel of the Scandinavian gods. The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1890, gives the following account :

"He (Professor Müller), bestriding the hillock of Odin, at old Upsala, handed down, in a speech worthy of the object, a drinking-horn to successive presidents of future Congresses of Orientalists and Orientals, out of which they were to drink to the health of King Oscar!" The programme of the Swedish Congress announced that "Near the tombs of Odin, Thor, and Freya, the hydromel of the gods will be drunk. . . . There will be solemnly remitted to the Congress, in the name of H M. the King, an object, in order to perpetuate among the Orientalists present the memory of this Congress." This "object" was the drinking-horn, which is to be paraded a second time in London. It seems cruel to inflict on those who were absent the memory of scenes that those present try to forget, and even more cruel to connect with Oriental learning an emblem of Occidental wassail—repugnant alike to Muhammadans and Hindus. Of course, if, in the words of the Swedish programme, "the Orientalists of the entire world should group themselves round the august monarch of the North," then, indeed, the Scandinavian drinking-horn might remain; but, as the Czar, an even more august "Figure of the North," is reported to have said, "Who is the King of Sweden, that he should put himself at the head of the Orientalists of the world?" This reminds us that our own "Grand Old Man" is in the swim, and that he will lecture on "Ancient Greece and the East," in connexion with a Congress, the object of which is to destroy every vestige of the French origin of a truly international republic of Oriental letters. "When Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war"; but when he meets a Parnellite leader and Hebrew scholar, then does he fraternize with Dr. Ginsburg, the Chief Secretary of the Congress, and give a lecture on "Ancient Greece and the East," with the probable result that Greek scholars will mistake him for an Orientalist, and Oriental scholars admit that he, indeed, knows Greek. Were Mr. Gladstone to perform on a physical tight-rope, as he will in a few days on an intellectual one, he would also be sure of a large audience, even in September; but we hope that he and the members of the Congress will, at any rate, resist every attempt to convert a gathering, in which all schools and nationalities should be on a footing of perfect equality, into a monopoly or a bear-garden.

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,—I find with surprise and regret that a reference which I made, in the House of Commons some months ago, to the new Constitution of Japan has been seriously misunderstood, no doubt unintentionally, in an article which appears in your last number. Whether this is owing to obscurity in my words, or to their compression in a newspaper report, I need not enquire. All I desire is to disclaim most explicitly and emphatically any intention of disparaging in any way the Constitution of the Japanese Empire. I carefully studied that instrument some years ago, and formed a very high opinion of the skill with which it had been prepared. Nothing was further from my mind than to condemn as unsuited to the conditions of a great Oriental monarchy the provisions on which I commented, though I held that similar arrangements would be unsuited to Ireland or any other part of the United Kingdom. This was my argument: and it would have been as foreign to my purpose as opposed to my wishes and sentiments to say anything that could be deemed wanting in respect or friendliness to those representative institutions which the new Constitution has created, and whose working many of us in England are watching with lively interest and sympathy. Requesting you to insert this disclaimer in your next issue,—I have the honour to be, faithfully yours,

J. BRYCE.

August 11th, 1892.

One of our most valued supporters in Persia has written to us the following letter, which is well worthy of publication, as it contains information of an important and interesting nature in an attractive form.—ED.

"I have also received the July number of the *Review* and read Part I. of Biddulph's Physical Geography of Persia. Last year I received from London 'Report on a Visit to Persia,' by C. E. Biddulph (Waterlow Brothers and Layton, London, 1891), and I now find that Biddulph's present paper in your review is almost a literal reprint of pp. 6 to 11 of it.

p. 6 of the report is reproduced pp. 43 and 44 of the Review.

7	"	"	43, 44, 45	"
8	"	"	46, 47	"
9	"	"	47	"
10	"	"	47, 48	"
11	"	"	44, 48	"

"The sequence of the paragraphs has been altered and some of the sentences have been modified, but the text is practically the same. I hope Mr. Biddulph did not give you his paper as original or unpublished matter.*

"Some of his statements are correct, but many others are incorrect and misleading—caused by the writer's ignorance of the subject. The mountainous character of Persia has attracted very much attention indeed, in fact most writers on Persia from the 16th century until the present time have fully noticed it. Rainfall is by no means dependent on the height of the mountains, for Northern Beluchistan with its 9,000' and 12,000' ranges and peaks is practically rainless. The description of the hills of inner Persia rising out of the great gravel slopes is not correct. That roads and railways in Persia can be constructed only at a ruinous cost is nonsense. The obstacles to construction are not greater in Persia than in most other countries. The distance from Kum to Teheran in a bee line is $74\frac{1}{2}$ miles, not 'a little over 80,' and that traversed by the new road does not 'considerably exceed 100 miles,' but is 93.6 miles. The length of the old road was 89.2 miles. The hills between Kum and Ispahan do not cover nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the route, but only about 40 miles out of 150. The statement that the great desert is for 'the most part absolutely incapable of sustaining any form of life' is incorrect. Many forms of animal life may be found in the desert. In the report Mr. Biddulph estimated the total area of desert at 200,000 square miles, in his present paper at 150,000 miles. He then adds 'that nomad tribes take their flocks to graze upon the scanty vegetation which appears in portions of the desert,' a statement which contradicts what he has said before regarding the total absence of life forms, and, besides, does not fit in with the term 'desert.' These are some of the incorrect statements. It would be impossible to criticize any further.

"In your summary of events (p. 236) you refer to heavy snowstorms in April last, which did much damage to the telegraphs, which are now being worked on the Duplex system. Col. Wells, R.E., the Director of the English Government line from Teheran to Bushire, writes:

* We were not aware that it had been published, nor were we assured that it had not; naturally we presumed the latter.—ED.

"We had a blizzard at Dehbid (5 stages from Shiraz on the Ispahan road) on the 29th February, but no snow since, at least none that has caused a moment's interruption.'

"And the Inspector of the Indo-European Company's lines from Teheran to Gulpa on the Russian frontier, writes :

"'Unsere Leitungen waren am 3ten April auf dem Kaslân Kûh durch einen Orkan gestört, welcher 4 pfosten ans der Erde riss. Von Schnee Keine spur.'

"The lines are not yet worked on the Duplex system, but last April there was some talk of introducing the system.

"The Cholera is gradually spreading. In Khorassan it is practically finished, but we have it here at Teheran since the 1st inst.; it is in Astrabad, Gilan and Mazanderan, and pretty strong at Tabriz. It is also at Yezd, and various places between Ispahan and Shiraz. I hear from Bombay that some big Hindu priest intends going to Chicago next year. He fancies he will be able to convert the Yanks to Hinduism, but the American Consul at Bombay, also agent to the World's Fair, looks upon the priest as a splendid exhibit, and I should not wonder if the Americans paid the priest's passage.

"How will the unfortunate quarrel regarding the Congress of Orientalists end? I do not know the Count who was at the head of the 1889 Congress, but already in 1888 I heard from one who knew him well in Syria, etc., the prediction that the Count would create discord. My friend's prediction has apparently been fulfilled, for since 1889 there have been no end of little fights. It is a pity that some orientalists, whose names I need not mention to you, do not stick to the statutes. Surely, two congresses cannot be run simultaneously for any length of time with any chance of success.

"I trust I shall be able to get to Europe during the coming winter and make your acquaintance. Some years ago I was on the point of going to Woking with my friend Purdon Clarke, but was unfortunately prevented at the last moment. I see you had quite a tamasha at your mosque on the 6th of July, 1892, on the occasion of the 'Aid uz-zuhâ. Why don't the Liverpool Muhammedans build a masjid? Their first-floor room in a rickety house is not quite the thing."

ABUSE OF AN ORIENTAL CONGRESS FOR OCCIDENTAL POLITICAL PURPOSES.

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—Permit me to call your attention to the *Times* report of Major Wingate's paper on "The Rise and Wane of Mahdism in the Soudan." This paper was read yesterday, at the Oriental Congress now sitting in London, by Colonel Plunkett, R.E. The Mahdi and his Successor are here accused of having "gradually destroyed ancient tribal systems and tribal government," and we are told that "the piteous appeals of the once powerful tribes of the Soudan to be freed from their present bondage are indeed proof enough of their present misery and degradation."

In ordinary disquisitions an Oriental Congress is not satisfied without looking back to some period of which those only 1,500 years before Christ are considered as modern. Why is this custom disregarded in writing of the "Rise and Wane of Mahdism"? If we may judge from the report in the *Times*, not a word was said about the cause of the rise of Mahdism. We are told that :—

"Utterly uneducated and ignorant of the world's history and geography, the capture of Cairo, Constantinople, Mecca, Paris, and London presented to the Mahdi no greater difficulties than had been experienced in the capture of El Obeid and Khartoum."

Unless all that has been done in the Soudan during the last quarter of a century has been planned for some diabolical purpose, of which both the rise and the fall of the Mahdi and his Successor formed essential parts, the British Government has shown even greater ignorance and incapacity than those of the Mahdi. The conquest of the Soudan, nominally by Egypt, was really a European work, and to this conquest and to the systematic weakening of the Egyptian army by the British Government must be attributed the revolt, with all its consequences, of a people "struggling and rightly struggling to be free."

Why has the British Government thus thrown the Soudan under the convulsive management of "uneducated and ignorant" Moslems, and forbidden the Sultan Caliph, whose servants do know that London and Paris and Constantinople are neither in Arabia nor on the Nile, to recover, by the legitimate means which he alone possesses, the allegiance of his subjects, so long estranged from him by the intrigues of the Christian Powers who pretend to protect him from Russia?

If the British Government had accepted instructions from Russia for all their proceedings in the Soudan and in Abyssinia they could not have better aided Holy Russia in her work of destroying every Mahometan State, persecuting every Christian Church, and exterminating the Jews.

From the professional point of view of an energetic military officer, Major Wingate's paper is doubtless one of considerable merit, and it has even a political value, if taken in conjunction with statements on the other side respecting the ancient history of the means which were taken "to strengthen the Khedive." But, in the place where it was read, the Burning of Persepolis is not ancient history, much less the Bombardment of Alexandria. To class this paper with the clear cold light arising from the patient and laborious investigations into the vestiges of long past ages could only be a disguise to an Oriental Congress.

Your obedient servant,

C. D. COLLET.

7, Coleridge Road, Finsbury Park,
9 September, 1892.

A correspondent from Tientsin, China, is good enough to send us the following information regarding General Tcheng-ki-tong, a former contributor to the *A. Q. R.* :

Tcheng-ki-tong has been tried, condemned and rehabilitated almost in a breath. He had been nearly a year in Tientsin busy with his literary exercises which possess such a charm for him, and apparently indifferent to all beside. The Chinese Government did not wish to stir up any mud, and would have willingly allowed the so-called scandal of Tcheng-ki-tong to gradually fade into oblivion. But His Excellency Hsueh, the Minister to Paris and London, thought otherwise. He was indignant at the failure of his impeachment of the General, and impatient of the delay in bringing him to book. He telegraphed to Li Hung-Chang to ask where Tcheng-ki-tong was, and what he (the Viceroy) was doing in his case. Li Hung-Chang took little if any notice of the message, and let matters drift on as before. His Excellency then telegraphed to a subordinate Taotai, demanding a categorical reply. That officer of course could only report the message to the Viceroy. The Minister in London declared that his prestige had suffered a mortal blow through the immunity accorded to a man for whose punishment he stood pledged, and he threatened to resign. He finally sent an ultimatum to the Tsung li-Yamen declaring that he would perform no more diplomatic functions unless Tcheng's case were dealt with. The Yamen and the Viceroy were at length roused to action by their energetic envoy, and Tcheng was promptly degraded. He continued his literary recreation apparently heedless of the capricious shafts of fate. Then his friends were roused to assist him. The whole question was his debts in Paris. They raised a subscription and then entered into negotiations for a compromise which was ere long effected; and Consul de Bezaure, who was employed as the agent in the final adjustment, has telegraphed to say that every creditor whose claim was registered at the French Foreign Office was satisfied. And thus the incident has terminated happily for all concerned, and the sentence against Tcheng is annulled.

The various parties to the negotiation have been terribly exercised in mind, and the friends who rallied to the rescue of the inculpated debtor have made great sacrifices. One man only has remained to all appearance indifferent equally to the pains and penalties inflicted on him and to the redemption provided by his friends. With the pen always in his hand, he seemed to say to friend and foe alike, "Pray don't interrupt me!"

NOTES.

MAJOR R. POORE, J.P., of Old Lodge, Salisbury, draws our attention to an extract from the proceedings of the Supreme Council of India, taken from the *Bombay Gazette* summary of August 5, as a strong argument to show the importance—not only to India, but to all Eastern or Western civilized communities—of subdivision into small sections or wards of sight for local administration. Major Poore, whose experience and knowledge of such matters can scarcely be overrated, in applying this principle to England, insists that only by its correct and full understanding can County Councils and like bodies usefully perform their—really most important—duties instead of becoming merely extravagant burdens on the ratepayers. Though the incident in this case refers to the police only, the principle is applicable to all administration; and its *raison d'être* is that full sight of fact must be given before decisions can be taken.

The extract referred to by Major Poore contains an account of a meeting of the

Supreme Council of India, at which the Hon. Sir Charles Crossthwaite, in introducing a bill to further provide for the administration of towns in Lower Burma, made the following remarks :

"All over Burma there was, in former times, a police machinery by which villages and portions of towns had their headmen, under whom were minor officials, each entrusted with the supervision of a number of houses, usually ten. Even where this machinery has, from ignorance and neglect, fallen into disuse, people are readily induced to adopt it again, and take to it without difficulty. As an example and proof of this I may state that in 1883 Rangoon and its neighbourhood were in a very disturbed state. Dacoities (highway robberies by gangs) and robberies were frequent, and life and property were both unsafe. The police were helpless and disheartened, although their superintendent, the late Mr. Jameson, was one of the most experienced and able officers in Burma. Like most successful Indian administrators he took counsel of the people of the country, and at their desire the old system was reverted to. The town was divided into wards, and 'myoganlugvis,' which is the Burmese translation of aldermen, were appointed, who undertook to help the police to supervise bad characters and prevent crime. The system has been worked now for nearly ten years without legislative sanction, and, as the Chief Commissioner reports, since that time Rangoon had been remarkably free from crimes of violence, and it is generally believed that the myoganlugvi system has contributed materially to its immunity from disturbance.—Sir Charles Crossthwaite added that the measure was of a very simple character, its main provisions being : (1) the division of towns into wards and blocks ; (2) the appointment of persons to be headmen of wards, or aldermen of blocks ; (3) the conferment on such headmen and aldermen of certain powers, and the imposition on them of certain duties."

MR. THEODORE BENT is at present engaged in bringing out a work on the Ruined Cities of Mashonaland (Messrs. Longmans and Co.), in which he hopes conclusively to prove several valuable points concerning the Orientation of these ruins to the rising sun. The patterns which decorate many of the ruins and which go only round a portion of them have been accurately placed so as to receive the sun rays at the summer and winter solstices ; Mr. Bent has no less than nine instances of this, and these patterns are placed in connection with certain monoliths which show that the temples were nothing but vast gnomons used by the primitive inhabitants for distinguishing the seasons. Furthermore from accurate measurements taken on the spot it will be shown that all the buildings were constructed with mathematical accuracy, the small round tower having a circumference equal to the diameter of the big one, and the big one having a circumference equal to the diameter of the circular building on the Lundi river ; and also the towers have been employed as units of measurement for the curves of all the principal circular buildings in the Zimbabwe neighbourhood.

Having carefully compared his finds in the ruins with objects in some of the principal European Museums, Mr. Bent has been able to show the Phœnician origin or at least the strong Phœnician influence which has been brought to bear upon them. Proving thereby that it was from the district of Mashonaland that the early commercial races of the world obtained the large quantity of gold with which history has credited them.

Mr. Haliburton's article in our last issue on "Dwarf Tribes," as might be expected, was largely quoted in the contemporary press, and created much interest in scientific circles. We now hear of further discoveries in connexion with this subject, that were to have been brought forward at the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists at Lisbon, which has now been postponed to next year. The researches and discoveries alluded to refer to the points of correspondence between the survivals of prehistoric (dwarf) races in Mount Atlas and the Pyrenees.

The discoverers of the latter were Professor Maratza and Dr. Bide ; the former having investigated the *Nanos* (dwarfs) of the province of Gerona (between Barcelona and France), in the district of Ribas. Dr. Bide brought to light the *Jourdes*, a strange race in the Western Pyrenees, and inhabiting the district of Caceres ; these are cave-dwellers, they cannot speak either Spanish or Portuguese, are hairy, and do not mix with other races.

The postponement of the Lisbon Congress may, in this instance, have the advantageous result of enabling Messrs. Haliburton, Maratza, and Bide to secure actual specimens of

these interesting little people from various points of the Pyrenees and the Atlas, to serve as tangible proofs of their important discoveries, when the subject is brought forward at Lisbon next year.

THE OLDEST INDIAN MANUSCRIPT.

Two years ago Lieutenant Bower, then in pursuit of the murderer of Mr. Dalglish, the Scotch trader in Central Asia, discovered in Chinese Turkestan the remains of a subterranean city. In one of the excavations near it he found a curious birch-bark manuscript, which he took with him back to India for the investigation of scholars. The manuscript is described as having been dug out of the foot of one of the curious old erections just outside a subterranean city near Kuchar. These erections are said to be about 50 feet to 60 feet high, in shape like a huge cottage-loaf, built solid with sun-dried bricks, with layers of beams now crumbling away. Dr. Hoernle, who undertook the examination of the manuscript, thinks that these erections are Buddhist stupas, which often contain a chamber enclosing relics and other objects. These chambers are generally near the level of the ground, and are often excavated by persons in search of hidden treasure. There is no reason why a birch-bark manuscript, thus preserved from the chances of injury, should not last for an almost indefinite period, especially if the chamber is air-tight. Dr. Hoernle has communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal the result of his examination. The manuscript is written in Sanscrit of a very archaic type, not in the Sarada character of Cashmere, as was at first surmised, but in the Gupta character,—a much earlier form. Separate portions of it were written by different scribes, and at different dates; and the latest portion must, he thinks, be not later than the second half of the fifth century—say, 475 A.D.—while the earlier portion must be half a century earlier. The Bower manuscript, as it is now known, is therefore the oldest Indian manuscript, and one of the oldest manuscripts existing in the world. It is composed of five distinct sections: the first and fifth are medical works, the second and fourth collections of proverbial sayings, and the third the story of a charm against snake-bite given by Buddha to Ananda. A translation will be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the expense being undertaken jointly by the Governments of India and of Bengal.

We are requested to state that although the account, in our last issue, of a model "Indian Rajah at Home" was, indeed, "a sketch from real life," it was necessary, so as to avoid identification and the reproach of flattery, to divert attention from his personality. The Rajah was, therefore, represented as a type of "a strict Hindu;" and the writer of the account was thus enabled to describe a real Oriental Durbar, with the Rajah reclining on a soft carpet and "blowing a cloud," while giving public audience as a judge of appeals. As a matter of fact, however, the particular Rajah referred to is not a Hindu, but a strict Sikh, and as such does not smoke. In all other respects the account of his admirable administration is literally correct, and is quite typical of a good Indian Rajah of the old school, of which the Rajah described is one of the few remaining instances.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

HER MAJESTY has graciously received visits from two native Indian Chiefs who are travelling in Europe, not for the first time, and are accompanied by their families : the Thakur Sahib of Gondal, and the Gaekwar of Baroda. Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda was honoured with the Order of the Crown of India, and Her Majesty conversed with her in the Hindustani language, which she has been at the pains of learning to speak fluently.

In the late general elections and the consequent change of Ministry, our Summary is concerned only with noting that Mr. Gladstone has chosen respectively as Secretaries of State and Parliamentary Under Secretaries, as follows : Foreign Office, the Earl of Rosebery and Sir Edward Grey ; Colonial Office, the Marquis of Ripon and Mr. Sydney Buxton ; India Office, the Earl of Kimberley and Mr. George Russell ;—that an Indian gentleman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has been elected for East Finsbury ;—and that several Anglo-Indians are returned as Members, among whom we welcome Sir George Chesney and Sir Andrew Scoble, as likely to do good service for India.

In INDIA itself, a plentiful though late rainfall has averted all danger of famine, and relief works have almost ceased. Excess of rain however has caused damage in many places ; and the out-turn of nearly all the crops will be under the average, as a result of the earlier drought. The wheat crop of the Punjab and Central Provinces, (two-thirds of the whole) will be less by 125,000 tons, and the entire wheat crop will be only 6,737,000 tons, or 650,000 tons less than the normal yield. Next in importance is the progress of the new Indian Currency Association which has formed branches in every large city and town and has sent to the Secretary of State a numerously signed memorial from officials, bankers, merchants, and native chiefs. It urges the general consideration of the question on the Secretary,

especially the closing of the mint to free coinage of silver, and the coining of gold. The statistics produced during the controversy have utterly destroyed the fallacy that a falling exchange in any way benefited Indian trade. Lord Lansdowne in accepting and forwarding the memorial declared that the Indian Government "could not state its views on the subject." This apathy is generally and deservedly condemned. Meanwhile the Government will take part in the International Money Conference, to which they have deputed Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P., Sir C. D. Fremantle, K.C.B., and Mr. Bertram W. Currie for England, with General Richard Strachey C.S.I. and Mr. G. H. Murray of the Treasury for India. A great deal more than this conference, from which we hope very little, is necessary to be done, earnestly and immediately, by those responsible for India, unless they wish to stimulate the natural disgust there at a state of things which should never have been allowed to arrive.

Sir C. Crossthwaite who is nominated successor to Sir Auckland Colvin as Lieut.-Governor of the N.W. Provinces, will be replaced as Member of Council by Sir C. Pritchard from Bombay. who is succeeded in the Bombay Council by Mr. A. C. Trevor, Commissioner of Sindh. It has been decided that Lushailand is to be governed by Assam, and the Chin Hills by Burma,—the future of Chittagong being left for further report. The Mowhra Flowers Bill has been passed through the Bombay Council notwithstanding much opposition and discontent, and the Supreme Council have also passed the Madras Civil Courts bill, described by the press as certainly useless and probably mischievous : it would seem that *quieta non movere* is only acted upon by the Indian Government when there is urgent need for action. The Indian Councils Bill passed by Parliament last session has been referred to the various local Governments for their recommendations as to its practical execution. The Indian taxpayer is saddled with another Anglican "Bishopric" of Lucknow, to which has been nominated

the Rev. A. Clifford, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, late Secretary to the C. M. S. at Calcutta. The telegraph rate to England is again increased 2 annas per word, Press messages remaining at R. 1/1. The recent orders regarding a Provincial Service have been extended to the P. Works Dept.: 12 and 13 appointments in alternate years will be filled from Indian Colleges, with smaller pay and worse furlough rules than for the Imperial Branch which is recruited from England. The Bengal Report on the Poor White question gives Calcutta (with Howrah) an Indo-European population of 21,000, of whom 3,000 excluding children are destitute. Of these 8 per cent. are Europeans and 22 per cent. Eurasians; 70 per cent. are in work. Remedies seem limited to a recommendation to utilize them in the army and navy, but as they cost 80 per cent. more than natives, and are not considered much superior as war-material, this hardly seems feasible, though probably trial will be made with one regiment of Eurasians. The Survey Department report the survey in 1890-91 of 117,915 square miles, or 44 more than the year before. The Lieut.-Governor of Bengal called a meeting of officials and non-officials to consider a general scheme for drainage and water supply, for municipalities and rural areas in the provinces, and after mature discussion, a resolution to adopt the scheme was passed and will be followed by legislation. It is doubtful if the landowners on whom the cost will fall can bear the burden, which is heavily felt where already established—the municipalities are as a rule very poor.

Sir James Dormer has submitted his scheme for reorganizing the Madras army, proposing the establishment of Class Regiments: 12 of Tamils, 9 of Telegus, 3 of Muhammadans, 1 of Coorgs, 1 of Moplahs, and 1 of Nyars; there seems real need of reform. A battalion of 500 Manipur police is being raised to collect revenue and keep order. The relief of the troops in Gilgit is being effected by the despatch of 1 Mountain Battery, the 4th Regiment Kashmir Rifles, the

5th Kashmir Infantry, and 200 of the 15th Sikhs, besides 30 officers. Owing to Afghan demonstrations near the Zob valley (Gomal Pass) a force of 300 infantry and 100 cavalry with 2 mountain guns have been sent to Kajuri Kach, at the request of the Waziris. A saving of Rs. 60,000 having been effected last season by using the Karachi route for troops going northward, it will be tried this season also, with 3 troop-ships. Last season there arrived in India, 14,729 soldiers, 510 women, and 625 children, and there left 11,704 men, 572 women, and 259 children—a number somewhat less than the year previous. To encourage the study of Oriental languages by the rank and file of the British army, the present Lower Standard examination is divided into two separate ones, and the amounts given for that and the Higher Standard are apportioned accordingly: we doubt if this lowering of the standard will advance these studies. Important to be noticed is the fact that as the Depots are unable to fill up vacancies in the 2nd Dragoon Guards and the 7th and 18th Hussars, the Adjutant-General has called for volunteers from Cavalry Regiments at home: they must be over 20 years old, have 5 years still to serve, and be of good character,—but they are to get simply nothing at all for volunteering for India. The 3rd class of the Order of Merit has been conferred on 15 Indian soldiers for distinguished gallantry and good service in Africa.

Intellectual activity is shown by the registration for publication of 696 books in the Punjab, for the first quarter of 1892. The Engineers at work in the Godavery district have found near the old fort of Arugolanu the ruins of a Buddhist Monastery—a *vihara* court, with 2 *chaytiars* at one end, cells for monks round the sides, and a Stupa outside at the other end: hitherto only detached stupas had been found. Sir D. Brandis, late Director-General of Forests, has presented his great herbarium to the Saharanpur Botanical Garden; and the Indian Museum at Calcutta has acquired by purchase Mr. Rivett Carnac's

valuable collection of Indian coins. Alum has been discovered in large quantities at Jurgaon near Quettah, and good Kerosine (quantity unknown) in Shirani.

A few are still on the Ajmir Marwara relief works. In the Madras Presidency Rs. 2,650,000 were spent on well-digging and repairs, 5,000 being completed and 17,000 in progress. The amount spent in relief from the 1st April 1891 to 31st May 1892 was Rs. 2,160,000; and revenue to Rs. 3,098,000 was remitted. Government have granted Rs. 20,000 for waterworks at Trichinopoly with an annual Rs. 1,300 for maintenance, beginning in 1894;—also Rs. 150,000 for waterworks at Sibi;—Rs. 40,000 towards the exhibition of Indian tea, and Rs. 10,000 for Delhi art-ware at Chicago. Rs. 15,000,000 have been sanctioned, to extend the Chenab irrigation works to serve 700,000 acres. The late report on Irrigation works gives 54 major works with a capital outlay of Rs. 273,253,170, and a nett revenue (including interest) of Rs. 12,353,080—the nett profit being 4·5 per cent. On 76 minor works the capital outlay was Rs. 42,949,930; nett revenue Rs. 2,731,130, a profit of 5·12 per cent. Some of the minor works, especially in Sindh, return a very large profit—as much as 25 per cent. in some cases. The Director-General of Railways reports a capital outlay of £226,000,000 (= Rs. 2,276,700,000); gross earnings £24,000,000, working expenses £11,000,000, profit £12,000,000. The average dividends were 5·42 per cent.; 122,500,000 passengers travelled 276,000,000 miles, and 17,000,000 tons were conveyed. Rs. 9,100,000 have been spent on Collieries etc. The nett loss to the State was Rs. 1,725,000; and if the Rupee had been at par the interest would have been 21,458,633, and have yielded a surplus on the guaranteed Railways of Rs. 6,953,109: this is the loss on one item alone. The depression of trade has caused a falling off of Rs. 550,000 on the Bombay Railways for the 1st quarter—the figure is now nearly Rs. 1,000,000. The total fall off in Railway traffic between

1st April and 18th June was Rs. 2,450,000. There were opened (1891-'92) 874 miles and under construction or sanctioned 1,697 miles. Lines at work were 10,103 miles of broad, 7,171 of metre, and 228 of special gauges :—17,609 miles. These employed 280,000 natives, 5,936 Eurasians, and 4,626 Europeans. Six serious collisions during the year disposed of 56 killed and 135 injured. A new bridge 2,100 feet long was opened at Papaghni on the N.W. Madras Railway. The Gauhatti and Lamding line has been purchased by the Assam Bengal Railway ; and the Hyderabad Umarmkot Railway has been opened for traffic, the first link in a new line between Karachi and Delhi. Numerous rivers have been in high flood—the Cauvery, Indus, Chenab, Adyar—and have done much damage. Injuries more or less extensive and serious are reported from various lines : the Peshawar line near Nowshera, the Punjab Railway at Raiwind and at Lala-Musa and Khundwin, the Rajputana line (Sankaria Bridge swept away), the Quetta line flooded, as also the Kotri-Sukkur. The increased traffic at Calcutta has led to trial borings for a tunnel under the Hooghly between Howrah and Budge Budge. Destructive fires have occurred at Arthur Bunder, loss Rs. 30,000 ; Rawul Pindi, loss Rs. 20,000 ; Peshawar, loss Rs. 100,000.

From GOA the *India Portuguesa* recognises the difficulty of providing India with European missionaries, and urges, rather tardily, their replacement by native clergymen and native bishops. A national Lyceum has been opened at Panjim. An increased tariff has been adopted in the hope of getting 4 lakhs additional revenue, and the postage is tripled. The customs, like the receipts of the West of India Portuguese Railway, have fallen since the denunciation of the treaty with India.

From the Native States, we learn that the Maharajah Holkar has given 4 Bigahs of land for a Parsi tower of silence at Indore. K. C. Bedarkar's report on the administration of Indore shows great general improvement, especi-

ally in revenue matters and public works. These have cost Rs. 350,000, and include a General Library, a Technical School and the Holkar College. Elementary schools are increasing, as also charitable institutions and vaccination operations. The Baroda Government has appointed a sanitary Commissioner, a lady doctor, and dispensaries in the taluqs of Kerala, Chansama, and Waghadia. An Agricultural Exhibition was opened at Trivandrum by the Maharajah of Travancore, who specially noted the progress (since the last exhibition in 1884) of tea and coffee cultivation and of the plumbago mines: a block of 1 ton of plumbago was shown. The Maharajah of Dhar we note with regret has suffered from a paralytic stroke. The late Sir Bahadur Khanji of Junagadh has been succeeded by his brother the Nawab Rasul Khanji, who began his reign by giving Rs. 10,000 for enlarging the Islam Madresseh at Karachi, to 2,000 students, with a boarding-house for 100. It now teaches only 500. Khan Bahadur Khurshedji Rustomji Thanawalla, late Chief Justice of Baroda, has been made Dewan of Rutlam. The command of the new Bhopal Cavalry Regiment of the Imperial Defence is given to Resaldar Husn Din Khan of the 3rd Lancers Hyderabad Contingent, who served in the Afghan and Burmese Campaigns and received a sword of honour at the Muridki Camp of Exercise in 1890. The Mysore and Kapurthulla Durbars announce they will take part in the Chicago Exhibition. At the request of the Durbar, the Government have commissioned Mr. Evans Judge of Shahjehanpur and Major Thornton Resident of Jeypur to try the murderers of Kunj Behari Loll of Ulwar—Major Ramchunder, and his syce, and 2 Thakurs of Kankrowli. A native gentleman at Poona has given Rs. 100,000 for a Pasteur Institute, and the Secretary of State has sanctioned a medical officer's taking charge of it, provided it does not cause an increase in the medical staff.

The rebellion against the Amir of AFGHANISTAN has become general in the Hazarajat, where fighting continues

with various success, the truth being singularly difficult to get at. The Usbeks have joined the movement, though 4,000 of them have emigrated to Russian territory. Other risings or at least uneasiness have appeared in Jelabad, and among the Achakzais and Durranis.

And while his hands were thus full, the Russians have appeared in the Pamirs, under Col. Yonoff, with 4 other officers, 2,000 men, 12 guns, and a squadron of Cossacks. A fatal encounter has taken place at Somatash, with loss on both sides, and the Russians are reported from various other parts of the Pamirs. The expedition has a scientific staff, but is professedly undertaken to verify Russia's frontiers in the Pamirs, and to protect the Russian Kirkiz against Afghan tyranny! It is now stated that the Czar has ordered Yonoff to return; but he has taken up winter quarters on the Murghab; and there is little doubt that the thin end of the wedge in a claim to the whole of the Pamirs, including perhaps also Roshan and Shignan, has been inserted. The Amir has notified the facts to the Indian Government, which will most probably leave Lord Rosebery to be talked into overlooking the matter. But if the expedition was authorized, it should mean immediate war; if not, Col. Yonoff should be tried by a court-martial and shot. Had the Amir's country been at peace, the Russians would not have entered, or being there would never have been allowed to return alive. Notwithstanding all these troubles, the Amir, with a silliness worthy of a child, has been annoying us in the East and South, at Jandol, the Khyber, the Gomal, and in British Beluchistan, by either encouraging raids, or sending out bodies of troops. Meanwhile the Indian Government finds no remedy for these complications except continually inviting the Amir to a meeting which he does not care for. Perhaps he is right not to leave Cabul just now, as his absence might lose him the throne. The outlook for both the Amir and the Indian Government, already not by any means a bright one, is yet more darkened by the death of the Mehtar of Chitral, and

the seizure of the throne by the younger son Afzul Khan to the exclusion of Nizam ul Mulk, the elder, who will most probably fight for his rights. The whirlpool thus created will draw in many dangerous factors as allies on one side or the other.

In BURMA heavy floods have injured the Railways at Prome and in the Mu valley. The crops are very good, except in Pakkoku and Lower Chindwin. Professor Greisbach reports quantities of Jade at Uru, and great alluvial deposits of gold on the Upper Irrawady; and Dr. Noetling large quantities of a dark-brown amber, showing a bluish tint in certain lights. The Mergui coal-fields are proving very fruitful. Lands suitable for tea-growing are found in many places near Bhamo. The old trade with China is reviving. The North Chin Hills have been explored and reduced to order, and the South Chin Hills have been subdued, without bloodshed except at Shurheva; 190 slaves were recovered, and slavery there is ended. Roads and telegraphs have been increased, 160 miles of the latter in the Bhamo district alone. Government has resolved to prohibit opium in Lower as in Upper Burma; but opinions differ as to the wisdom of the policy or its practicability. A fourth Inspector of Schools has been sanctioned; the circles being the Eastern, Central, Western and Upper Burma. Crime in Upper Burma is reported to be normal, but there has been an increase of 30 per cent. in Lower Burma, owing to the famine and immigration from Upper Burma. The Government has resolved to avail itself of the older system for maintaining order, by having head-men for each village and ward of a village, who is held responsible for its welfare and quietness; this system, which had not quite died out, is as popular as it is effective. A further reduction of 1,039 men is announced in the police force, which now numbers 14,349.

The rising in Pahang is still unsubdued after more than 6 months; and we go a little beyond our usual course to call attention to it. The Sultan of Pahang, an independent

chief, having in an evil moment granted some mining concessions to European companies at Raub Penjanm and other places, asked the Straits' Governor to send him an officer to advise him in his relations with them. The officer sent gradually arrogated to himself, with the title of a Resident, the powers of a sovereign, and practically got the whole administration into his hands, so much so that he is called by the *Times* and others "The Governor." The Sultan bore this patiently ; but his head-men at length rose against the usurpation, and have held their own with varying success : at least, they are yet unsubdued, and may renew the contest at any moment. Meanwhile the Governor first "ordered" the Sultan to reside at Pekan, and later on, has removed him to Singapore, and decided to administer the country by Englishmen. No charges of incapacity, tyranny or unfriendliness have been made against the Sultan, nor is he even charged with complicity in the unfortunate resistance into which the chiefs of the state have been goaded by a shameless usurpation. We ask the question, by what authority has the Sultan of Pahang been deprived of his kingdom by a set of subordinate officials, unknown to fame? Now that the general elections are over, we hope this series of transactions, little to the credit of the British Government, will meet the condemnation which it deserves, and that the Sultan will be restored to the authority which he has done nothing to discredit. It shows how the affair is for a complicated purpose, that we find in the *Times* that "3 men were found guilty of waging war against the Sultan." *His* subjects resisting *our* forces, in order to restore to *him* an authority of which *we* have *deprived* him, are said to wage war against *him* ! Thus we use his name to strengthen our false position, while we condemn him to what is virtually imprisonment in exile.

There has been a terrible eruption on Great Sangir Island, with much loss of life : it was stated to be a complete destruction, with 12,000 lives lost, but this seems on the face of it a great exaggeration.

Lord Brassey tried ineffectually to have North British BORNEO made into a Crown Colony. The N. B. Borneo Company have sold 1,000,000 acres, and 17 estates are cultivating tobacco, but there are no dividends. The population is reported at 120,000, with 245 Europeans (160 British), 52 Eurasians, 67,062 Asiatics; that of Sandaka the capital at 6,350,116 being British. The exports (cocoa, rubber, tobacco and timber) have risen from \$401,604 in '85 to \$901,290 in 1890, and the imports from \$648,317 to \$2,018,089.

In TONQUIN a French Convoy from Hanoi to Lama Son, fell into an ambuscade of Chinese and retreated with the loss of 12 killed 17 injured. From a debate in the French Chamber we learn that there are now 13,000 Native and 8,000 French soldiers in Tonquin. They are trying to raise local European corps. As the credit for military purposes was exceeded, the navy were to give up their part of the vote for the military.

The JAPAN Parliament after several Government defeats was closed. The ministry has been reconstructed as follows : Premier, Count Ito ; Home Office, Viscount Inouyé Nasaru ; Foreign Office, Mr. Nutsu Munitimtsu ; Finance, Mr. Watanabé Kumtaké ; Justice, Mr. Yamegata ; Education, Mr. Kano Tokana ; War, Mr. Oyama ; Navy, Mr. Niri ; Ways and Communications, Mr. Kurada ; Agriculture and Commerce, Count Goto Shigoro. An attempt made to murder Mr. Kano Tokana and Count Okuma, the leaders of the Progressist (Kaishin-to) party, luckily failed. The Portuguese, having no political representatives in Japan, are declared to be under Japanese law courts,—as should all other residents in Japan, we think. Progress is shown in Japan among other matters in the floor matting trade, which produces beautiful work in no less than 4,000 patterns, woven of a fibre with cotton warp. In 1886 the export was only £89, in 1889 it was £25,389, and in 1891 £104,396. It is taken mainly by Australia and the United States ; but it needs only to be known to

secure a market in other countries also. The silk crop is disappointing, being 10 per cent. less than last year and of inferior quality. The Japan Mail Steam Ship Company have dismissed a number of their European employés.

FORMOSA is overrun with robber bands, with whom the Chinese are fighting with varying success.

CHINA.—At Shanghai the long suspended attempt to start cotton spinning has been resumed during the last year with success. Chinese cotton has been found very good for the purpose, and makes well into "American drills" and sheetings, 1 yard wide and 40 yards long, weighing 14 lb. There are 550 looms, and 21,000 spindles. They turn out 130,000 yards a week, and are worked by Chinese only. A yarn mill produces about 8 bales a day, of 400 lb. Half of the machinery is English and half American: it seems there were two parties in the concern, one for getting the whole of the machinery from England, the other from America. The result is characteristic.

Reports from China state that much of the ill-feeling against foreigners is stimulated by the intolerant legislation of America and Australia against Chinese; and that the missionaries often promote this ill-feeling by their contempt of local customs, local magistrates and regulations, and by violent attacks on local religious feeling. More anti-foreign placards have appeared in Hunan, and at Shensi a French missionary and some native Christians have been mutilated. The Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Turner were also assaulted in the north-west district of Sze-Chuen, but were rescued by the officials. An agreement with Russia is reported for the establishment of Russian consuls in every important Chinese town. Regarding the Pamirs, the Chinese troops seem to have prudently withdrawn for a time. The Tsung li yamen say they leave the matter in the hands of the Governor of Chinese Turkestan; but strong representations have been made at St. Petersburg, where one of the Chinese Ambassadors accredited to several courts will reside permanently.

In THIBET a child under 10 years old has been solemnly

enthroned as Pashen Erdeni Grand Lama by Chinese officials sent with rescripts from Pekin. The Emperor sent presents of money and valuable articles.

While the Russians were intent on the Pamirs, there has been an outbreak in Ferghana, showing that below the surface all is not quiet in the Russian conquests in Central Asia. A tax of 6 roubles has been imposed in Russian Turkestan on each Kibitka (waggon tent), two thirds going to the Imperial and one half to the local treasury. Two favoured tribes are assessed at two roubles, and those at Astrabad at only one.

The Tramways of Teheran are reported to be about to pass into Russian hands. Some cases of brigandage also have occurred. The Cholera after much devastation in Meshed, Teheran, Tabriz, and elsewhere, passed north-westerly to Batoum and Astrachan, and thence into Russia. At Teheran and villages about, the dead are numbered between 13,000 and 20,000 ;—in all Persia, over 60,000, including 20 Europeans. New cemeteries had to be opened.

In YEMEN, Ahmed Faizi Pasha has captured the last stronghold of the rebels, Saada, 130 miles N. of Sennaa. The leader Hamid ud dun, with 20 other chiefs, was killed. Yemen has a population of about 3,000,000. The exports were Turkish dollars 2,200,000, the imports 5,300,000. These were principally rice, flour, piece goods, sugar, dates and kerosine ; those consist of pearls, senna, myrrh, coffee, hides and salt, indigo, food and oil grains.

At Bourdour in Asia Minor an American missionary's house was burnt down, and the United States at once demanded satisfaction. The damages were at once paid by the Ottoman Government, though it is believed that the fire arose from the negligence of a servant. The two cruisers which, with characteristic modesty, were at once ordered to the neighbourhood now have nothing to do. The railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem (54 miles) has been completed by a French Company, and the first engine entered the Holy City on the 13th Sept. The imports of

PALESTINE are given at £287,700, the exports at £400,530—total value £706,821 in 1890; in 1891, £688,230. Vines have been introduced from France, and mulberry trees are being raised for sericulture. Among the exports were 270,000 cases of oranges valued at £108,000, and 250 tons of soap, equal to £124,000. Over 1,000,000 bushels of wheat and barley are reported.

The canards regarding our withdrawal from EGYPT need not detain us beyond saying that our policy regarding that country is not likely to be changed by the new Ministry. A great step in the further improvement of the country is the decree constituting municipalities in 14 of the chief towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt. The Governor, Sanitary officer and Engineer are members *ex officio*, and 6 others will be elected by the people. Their power of spending is limited; a report of all their meetings must be sent to the Minister of the Interior; and there will be a certain proportion of Europeans in the Municipality till the natives have learned to shift for themselves. The total amount encashed since the last coupons were paid is, for the Unified debt £E.974,000, and for the Preferential debt £E.277,000. The cotton crop is 15 per cent. over that of last year. The success of the Daira Sanieh has led to a Company with £120,000 for producing sugar, on 7,000 acres. Much inconvenience resulting from the circulation of light English gold it has been decided to clip all coins under weight or not current in England, and to give only bullion value for those tampered with. In the last 5 years £1,800,000 have been spent on irrigation. The Nile is in very high flood, and causes some anxiety.

From a TUNIS report, we note that land cultivation has increased from 946,675 acres in 1881 to 1,825,365 acres in 1891, yielding over £1,000,000. There are 200,000 head of cattle, and 1,000,000 sheep. Olive mills have increased to 86, of which 9 are worked by steam. Wine of which in 1887 only 337,000 gallons were exported, in 1891 gave 2,362,800 gallons, and in 1892 3,100,000 gallons. In 1890

the imports and exports were £1,274,907 and £1,213,984 ; in 1891 they were £1,825,289 and £1,588,129. The imports consisting of piece goods, flour, coffee, sugar, cotton, woollen and silk manufactures were from France £876,650, Great Britain and Malta £349,662, Italy £157,422 ; the exports were to France £297,270, to Great Britain £265,780, and Italy £135,297 ; and France is raising fortifications in violation of her undertaking.

The failure of Sir C. Euan-Smith's mission to Morocco is already old matter. Our papers give only one side of the question ; much could be said from the Sultan's side perhaps, as the proposed treaty certainly did curtail his power to an extent which left sensible men sure that it could not be granted. Sir C. Euan-Smith rode too high a horse. The flag incident shows in addition a great want of tact. Of the trade of Morocco, 62 per cent. is British. Meanwhile, after strenuous efforts and several checks, the Sultan's troops have defeated the rebels ; and the conferences of chiefs at Fez seem to have had good results both for the present pacification of the country and for its future better government. The governor who was the cause of the rebellion has been replaced by another.

The GAMBIA report for 1891 gives the revenue at £31,038, expenditure at £29,697, leaving a surplus of £1,341 : this happy land has no public debt, and its accumulated surplus of £18,102 is mainly invested in England. By the recent delimitation with France the colony has gained 250 miles of territory, 10 kilometres wide on each side of the river, 40 miles along the Vintang Creek, and all the navigable waters. The prospects of this colony are very bright. The French have at length assumed the offensive in DAHOMEY, but up to date with no definite success, though King Behanzin has had to retreat. The French Soudan has been made into a separate Province, under Colonel Archinard. In the CAMEROONS, the Germans have a good station for trade at Baliburg in Baliland ; but they have failed to reach the fertile kingdom of Adamava,

as the road is barred by hostile Badungs and Bafuts, who are too strong for the allies of the Germans. On the GOLD COAST, Sir W. B. Griffith occupied Crobo Hill, installed a new King of East Crobo, and abolished human sacrifices and fetish worship on the Hill: all is reported to be quiet. The trade of the OIL RIVERS PROTECTORATE, July to December 1891, gave imports at £295,528, exports at £269,237, and revenue at £43,516; the trade is chiefly with the United Kingdom and Germany. In the CONGO State, a general rising of the Arabs has swept away the stations of the Anti-Slavery Co. and Congo State, most of the Europeans being massacred. It extends from Tanganyika to Nyengwe and the upper Lomani, and is headed by Rumiliza. The Joubert and Jegus expeditions to Katanga have been driven back. Forces were being concentrated at Basoko at the confluence of the Lomani and Congo rivers. The position of the State is further complicated by financial difficulties; and France has made a vexatious and as it appears unfounded charge for indemnity for the assumed murder of a Frenchman on Congo territory.

The Franchise has been raised at CAPE COLONY from £25 to £75, illiterates not to have a vote; the avowed purpose being to prevent the swamping of the European interest by the native vote. Sir J. Gordon Spriggs moved a vote of censure regarding the non-completion of the Mafeking Railway, with a personal attack on Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who admitted that it was necessary and would be completed as soon as practicable. The motion was negatived. The export of gold rose from £381,000 in July to £455,050 in August. Grapes are being largely sent to England. Mr. Cecil Rhodes seems to wish for an African Council like the India Office. His next journey to England is not yet fixed; but Sir H. B. Loch is coming at once, and among other matters will discuss the Swaziland question. This visit has prevented Sir Henry from meeting President Kruger of the TRANSVAAL and the President of the ORANGE FREE STATE, at a conference, at which the Swaziland question would

have been discussed. The Transvaal loan of £2,500,000 at 5 per cent. has been most successfully floated, the money being for Railways to Port Elizabeth and southwards. The republic has imposed an increased tariff as against the Cape, and in reply to remonstrances declares itself unable to lower them. There is a great competition in tariffs between the Cape and the NATAL Railways, regarding the Transvaal, and reductions have been made by both, till it has become almost suicidal. Durban is certainly 300 miles nearer Pretoria than any other British port (Delagoa Bay only can compete with it in this), but other considerations help the Cape route. The two Natal delegates having returned after conferring with Lord Knutsford, made their report regarding Representative Government. The Parliament was then dissolved, and a general election will decide whether the natives are to be under the Governor and Ministers or under the Colonial Office. Opinion in the Colony is by no means unanimous regarding the measure. The imports for 1890-91 were £3,620,809, and the exports £1,315,625. Gungunhana was about to start on the war-path against the Portuguese on the Limpopo, but Sir H. Loch through the British Consul persuaded him to give up the idea. Great progress is being made in the Anglo-Portuguese delimitation in the Pungwe, which has led to several rectifications of our maps. The Anglo-German commission has not been so successful, from Dr. Peters' resignation, owing to differences with Baron Soden. Kilma Njaro has been re-occupied; but the Church Missionary Society have left it of their own will. From UGANDA, Captain Lugard has given his version of the recent deplorable events; and after an impartial examination of all statements, we are inclined to blame Bishop Hirth for the whole explosion. Captain Lugard is on his way to Europe, but the country is reported to be quiet. Mwanga has been reinstated, and the Railway survey made progress.

At ZANZIBAR, where Mr. Gerald Portal has won the well-

deserved honour of being made a K.C.M.G., the International Maritime office decreed by the Brussels Conference for collecting documents on the slavery question is being formed, —Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Portugal and Russia sending representatives. Dr. Stuhlman has arrived at Zanzibar, quite recovered from his illness, and reports that Emin Pasha in April crossed Kagira to Karagwe and West M'pororu, where he heard that his people were not far off; he went north to Urschumbi, the south point of the Albert Nyanza, where he was told they were further away. In May, he went N.W. to the Albert Edward Lake, and met his people at Undussame. Selim Bey and the Soudanese refused to go with him; and he continued his way westward to Uelle and Adamava. His 150 tons of ivory had been destroyed by the rebels. He touched English territory only twice. Smallpox broke out, and Emin, himself ill, remaining with those who were sick, sent back Stuhlman with those who were well. The scientific results are great in meteorology, astronomy, surveys, measurements, and collections of mammals, birds, fishes, and skulls of pigmies, besides 1 man and 2 girls rescued from the Manyema. A chain of mountains has been discovered in S. L. $1^{\circ} 25'$, E. L. 30° —one peak still an active volcano. A river runs from these mountains north to Lake Albert Edward, and another lake is reported to the south.

MAURITIUS.—Already in the middle of July, owing to good rains, almost all traces of the cyclone had disappeared in the fields, and the sugar-crop was reported to be fairly good. In this calamity Mauritius received generous help from England, the Cape, and India; from India, amongst other chiefs, the Nawab Sir Abdulgunny, Ahmadullakhan and the Rajah of Rewah, contributed each Rs. 1,000. Subscriptions also came in from Natal, Madagascar, Seychelles, and Réunion. Their total loss is estimated at 40,000,000 Rs. The British Parliament voted a loan of £600,000.

H.M.S. *Curaçoa* has proclaimed a British protectorate over the Ellice Islands (E. of New Guinea and S. of the

Gilbert Islands already annexed), also the Gardner, Dangar and Nassau Islands. Their inhabitants are said to be war-like and not industrious, and the islands fertile. But they are only 20 ft. above the sea, and are said to be steadily disintegrating. Tertulia Island has also been secured, probably as a coaling station; it had been abandoned by the United States. Johnson island also has been occupied, but it is claimed as belonging to Hawaii. The French have of course at once set to occupy something in return, and have taken possession of the Gloriosa group on the Equator, and the islands of Amsterdam and St. Paul: Australia is lodging a protest against the occupation of the two last.

The Revenue of VICTORIA for the year ending 30th June, was £7,728,828, a decrease of £614,000; the expenditure was £8,639,900. The initial deficit of £1,569,950 would be £1,900,000 for 1893-4: the last 3 years had left a deficit of £1,000,000 a year. The Customs receipts fell £136,000, the Land tax £93,000, Public works £407,000 (including £205,000 on Railways), and Fees £68,000. The excise receipts increased £78,000. The deficit for the year was £1,200,000. An adverse motion by Mr. Dixon on the Budget was defeated by 53 to 32 votes. The last quarter shows a further decrease in revenue of £165,887 compared with last year. Duties have been raised on spirits from 12s. to 15s. a gallon, on beer in bottle from 9d. to 1s. 6d. and in bulk from 9d. to 1s.; on sparkling wines from 8s., and other wines from 6s. per gallon to a uniform 12s. A penny is added to the 2d. duty on tea. All this is expected to yield £200,000. The debt was £46,711,282, with an annual charge of £1,810,459. The revenue and expenditure would be equalized this year, and £500,000 carried forward to the deficit. An increase of Stamp, Probate, and other duties and a tax on absentees were proposed.

The SOUTH AUSTRALIAN revenue for the past year was £2,778,000, an increase of £10,000, the expenditure

£2,734,000. Customs and land revenue are expected to yield £815,000 and Railways £1,200,000. The public debt is quoted at £22,100,000. A tax is proposed on stock to balance an expected decrease in customs, owing to drought and mining strikes. Later, splendid rains have ended the drought. Changes in the military will give an increase of 2,500 well trained men with a saving of £50,000 a year. Against a pessimistic view given by some of the Northern Territory, we quote the following returns: The list of Northern Territory exports for 1891 is a medicine for feverish pessimism about that great Attachment to the colony:—"Gold, 28,629 oz., £98,149; gold concentrates, £552; silver ore and bullion, 90 tons, £4,140; copper ore, 256 tons, £3,619; tin (oxide), 41 tons, £1,870; fish (dried) 93,802 lb., £1,048; hides and horns, £3,020; cattle, 5,875, £17,625; sheep, 7,500, £2,250; wool, £1,315; tobacco, 5,373 lb., £426; sugar, 24 tons, £480; bêche-de-mer, 103 tons, £2,725; tortoise-shell, £1,125; sundries, £413; re-exported, £5,640. Total, £144,397.

The 15th Parliament of NEW SOUTH WALES promises legislation on Land, small holdings, the franchise, and municipal extensions. Federation is to be forwarded by a resolution declaring its desirability. Rumours were afloat of a proposal to make the Legislative Council an elective instead of a nominated body; for as the last Federation Conference proposals included a Federal Legislative Council to be elected by the Council of each Colony, the Sydney Council must become elective also, like those of the other colonies. Strikes have continued at Broken Hill, Silver Barrier and Barren Rock. Arbitration has been refused by the men, and the Bill for that purpose passed last March is so much waste-paper. The loss to the colony is simply enormous; but Labour though very strong is completely blind to both its own and the general welfare. The revenue for the quarter ending June was £2,857,000, an increase of £194,000 on 1891; Customs increasing £165,000, Stamps £46,000 and Railways £6,000. Tenders for 175,000 tons

of steel rails are to be placed with local manufacturers to encourage production. The report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines for 1891 says there are 4,458 full-blooded Aborigines and 3,015 half-castes in New South Wales, a decrease of 243 on the previous year. The diminution is partly owing to the fact that in 1890 many Aborigines from other colonies who came temporarily to this colony have since gone back. The natural decrease was 82, the births being 125 and the deaths 207. The Board are educating the young Aborigines and providing adults with profitable occupation and homes. £14,078 of Government money was disbursed in 1891. The Board are not satisfied with the management of the Aborigines Protection Association, and if its future operations do not inspire greater confidence "the Board will recommend the Government to alter the existing system."

The revenue of WESTERN AUSTRALIA for the half year ended June was £266,171, and the expenditure £257,136. There was a credit balance of £116,682. Compared with the previous 12 months the increase in the revenue was £94,798, being £517,985, as against £423,187, and the expenditure £487,438, against £411,890. Of the loan of £1,336,000 authorized for public works last year, only £500,000 had been raised, and of this only £171,366 expended. The treasurer has in hand £456,567 on the current loan and trust accounts.

The QUEENSLAND Government measure authorizing the construction of railways by private persons on the land grant system has passed through Committee in the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Barbour's proposal to divide Queensland into two provinces, North and South, instead of three, was carried by a majority of 22. The Government accepted the amendment, which has been passed also by the Legislative Council. Sir T. M'Ilwraith said in his Budget Speech that the financial year was bad in all the Colonies. The estimated revenue had been £3,473,000, being £201,400 under the estimate, though £70,000 over

last year's total. The improvement was wholly on the Railways, which gave £19,000 over the estimate. The Expenditure was £3,625,000, a decrease of £60,000 on last year. The exports during 1891 increased by £810,700, and exceeded the imports by nearly £2,500,000. For the coming year, he estimates Revenue at £3,518,000, and Expenditure at £3,636,000, leaving a deficit of £108,000. The salaries of Members of Parliament were to be reduced from January to £150 a year, succession duties to be doubled, and a tax put on "Totalizers" (betting machines), Customs duties increased 15 and 25 per cent. on beer, boots, hops, malt, cheese, dried fruits, pickles, flour, wheat, and tobacco. These, with £26,000 from retrenchments, will give £134,000. The Kanaka Labour Act, as the Home Government refuse to veto it, may be considered as passed. The opposition to this and Coolie labour on the north of Australia continues, perhaps somewhat unreasonably.

TASMANIA.—The Fruit growers complain that the freight at £4 10s. per measured ton, or 2s. 6d. per case, hampers their trade. They could have sent 500,000 cases, at the rate of £3 per ton or 3s. per case, which would give £75,000 in 3 months. It is hoped the shipowners will note this opening. The revenue for July was £58,723, being a falling off of £16,172 compared with July. The deficiency for the seven months is £32,868.

On opening Parliament on July 26 the Governor said that the depression in the revenue had entailed a necessity for retrenchment. Mr. Bird in his Budget Speech stated the revenue at £872,622, and the expenditure £921,637, leaving a deficiency of £49,000, or with that of last year £70,000. The debit balance on 30 June was £1,181,086. It was proposed to reduce the Governor's and Ministerial salaries, take £9,000 from the assurance fund, and impose a tariff almost wholly protective. Being defeated on the fiscal question by 4 votes, Mr. Fysh resigned, with his colleagues, and Mr. Dobson formed a Ministry, with Mr. John Henry as Treasurer, who stated that the whole of the

£1,500,000 loan had been expended before being borrowed. It would, therefore, be necessary to borrow £500,000, to pay for public and other expenses vote. A deficit of £180,000 he proposed to meet by severe retrenchment, an increase of the Customs duties, and the imposition of fresh taxation on sugar, meat, tobacco, sheep, cattle, tea, and beer. Sanction has been given to issue Treasury bills up to £130,000.

A motion in the NEW ZEALAND House of Representatives, by Sir G. Grey, that the future Governors be elected by the people, was rejected by 28 to 27 votes; as was also the 8 hours bill sent up from the lower house. A difference of opinion has arisen between the New Zealand Ministry and the Governor about appointing 12 additional members to the Legislative Council (a nominee Chamber). Lord Glasgow consents to nine new members, but declines to swamp the present House without a more evident necessity than is yet shown. The Colonial Secretary has been asked to define the prerogatives of the Governor on this point. The revenue for the past year was £4,448,000, being £87,000 over the estimate. The expenditure is £26,000 below the estimate. Last year left a surplus of £165,000, after paying £100,000 off the floating debt and other disbursements. The revenue for the current year is estimated at £4,161,000, including the new Land and Income taxes. It is proposed to expend £25,000 on acquiring for small cultivators and in payment of Civil Service pensions lands owned by private and native proprietors. The tariff remains unaltered. Two State farms will be established for the relief of the unemployed on the co-operative system, which has been a success in ordinary public works.

The trade of NEW CALEDONIA is increasing satisfactorily, with the increase in the population and larger numbers employed in the mines. Labour has been imported from Japan for the mines, and Tonquin for agriculture. New Hebrides labour does not suit the mines, and is scarce and dear. The growing revenue helps the large expenses for public works. Lighthouses have been erected, and ships

enter Noumea harbour at night ; a contract for waterworks has been made ; dry docks are projected ; a railway is under consideration ; and a telegraph to Queensland.

In CANADA the trials connected with the scandals are not yet over. The Government, through fear of President Harrison's retaliatory measures very unnecessarily repeated that the preferential tolls on Canadian Canals were only for this year. The United States however issued retaliatory duties, and Canada gives in. She will refund to Canadian vessels the tolls they may have to pay in the United States. The Canal on the Canadian side of St. Mary's River is being pushed night and day to be completed next July, or 18 months before contract time. The Canadian Pacific Railway is pushing on a new line through the Crow's Nest Pass in the Rocky Mountains to pre-empt the pass, which is only wide enough for one road from the east side. The company will run a line through the magnificent agricultural country west of the boundary to connect with the present Soo system. A "cut-off" is also now being built through the Western States, which will give the company an optional Trans-continental route to the Pacific coast, cheaper than the present. The Parliamentary Sessions work included readjustment of Representation in the Commons, and the adoption of a code of criminal law. The duty has been raised on sugar, treacle, and tobacco for all countries not giving Canada the "most favoured nation" clause, and on eggs against the United States. Regarding the Copyright Act passed 2 years ago, Lord Salisbury told Canada that as it had not been formally approved it had lapsed, and Canada had better accept Mr. Blaine's Copyright Act, and grant copyright to applicants from the United States as England herself does. The re-organization of the Government railways has already saved \$40,000. The revenue for the year was \$36,903,216, the expenditure \$36,629,803 ; the surplus is less than in the preceding 3 years, owing to remission in sugar duties. The McKinley tariff notwithstanding, the exports

of 1892 were \$114,000,000 against \$85,000,000 in 1889. The sealskins taken by the British Columbia fleet last year was \$792,925 against \$492,261 in 1890. Vessels belonging to both parties have been seized for contravening the *modus vivendi* in the Behring Sea. As commissioners for this arbitration, France has nominated Baron Alphonse de Courcel, and Italy the Marquis Visconti Venosta. The British Parliament just before closing last session, advanced £150,000 to British Columbia, for the transfer of 1,250 families of Scottish Crofters, on free land, with dwellings and provision for a livelihood, in parties of 50 at a time, the whole to be located in 6 years.

The misfortunes of NEWFOUNDLAND have culminated in a terrible fire destroying two-thirds of the city of St. John, rendering 10,000 homeless, with a loss of over \$13,000,000; about one-third of the loss is insured in 21 houses. Fortunately but few lives were lost. All the newspapers, and most of the doctors were burnt out. Two attempts were made to burn down the remainder of the city, the marines had to patrol the place, and public-houses to be shut up by order. Some heartless landlords took advantage of the general misery to raise the rents. The fear of starvation was relieved by timely supplies and money from Canada, and a fund was started at the Mansion House. The misfortune has had the fortunate result of bringing Newfoundland closer to Canada, and a feeling for Federation has sprung up in the island. There have been many forest fires, and a long-continued drought has much damaged the crops. Mr. A. W. Harvey is negotiating a treaty with Spain for the importation of fish from Newfoundland.

WEST INDIES.—The Commission to inquire into the Administration of Justice by Mr. Justice Cook, and Chief Justice Sir John Gorrie, in TRINIDAD and TOBAGO, made its report on the 2nd May. The Legislative Council thereupon interdicted both from duty pending the decision of the Colonial Office. They meanwhile returned home on leave,

their places being temporarily filled by Mr. S. H. Gatti, as Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Lamb—Mr. W. L. Lewis taking Mr. Lamb's place as second Puisne Judge. General Lyons has been sworn in as Governor of BERMUDA.

A wholesale eviction is reported from St. Thomas parish, JAMAICA, of 1,000 tenants on twelve large estates, just as their crops were ripening. The Government declined to interfere.

Obituary.—There have passed away during the quarter : Mr. Dhunjibhai Framji Patel, the worthy son of a worthy father, "the Nestor of the Parsis," whose death we chronicled last quarter ; Lady Li, wife of the Chinese Governor of Tiensin ; Lady Alexander Mackenzie, wife of the Chief Commissioner of Burma ; Admiral C. O. Hayes, who served on the India station ; the Hon. John Robson, Premier of British Columbia, who died in London ; Dr. Tasso Neroustos Bey of Cairo ; the Most Rev. Ernest Bonjean, Archbishop of Colombo ; Mr. Rustomji Gustad Irani, the Maharathi poet and author ; Bishop John Hedley, D.D., of Fredrickton and Metropolitan of Canada ; the two Kizilbash Sirdars, Mullah Yusuf Ali Khan, a great Shia preacher, and a good counsellor to the Ameer of Caubul, and Muhammad Nubbi Khan, skilled in Persian poetry ; General F. C. Maisey, who served in the Burma wars of 1852-53, and the Mutiny ; Hugh Hastings Romilly, C.M.G., late Commissioner of New Guinea ; Alfred Patrick, C.M.G., clerk of the Federal Parliament of Canada ; Col. Sir R. W. Hurley, K.C.M.G., of the West India Regiment, and Administrator of several colonies ; Sulieman Pasha, once of Plevna, late of Bagdad ; P. Wassa Pasha, Governor of the Libanus ; His Highness the Zamorin of Calicut, aged over 80 years ; General R. W. Disney Leith, C.B., who served in the Persian Gulf, Punjab, and Mutiny campaigns, and led the storming party at Multan ; Dr. Forbes Watson, the well-known writer on India ; General the Hon. Sir A. E. Hardinge, K.C.B., who served in the Sutlej campaign, and was Commander-in-Chief in Bombay ; Deputy Surgeon-

General H. W. Bellew, of whom we give a longer notice elsewhere ; Sir Harry Albert Atkinson, K.C.M.G., President of the Legislative Council of Auckland, N. Zealand ; General Sir Charles T. Van Straubenzie, G.C.B., who served in the Coorg and Maharajpur campaigns, the Crimea and China, and was sometime Governor of Malta ; Lt. Genls. S. Chalmers and Alexander Pond, of the Indian Army ; General Sir Charles Stuart, secretary to Lord Canning during the Mutiny ; Mr. Dimitri Rudolph Peacock, Consul-General at Odessa ; Col. L. B. Irwin, who served in the Jowaki expedition, the Afghan wars of 1878-9, and in Egypt ; Sir Charles Fox, K.C.M.G., of the Colonial Office ; Sir John Gorrie, who closed a former brilliant career under a cloud ; Marshal Namyk Pasha, some time Turkish Ambassador in Paris and London, aged over 90 ; and F. A. Lushington, of the Indian Civil Service.

We quote from the *Athenæum* : The death of Wassa Pasha took place suddenly on the 29th of June. He was remarkable not only for his political position, as holding, with the consent of the Powers, the Governor-Generalship of the Lebanon, but also as a scholar. He is one of the few Christian Albanians who have distinguished themselves in this respect. Besides the languages of Albania, he was acquainted with most of the European tongues and all those of the Slav family ; thus he took a high place as a linguist. He was the author of several works, and it may be remembered that to the last Congress of Orientalists he contributed, in collaboration with Sir Patrick Colquhoun, a paper on the Pelasgi.

V.

21st September, 1892.

OBITUARY.

THE sad deaths of several of the distinguished office-holders of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held last year in London, has, in each case, been followed by the equally sad loss of their literary material. 600 copies of Sir Patrick Colquhoun's *magnum opus* on Comparative Law, to which an introduction bringing it up to date was being written *in memoriam* by a Committee of the Congress for which he had done so much, were sold, along with, we fear, other treasures of that accomplished scholar, under the auctioneer's hammer for less than £10. Sir Richard Burton's manuscripts have been destroyed and now it is feared the Greek and Afghan linguistic coincidences of the eminent Dr. H. W. Bellew, a Vice-President of the Congress in question, will never see the light. The writer of this notice as also of the "Obituary" in the *Times* from which we quote, had long agreed to co-operate with Dr. Bellew in the elaboration of that material as also of the one embodying his views on Afghan policy, but the death of the great scholar and politician has deprived alike science and diplomacy of contributions, which would have been invaluable at the present conjuncture of affairs. Still the work on "Afghan Ethnography," published for the Congress, will ever remain a monument not only of his learning and of many years' labour, but also of the history and present distribution of Afghan and neighbouring tribes.

DR. H. W. BELLEW.

We regret to announce the death of Dr. Henry Walter Bellew, C.S.I., Surgeon-General Bengal Army, retired, which took place at his residence at Farnham Royal, Bucks, on Tuesday, the 26th July. By his death has passed away another of the few remaining members of that Anglo-Indian school that helped to build up our Empire by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the natives based on a sympathetic intercourse with them. As an Oriental linguist, Dr. Bellew was well known; as a sanitary commissioner his views were distinguished by a practical insight into the customs of the people which suggested remedies that were as efficacious as they were willingly adopted. As an explorer his gift of observation supplied minute and interesting information regarding regions that had either been unknown, or little known, before his visit; while as a Political Officer and a representative Englishman on the Punjab frontier he gained the confidence of native chiefs and of the natives generally in a high degree. Dr. Bellew was the son of the late Major H. W. Bellew, Assistant Quarter-master-General Indian Army, and was born in India on August 30, 1834. In 1854 he went out to the Crimean war, from which he returned home in 1855, when he took his commission and went to India in 1856. There he joined the Guides, and shortly after was sent on the famous "Mission to Candahar" with Major H. B. Lumsden, since better known as Sir Henry Lumsden, the brother of Sir Peter Lumsden, of the India Council. Dr. Bellew then published his "Journal of a Mission to Candahar in 1857-58," which at once marked him as a man who under-

stood the natives. He was therefore able to render good service during the Ambeyla campaign. As Civil Surgeon of Peshawur he became a centre of influence all along the frontier, and was enabled in 1864 to publish a "General Report on the Yusufzais," which is still a standard work on the topography, history, the antiquities, tribal subdivisions, government and customs, climate and productions of the district, or rather country, of Yusufzai. He then published "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Pukhto Language," which was long a standard work on the subject, and in 1871 he accompanied Sir Richard Pollock on a political mission to Seistan, where they were joined by Sir Frederick Goldsmid's mission and proceeded together to the Persian capital. His extra-official observations made on that journey are contained in his valuable work "From the Indus to the Tigris," and were accompanied by a grammar of the Brahui language, and other scientific matter. In 1873-74 he was deputed on the Embassy to Kashghar and Yarkand after the return of Mr. Forsyth's party to India from a visit to the Atalik Ghazi, and, eschewing politics, his "Kashmir and Kashghar" gives a very telling description of the peoples, especially of the latter country, and of their neighbours, including several references to "Kunjut," which has latterly been brought under our influence by the name of "Hunza." His friendship with the Ameer Shere Ali, and his great knowledge of frontier affairs, pointed him out to Lord Lytton as the most competent person for the post of Chief Political Officer to General (now Lord) Roberts at Cabul during the war with Afghanistan in 1879. Illness unfortunately compelled him to give up the post, but to science his stay in Cabul furnished the materials for "The Races of Afghanistan," published in 1880, and for his valuable contribution to the "Ethnography of Afghanistan," regarding which he submitted an important work to the International Congress of Orientalists held last year, on which occasion also, at a meeting presided over by the Hon. G. Curzon, M.P., he expounded his views on a number of linguistic and other identifications between Greek and Afghan tribes, a subject which occupied his attention to within a few hours of his death. Dr. Bellew had been long ailing from gastric complaints, brought on by excessive overwork and exposure during his Indian career, from which he retired in November, 1886. He will be mourned by more than one generation of friends, colleagues, and brother officers. . . The funeral took place on the 30th July, at 4.20 p.m. at Woking, and was attended by his brother, Mr. P. F. Bellew, his nephew Captain Judge, Mr. Norman MacGregor, M. Ciardiello, Dr. Fairbank, and a number of Anglo-Indian friends, including Sir Richard Pollock, Sir Peter Lumsden, Generals Hunter, Johnstone and Limond, Mr. A. Brandreth and Dr. G. W. Leitner. Dr. Bellew was married to Isabel, sister of another famous explorer, General Sir Charles MacGregor, and leaves two daughters and a son, Dillon, of the 16th Lancers, stationed at Ranikhet, M.W.P., India.—*Times* 29th July and 1st August 1892.

We take the following from the *Homeward Mail* of August 5th, in order to supplement the foregoing obituary :

"Right or wrong, his convictions and his principles were often incompatible with the precepts of official diplomacy; and as he was not a man whose

opinions could be concealed or altered from time to time to suit the varying moods of politicians in power, it can easily be understood that he was as often as not ignored at headquarters. His advice and assistance would be sought when the Government was in a tight place; he would be thrown over and left unrewarded when the crisis passed away. Yet it is a proof of the sterling quality of his mind that, although a keen and untiring controversialist, he was ever found, not protesting against official neglect or posing as a man with a grievance, but expounding and advocating what he believed to be true principles of policy. He held it a matter of far greater consequence that we should be treating the Afghans unfairly, than that his own prospects of promotion should suffer. With his unrivalled experience and unusual faculties, it is easy to see that, had he only subordinated his own views to those of this and that Governor-General and Foreign Secretary, honours and official rewards would have been showered on him. As it was, he had to be content with a European reputation as a scholar and traveller, and with the approbation of those who understood him. . . .

"His father, Major H. W. Bellew, was one of that ill-fated army which perished, all but one man, in the disastrous retreat from Cabul. 'It seems to have been the will of Providence,' wrote one who knew him, 'that Henry Walter Bellew should spend his life in efforts for the welfare of that race which deprived him of a father's protection; for no English name is so revered, and there are no deeds of kindness so treasured up by the Afghans, even as household words, as the name and deeds of 'Bellew Sahib.' . . .

"During the Mutiny, when the Guides were winning imperishable renown before Delhi, the two Lumsdens and Bellew were at the mercy of the Afghans. The rumour reached Candahar that every Englishman in India had been massacred. The Governor, Gholam Haidar, son of the Dost, consulted his father as to whether the three Englishmen should be put to death. It was very greatly owing to the good name which Dr. Bellew had won for England by the exercise of his professional skill, and by the friendly relations which he had established with leading Afghans, that this catastrophe was averted. . . .

"In 1869 he was employed as interpreter with Shere Ali, during the Ameer's visit to Lord Mayo; and the Ameer never ceased to speak of him with expressions of respect and warm friendship. Nine years afterwards, when Sir Lewis Pelly met the Afghan Envoy in conference at Peshawur, the Envoy said to Dr. Bellew, 'I reckon you as our friend, and I know that the Ameer esteems you as such, and often speaks of you in terms of commendation. But,' he went on to say, 'it is different with your Government.' The Ameer has now a deep-rooted mistrust of the good faith and sincerity of the British Government, and he has many reasons for this distrust. . . .

"This is not a fitting occasion for inquiring into the secrets of history, but we cannot refrain from the remark that, had Dr. Bellew's advice been taken, more than one serious scandal would have been avoided."

A friend sends us the following anecdotes regarding Dr. H. W. Bellew :

1. One day we were riding out on the Mushobra Road and met a long string of coolies of sorts, Afghans, Ladakhis, Cashmiris, one or two Lepchas and Bhoteas, etc.; Dr. Bellew, as was usual with him, on seeing a strange physiognomy, entered into conversation with one and another of them; though perhaps not speaking all their different lingos, he yet managed to make them understand him. And the astonishment of these semi-savages, at hearing a sahib thus address them made them lift up their hands with many a "Wah wah, here is a sahib who knows all about us and can talk to us all in our own tongues"; reminding one of the Bible story about "Here is a man who talks to us all in the languages in which we were born—Parthians, and Medes and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia."

2. A camel-man in the plains, straight down from Cabul with his load of apples and grapes, shortly after the last Afghan War, was discoursing upon his experiences, and finished up with "Ah yes, you got away that time, but you will never get up there again ; or if you do, not a man of you but will leave his bones behind." This made a great impression on Bellew at the time, and he mentioned it to several friends, as the common talk in the Cabul bazaar, which just bore out his own views, about the short-sighted policy of going up, at such infinite cost and difficulty and then clearing out again. "If you go, you should *stay* there," he used to say, "and let them see you are masters of the situation ; or if not, leave them alone to cut their own throats, and don't interfere at all."

3. A celebrated American traveller to whom Dr. Bellew had been asked to show the lions of Cashmir, Murree, Peshawur, etc., and who struck up a great friendship with him which has continued to this day (they both being of an open-hearted free-thinking sort of nature), wrote to him shortly after, to say "he had heard two wonderful things that morning :—one was that there had been an earthquake in the Peshawur valley !, and the other that Bellew was married ! !, and of the two he rather thought the last had surprised him most. This shows he was not what one might call a marrying man, though this did not prevent his being the best of husbands when once married, as another anecdote will fairly prove.

4. A correspondent in writing to the *Times* giving an account of Sir D. Forsyth's Mission to Yarkand, and the hardships the party had to undergo, having to keep their ink-bottles over a spirit-lamp to prevent their freezing, etc., concluded with "This morning it was so cold, that Dr. Bellew could not even write to his own wife," showing that his long letters were quite a joke to the little band of travellers. Indeed his pen (like his pipe) was never long out of his hand.

5. While political assistant to Sir Frederick Roberts he was put on the commission with his brother-in-law, the lamented Sir Charles MacGregor—than whom India has seen no braver soldier—to investigate the guilt or non-guilt of certain prisoners of war, a wise selection, as the ready action and prompt decisions of the one, were tempered by the clearer insight of the other into the intricacies of the Afghan mind, so that it was chaffingly said in camp, "Oh ! hang it all, why not hand the whole business over to MacGregor and Bellew and let them settle it between them ? MacGregor would do the fighting and conquer the country for you, then let him clear out, and put Bellew in to pacify the natives and make the thing work."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Ranjit Singh*, by SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 2s. 6d.), is one of the best volumes of the well-known series of *The Rulers of India*. Sir Lepel Griffin is exceptionally well fitted for writing Punjab History, and he has given us here the fruits of his reading, personal acquaintance with Punjab Chiefs and documents, and great knowledge of Indian men and affairs. The history of Ranjit Singh, concise to suit the Series, is graphic in its descriptions, perfect in its form, and comprehensive in all that needed to be detailed. Graceful yet terse in style in every part, we specially note his sketch-character of Ranjit Singh as a man and a Ruler, and the chapter on the Sikhs and their distinctive traits. Here and there are interspersed good maxims of sound statesmanship for the guidance of the present British administration. We fully agree with Sir Lepel, that British rule in India has been a great success; and we re-echo his hope that it may continue to promote the welfare of the country, by a firm, just, judicious, and conscientious government. It is important that books like this of Sir Lepel and Mr. Keene's Madhava Rao Scindhia should remind us, and especially the great Indian public, of the troubled days of anarchy and the terrible ways of tyranny from which the British Government has freed India; for it is important that the sons and grandsons should not forget what their ancestors witnessed and bore. We can recommend highly this volume of the *Rulers of India* to all classes of readers. Excellent as the work is, Ranjit Singh's place in this Series is by no means evident; for though a great Ruler *in* India, he can, in only a very wide sense, be called one of the Rulers *of* India.

2. *Lord William Bentinck*, by DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. *Rulers of India* Series. 2s. 6d.) Lord Bentinck has been generally considered an overpraised man, and of this clear and conclusive evidence is supplied by Mr. Boulger's well-written book, though the writer himself is a panegyrist. Lord Bentinck's intellect failed to grasp and his will to improve the numerous opportunities offered him in his early career, in the civil and military employments which the interest of his powerful family procured for him: he was, in almost every instance, a conspicuous failure. None but a man with wide and powerful connections could have recovered from the scathing censure and well-deserved removal from office which closed Lord Bentinck's first Indian career. Though the very facts that Mr. Boulger relates plainly lay on Lord Bentinck's shoulders the responsibility of the Vellore mutiny and much else of evil in his Governorship of Madras, Mr. Boulger begins, later in the volume, to consider him the victim of an unjust severity. We are not told the negotiations which resulted in Lord Bentinck's appointment as Governor-General; but the fact of his accepting office on condition of carrying out certain retrenchments and a policy which he condemned in his heart, shows that he sacrificed his principles for the chance of wiping out his former dis-

graceful recall. His abolition of *Sati* and his financial administration deserve every praise. But beyond that he did little or nothing for India. His campaign in Coorg was a failure, like the rest of his personal acts; and he deserves no credit for carrying out orders from the Court of Directors which he held to be wrong, or for merely continuing the acts of his predecessors. So much for Lord Bentinck himself. We hope this Series will not degenerate into mere panegyrics, overlaying faults with a coating of uniform praise. Mr. Boulger's want of personal knowledge of India is conspicuous in this volume, when he comes to speak of native customs and feelings; and we would recommend the Editor to pick his writers for further volumes of the Series from those who include a long residence in the East among other requirements as good writers.

3. *Oriental Religions and Christianity*, by F. F. ELLINWOOD, D.D. (London: James Nisbet and Co. 5s.) This is an essentially pugnacious book, professedly written to exalt Christianity at the expense of all other forms of religion. We would not, however, condemn it on that account alone: a man is right to praise what he firmly believes. But before a writer can speak of Christianity, he should be able to specify what is included and what excluded by that now very vague term, of which among Christians one body alone can give an authoritative definition. There is no such thing as Christianity in general; and our author fails to specify which of the numerous branches of Christianity he patronises. The critic, moreover, of other religions than his own requires something besides a mere second or third hand compilation of condemnatory sentences. A great deal more is wanted than a mere anthology of vituperation. The living forms of Muhammadanism, Hinduism and Buddhism he has not met and does not know; the strength of their grasp upon millions he has not seen; and their influence for good he cannot appreciate. His reading has been all one-sided; and he naïvely suggests that, like some of Darwin's followers, he intends producing whatever favours his own views, without being too nice in selecting. The fact is that he is incompetent to judge, owing both to prejudice and ignorance. It is easy to ridicule separate details in religions, to dilate on defects, and to point the finger of scorn at shortcomings. These are incidental to all human institutions, and even to those that may be called humano-divine: Christianity is not itself exempt from this "trail of the serpent." It is also an open question whether the missionaries (for whose training Dr. Ellinwood lectures) would not succeed better, if taught to seek out and make the most of the points of contact of the various religions, rather than search for and abuse the lines of difference. Hence even as a guide to the missionary this book is misleading, while as an effort of scholarship it is a conspicuous failure.

4. *Letters from Mandalay*, by the late J. A. COLBECK, edited by G. H. COLBECK (Knaresborough: A. W. Lowe, 1892. 2s. 9d.), is a small volume of extracts from letters written by a late S.P.G. missionary at Mandalay. The printers and publishers have turned out a very handsome volume, though the editing leaves room for amendment. Thus in the introduction (p. iv.) we are told that the monastic schools are losing ground, whereas the late Director of Public Instruction tells us that they have accepted the

system inaugurated by Sir Arthur Phayre, and are holding their own amid the schools of Upper as of Lower Burma. The Letters themselves are honest, plain, and above all concise ; and though they pretend to no eloquence of diction or terseness of style, they convey a striking picture, vivid from its very simplicity, of the events of the concluding days of the predecessor of King Thibau, and the short reign of the tyrant himself. The great defect is that the narrative is neither sufficiently detailed nor continuous ; and hence, though very pleasant reading as far as it goes, it fails to show the whole history of even that narrow period of time. The author concludes with the satisfactory announcement of having founded a "real Burmese congregation," but with the vagueness characteristic of all missionaries, fails to state the number.

5. *Arakan : Past, Present, and Future*, by JOHN OGILVY HAY. (London and Edinburgh : William Blackwood and Sons, 1892.) This book, which reached us too late for review in our last issue, is an account of Mr. Hay's long and strenuous efforts to make the India Office and the Indian Government do something for the development of Arakan, beyond allowing it to exist and quietly appropriating the surplus of its revenue (in 1890-91 quite Rs. 1,217,676) to Imperial uses. He proposes to make Akyab, in preference to Chitagong, the centre of its trading operations, and to connect Arakan by rail and steamer with Bengal on the east and Burma on the west. We confess to a feeling of utter disgust at the apathy which, notwithstanding a steady surplus in the revenue, has given to this tract, acquired in 1826, less than 50 miles of good road and left it still almost unexplored. There are, of course, other motives beyond those of mere philanthropy visible in Mr. Hay's contentions, but nothing which he need be ashamed to admit. The book would have been far pleasanter to read in the form of a detailed narrative, instead of the present fragmentary stringing together of letters and newspaper articles, with a slender thread of connection. Much was written before the annexation of Burnah, and in consequence of this is quite useless now and might be omitted. These are slight defects ; but the book is, as a record of neglected duties and opportunities, valuable in an age which generally publishes and reads nothing except what is fulsome, and flattering to national and individual vanity.

6. *معامل احمدی, Ma'mul-i-Ahmadi* ; a complete manual of the art of Surgery, by HAKIM AHMAD ALI-SAHIB, زبیر لکھنوی ; (Lahore, Lithographic Press of Munshi Jagath Narayan, 1890). This is a thick 8vo. vol. of 428 pages (in three parts) written in Hindustani, with illustrations. It forms a complete manual of Surgery. The author, a student of the Punjab University, seeing that many natives in India held aloof from European surgery, has carefully compiled his work from ancient Arabic treatises supplemented by the practice of modern surgery : as a matter of course, the latter forms the bulk of the treatise. It helps to show that the ancient Arabs had not neglected the art ; and it is a standing testimony to the deep study and wide reading of the author. Its merit has been acknowledged in India by a wide circulation ; and the Government have purchased and circulated a large number of copies among Indian medical students. It is a distinct step towards popularizing science by means of manuals ably written

in the vernacular, and as such we give it a most hearty welcome. The lithographic character is clear and legible, though small in size; and its cheapness enables the poorest Indian student to purchase a book from which he can store his mind or refresh his memory with the details of surgical art hitherto available only in European languages.

7. *Medum*, by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. (London: David Nutt, 1892. 24s.) This is a companion volume to Mr. Flinders Petrie's "Illahun, Gurob," etc., which we reviewed in our April issue. It treats of the results of the excavations of 1890-91, the publication of which the author anticipated in a paper read at the 9th International Congress of Orientalists last September in London. Half the present quarto volume consists of very accurately prepared illustrations; and the other half gives, in Mr. Petrie's familiar and lucid style, a detailed account of the system on which he proceeded in his excavations and discoveries. One cannot but be struck with the great pains he always takes for preserving the originals, even when reproducing their details; and we can only regret that others are not as careful: wet squeezes have, as he justly remarks, been the destruction of paintings, and leaving stonework uncovered is an invitation to plunder it for building material. Among the more interesting finds at this great pyramid of Seneferu, whom Brugsch places about B.C. 3766, before Kefu (Cheops), are the details given of the building itself, which show at that early age a knowledge of both the science and art of architecture nearly as complete as that shown on the better known Gizeh edifices. Numbers of tombs found intact contained bodies not mummified, which with other indications pointed to a difference of race; and specimens have been made over to the College of Surgeons for ethnographical and anthropological specification. A very early stage of the process of mummification is also disclosed. Several important papyri, some noteworthy discoveries regarding earlier hieroglyphics, and many stone implements, are among the finds of great interest, as is the chemical analysis given of the pigments used. For further particulars we must refer our readers to Mr. Flinders Petrie's splendid work, another monument of the services which he has, for over a decade, continuously rendered to Egyptology.

8. *List of Officers of the Bengal Artillery*, compiled by GENERAL F. W. STUBBS. (Bath: C. Seers, Argyle Street.) This is essentially a compilation of details, interesting especially to artillery officers, and to those families whose scions have served their country in the distinguished corps, long since amalgamated with the Royal Artillery. The old Bengal Artillery has a record of glorious deeds second to that of no corps in the world; and those whose family names occur in the list of General Stubbs (himself a distinguished officer of the same, and a great numismatist) will treasure the record in their family archives. General Stubbs ever does his work with a thoroughness that leaves nothing to be desired; and his patient and painstaking compilation exhausts all the available records now existing. Among the names are many which are familiar as household words,—Tomb, Olpherts, Reid, Roberts, Huish, etc.

9. *Ethnology in Folklore*, by G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1892. 2s. 6d.) As might be expected from the President of

the Folklore Society, we have here a very readable book and a considerable step towards systematizing the discoveries of this comparatively new branch of investigation. The work is full of interesting details and scraps of knowledge, and bears evidence of the wide reading and careful study of the author. The main idea sought to be proved is that a Non-Aryan race preceded the Aryan wave, had its own cults and customs, was conquered but not exterminated by the Aryans, and continued till a late period intermixed with its conquerors: from this race the author traces folklore customs. Worthy of all praise for its research and erudition, our candid opinion is that Folklore is not sufficiently advanced and founded in sound principles to be called a science, and that this book fails to prove any positive Ethnological points, beyond the main conclusion. We note that at the outset (pp. 21 to 29) the author places a foundation stone, from the earlier writings of Sir Walter Elliot; and by a strange coincidence, a full account of the same village festival is given in our current issue (p. 461) from later notes of Sir Walter. The two vary in very material points, on which arguments are based by Mr. Gomme. In folklore in general, the same complaint is made: that isolated and possibly exaggerated instances are connected by suggestion, with a particular origin; and are afterwards cited as proofs of assertions. Instances occur in the book under review. Neither the learning of the author nor the eminence of the Editor of the series "Modern Science" suffice at present to entitle *Ethnology in Folklore* to a place among *Sciences*.

10. *The Sacred Books of the East*, translated by various Oriental Scholars, and edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. Vol. xxx. (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1892. 12s. 6d.) This volume, which in excellence and thoroughness of work as in appearance, is uniform with the preceding volumes of the Series, contains a translation by Professor Hermann Oldenberg, three Grihya Sutras, with a general introduction, after which (each with its own introduction) come the Gobhila, Hiranyakesi and Apastamba Grihya Sutras: a synopsis of the whole is given as a conclusion. The volume is made up to the size of its predecessors by Professor Max Müller's translation of Âpastamba's Yagña-Paribhasha Sutras, with a short introduction. It is superfluous to add more than that the work is worthy of the reputation of both the scholars concerned, and of the press from which it is issued.

11. *Studies in Mohammedanism*, by JOHN J. POOL. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1892.) The high-sounding title led us to expect much, and we are disappointed. Had it been called "Gossips on Muhammadanism" we should have said the book was very readable and interesting, though not free from errors. But Mr. Pool's *Studies* are neither deep nor correct; and though he has travelled in the East, as he repeatedly tells us, he has failed to make the most of his opportunities. A good book of amusement for the general reader, it is, as a comparative study of Christianity and Muhammadanism, of no value at all; and the sort of doleful dirge sung in each chapter over the real and supposed short-comings of the latter is tiresome and annoying even to professors of the former religion.

12. *Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India*, by F. W.

THOMAS. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1892.) This is a Le Bas prize-essay, showing a great range of reading combined with considerable power of deduction. It first compares the nature of the two religions in themselves, and treats of the results *a priori* which were likely to result from their contact and conflict; and these results are then pursued in detail as regards Government, Land-tenure and Law, Morality, and Religion. The conclusion gives a retrospect and a forecast of the future, which is fair and probable. The author has made as much as was possible of a subject which is necessarily rather dry in many of its details, and has given us a work of much learning and importance, though there are a few blemishes and errors, from which nothing but a personal knowledge of India could have saved him.

13. *From the Arctic Ocean to the Yellow Sea*, by JULIUS M. PRICE, M.R.G.S. (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1892. 24s.), details an adventurous tour through the Kara Sea, Siberia, Mongolia, and China. It is a charming book, full of information on the manners and customs of those regions; and its lively and graphic descriptions are profusely illustrated, almost at every page, by the author's excellent sketches and photographs. The first-hand and plain-spoken descriptions of prison life in Siberia will be especially read with interest, and probably with surprise by most persons whose ideas of the system, bad as it is, are distorted by the exaggerated accounts of the few who, after hurried journeys, have posed as teachers and authorities: we allow for later improvements. Mr. Price's book will do much to soften our ideas regarding Russian Siberia, and especially the Russian officers who rule it. Despite the faults of a system of universal espionage and corruption, Mr. Price's experiences cause the reader to admire, almost unconsciously, the splendid physique and excellent qualities of the men who, far from the influence of public opinion, maintain order amid their criminal surroundings. The adventurous journey across North-Eastern Asia is not likely to be often imitated; but we promise our readers much enjoyment in following, in this delightful book, the author's description of his travels. He went as special correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*, with a pioneer commercial expedition.

14. *Asiatic Cholera: its History and Treatment*, by N. C. MACNAMARA. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892. 2s. 6d.) Good enough, to a certain extent, the historical part of this book is singularly incomplete: we notice omission of all reference to the last Indian commission on Cholera, on which the lamented Dr. Bellew was secretary, and to the continued labours of Drs. Lewis, Cunningham, and others, who for many years carried out special investigations and experiments. The numerous blue-books concerning both, the author could easily have consulted at the India Office; and if the suppression of the names of all three of these great authorities is due to professional bias, it reflects little credit on Mr. Macnamara. In the scientific part of the work, which includes the Bacteriology, Etiology, dissemination and treatment of this fell disease, he writes as a partisan of particular theories, which are not yet demonstrated—to say the least. Our personal experience refutes many of the statements on which arguments are based; and the mode of treatment recommended we have seen tried often

as unsuccessfully as other nostrums. Strangely enough he fails to give any personal precautions against catching cholera in infected districts, though many are proved by experience to be effective, such as wide flannel belts round the abdomen, and the use of camphor. The author fails to see that the violent outbreaks of cholera in the jails and barracks of India, the sanitary arrangements of which are so conspicuous amid their surroundings, militates strongly against his theories. This book is reliable, as far as it goes; but it is too partisan to be of much use, besides being incomplete and occasionally incorrect.

15. *Mahabôdhi: the great Buddhist Temple under the Bôdhi Tree, near Buddha Gaya*, by SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, R.E., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1892. £3 3s.) The nearly octogenarian archæologist here gives us his long-expected work which quite satisfies the hopes entertained of it. Messrs. Allen and Co. have done their duty as publishers in a splendidly got up volume, in which letterpress, illustrations and binding leave as little to desire as does the thoroughly characteristic work of Sir A. Cunningham. Whilst restoring to the great Buddhist temple of Gaya its former name of Mahabôdhi, he also restores the temple itself for his readers. With descriptions of what still exists, ground-plans, illustrations, and restorations, he enables one to raise up a lively idea of what the great temple must have been. Perhaps the only defect in the book is that the restored view given (Plate XVI) is small, and insufficient to show more than very general details. General Cunningham, besides describing what actually exists, traces the records of the temple in antiquity, concentrates all the information available regarding it into a focus, and thus kindles a light to show the grandeur and beauty of this monument of by-gone piety, of which only too little has escaped the ravages of time and man. Among the points settled in this volume by the author, with his usual wealth of erudite illustration, is the question of the time when the arch was known in India; and he here proves, against his own previous view and Mr. Fergusson's, that the arch was in existence in India centuries anterior to Muhammadan conquest. We cannot give higher praise to this beautiful and interesting book than by saying that it is fully worthy of the great author's deservedly high reputation as a veteran archæologist, than whom no one is a greater authority on Indian questions. The discovery of so important a monument at comparatively so late a date should encourage a more systematic archæological survey than has hitherto been undertaken in India.

16. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, by F. STEINGASS, Ph.D. of the Munich University. (London: W. H. Allen and Co. £3 16s.) As the author states, his work is "Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary," revised, enlarged, and entirely reconstructed, giving in addition to the Persian also the Arabic words and phrases found in Persian literature. It is considerably smaller than its original, yet maintains fully its claim of being a comprehensive aid to Persian literature. Like most comprehensive works, however, it has the defect of giving loose meanings under headings whence they ought to be struck out. *E.g.*, under *Dahana*, we have "*Dahana i Farhang*, Jasper, a precious stone of a thick greenish colour, Melochites" (*sic*). Now, jasper

and malachite are not the same, nor is it true that jasper is of a thick greenish colour for it is oftener red or yellow, nor is *dahana i farhang* correctly used for either the one or the other. Another fault in common with other "comprehensive" books is that of inserting many words which have no claim whatever to a place in a dictionary, or if they have, they require in fairness to be supplemented with a whole series of similar words. Thus we are given a bastard Madeleine and Champs Elysées, while Boulevard, Paris, and even France, are absent. If those two, why not all geographical names of importance? and if not, then why the two minor topographical details? Yet the work, more portable than other dictionaries of the language of a proportionate "comprehensiveness," is a good one for the student, to whom it will save much time by presenting him a ready-made phrase where he might have otherwise to seek out the meaning of two, perhaps three, words. The Persian scholar will hardly, however, praise it for strict exactness of meaning.

17. *The Labour Party in New South Wales*, by J. R. ROYDHOUSE and H. J. TAPERELL. (London: Swan Sonnenschen and Co.; Sydney and Brisbane: E. Dunlop and Co., 1892.) The last general elections in New South Wales returned 35 Labour members to the Sydney Legislature, and our authors give a full history of the men and of the ends of the Labour Party, and of what these representatives of that party have hitherto done. The whole is well and dispassionately told; and the work deserves careful study by all interested in politics; for the Labour Party is looming large in the dim but not distant future of every so-called civilized country. If what has taken place in New South Wales is the sample of what will take place everywhere, we shall have a party much given to disintegrating on side issues, to frequent loud and long speechifying with repetitions of the statement that they are there not to talk but to act and to make everyone else act, and to an insistence on the passing of measures which, when passed, are found utterly worthless and useless—like the Trades Disputes Conciliation and Arbitration Act, passed last March, which remains in the present disputes at Broken Hill, quite a dead letter. As a graphic description of the party and its objects, the men and their mode of acting and speaking, this book is of great value to the student of politics.

18. *Geography of the British Colonies*, by G. M. DAWSON and A. SUTHERLAND. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892.) This little book is one of the best of recent additions to Macmillan's well-known geographical series. The illustrations are excellent, the typographical errors few in number, and the style lucid and interesting. The physical, climatic, and ethnographical conditions of the colonies receive their full share of attention, and the mind is nowhere compelled to dwell on long lists of cities and populations. It is, however, not so much a standard work for geographical reference as an interesting description, well calculated to stir up a feeling of patriotism in the hearts of all British readers. The fact that to a great extent both the authors are describing their own native countries may perhaps account for the general aspect of everything being so very *couleur de rose*; nevertheless the less prepossessing features of the picture are nowhere passed over. One of the most interesting facts is that

"Greater Britain" seems to include almost all the coal and iron-producing districts of the world. No "Imperial federationist" should be without this handy little volume.

19. *Eastern Geography*, by PROF. A. H. KEANE, with a map. (London : Edward Stanford, 1892.) This geography is as good as the preceding, though a work of quite a different type. Professor Keane's diligence and research are abundantly shown throughout; but the book is evidently meant more for the ethnographer or the European engaged in administration or business in the far East than for the general reader. Some of the statistics are interesting, but the lists of Siamese or Malayan provinces, etc., are necessarily somewhat dry. For the ordinary reader the most interesting portions of the volume are the historical references and the ethnographical and oceanic divisions of the "fairy islands of the East." Professor Keane's division of the Eastern Archipelago into three natural regions (Asiatic, Oceanic, and Australian) is ably stated, and certainly very reasonable. The existence of a large "Indonesian" substratum throughout this part of the world is employed by him to connect the Polynesians of the Pacific with the Caucasian inhabitants of India; and no doubt the tall, wavy-haired, light-brown Tahitans and Samoans have a much greater resemblance to Caucasians than to Mongols, Malays, or Negroes. The style is scientific, as becomes a work of this character, still occasionally it might have been simpler. For instance, in one passage we are told that a certain volcano yields "a considerable supply of the muriate of soda useful for culinary purposes." It would perhaps have been just as easy to say "cooking salt," and it is not quite evident why the author prefers to use an obsolete chemical formula.

20. *Barren Ground of Northern Canada*, by WARBURTON PIKE. (London and New York : Macmillan and Co.) The author, in a somewhat humble and deprecatory preface, begs the critical reader to spare his comments on the faulty style of one who has been rash enough to lay down his rifle and take up the pen, and the "eminent geographer" not to waste his time in pointing out the inaccuracies in his sketch-map of the lakes he passed through. As Mr. Pike's travels lay, however, in a part of Canada almost entirely unexplored by white men, the "eminent geographer" would be very hasty to condemn what he knows little about. Travelling and camping with Indians all the time, the author was compelled to live as they did, feasting and starving alternately, jostling for a good piece of meat out of the common pot, now disputing and quarrelling with his rascally guides, now coaxing them. The chase of the Musk Ox, the object of his journey, and the migration of the Caribou are naturally the most interesting parts of the book. We hope that the Indian's innate lust of ruthless slaughter will not succeed in exterminating the Musk Ox, an animal interesting in itself and perhaps a remnant of the pre-glacial American fauna. The narrative is generally interesting, and frequently humorous, though the humour is somewhat grim when it deals with the follies of starving men. Geographical societies may grieve that the author did not take instruments to give an exact map of the country he traversed, but this does not affect the general reader. It is a sportsman's story, and as such well told; but even the artist can still find much useful information in it.

21. *Rambles through Japan without a Guide*. (London : Sampson Low, Marston and Co. 6s.) After Sir Edwin Arnold's *Seas and Lands*, and several other elaborate descriptions of Japan and its people, it is not surprising that Mr. Alfred Tracy felt somewhat diffident in launching his *Rambles through Japan without a Guide* on the sea of publicity. The only novelty it possesses, as he himself tells us in the preface to his book, is that he travelled from one end of the empire to the other without an interpreter or guide, and without knowing more than a few words of the language. He has, however, given us a very pleasant and chatty account of his experiences during his three months' wanderings, and a good deal of information in his last chapter on the Present and Future of Japan. The author, free from the narrow prejudices of race and creed, does ample justice to Japanese life and manners, which he calls a phase of a real civilization. Although he holds Christianity the highest type and form of civilization when based on the teachings of Christ, he strongly deplores that the greed of Christian nations has brought that once prosperous country nearly to the verge of ruin, and that we still withhold from her the right of controlling her commerce, and thus keep her in a position of dependence and humiliation. Like all travellers in Japan, Mr. Tracy speaks most highly of the courteous manners and good breeding of the Japanese people, in all grades of society. He met with uniform politeness everywhere, and was rarely, if ever, overcharged or imposed upon. We can recommend this book for its light and entertaining reading ; though, as a rule, we do not approve of hasty travels, as they seldom are quite accurate.

22. The *Law Magazine and Review* for August (Stevens and Haynes), contains a further article by Mr. John Dacosta, on "Judicial Independence in India," which, like its predecessor, has been reprinted by the author. Mr. Dacosta's arguments are very strongly marshalled, and taking the two articles together, seem to make out a case of which probably the strongest features are yet in the background. It is evident, for instance, that the action of the Court of Wards, to mention only one point which occurs to us at the moment, amply deserves the same vigorous analysis as that to which Mr. Dacosta has subjected the relations of the Executive and the Judicature in British India. The editor has appended to the present contribution a brief notice, pointing out that the question of Judicial Independence was practically one of the main issues in the struggle against Absolutism under the Stuarts.

23. *Jataka-Mala*. (Harvard Sanskrit Series.) The names of Professor Lanman, the supervisor of this series, and of Dr. Kern, the special editor of the volume under review, are a sufficient guarantee for the sound and accurate scholarship of this edition of the "Jataka-Mala." As far as we have examined the Sanskrit text, it leaves nothing to be desired ; the type is clear and readable, the printing and paper excellent.

It is a pleasure to turn from the badly-printed, and often, we fear, it must be added, equally badly-edited, productions of the native Indian presses, to a book so technically perfect as this first volume of the Harvard Series ; though, while noting the generally inferior work of the Bombay and Calcutta printers, it would be unfair not to make an exception in

favour of the "Rig-Veda," with Sayana's Commentary, edited by Pandit Rajatama Shastri, which was published a few months ago by Mr. Tukaram Tatya, of Bombay.

This edition of the "Jataka-Mala ; or, Garland of Birth-Stories," though produced from the collation of several MSS., really represents only one reading, as the MSS. accessible to the editor are evidently copies from a common source, and only repeat each other's mistakes.

The birth-stories in the Sanskrit text are thirty-four in number, according to the Buddhist tradition, but the appendix contains a thirty-fifth story not in Sanskrit, but in the curious Gatha dialect, which is closer to Sanskrit than Pali. The editor's explanation of the presence of this Gatha story in the Sanskrit text is interesting.

The chief defect, it seems to us, that can be laid to the charge of this first volume of the Harvard Sanskrit Series, is the absence of a general introduction discussing the literary and philosophic bearing of many interesting points involved in the "Jataka-Mala." To the most interesting of these, the origin of the main motive of the book, some space, at any rate, might have been given.

We might have been told what Dr. Kern's view is on the question of the source from which the author or authors of the "Jataka-Mala" borrowed the idea of stringing together a series of stories or fables on the personality of Buddha in different births ; and whether this conception was borrowed from the Brahminical doctrine of the avatârs of Vishnu, such as the fish-avatâr and the boar-avatâr, which might be compared with the Vyagri-Jataka and the Shasha-Jataka in the text under review.

24. *The Naulahka : a Story of West and East*, by RUDYARD KIPLING and WOLCOTT BALESTIER. (London : William Heinemann, 1892.) 6s. The incomparable pictures on the horizon, which Mr. R. Kipling has discovered and described, would, like charity, cover a multitude of literary sins ; but we cannot be indulgent to the rowdy and namby-pamby combination of American with Anglo-Indian love-making and swindling in "Naulakha" (as everyone in the least acquainted with any Indian vernacular would spell this well-known word). Of course, Mr. Kipling's Indian descriptions shine in comparison with those of his Yankee colleague, but both are vulgar and falsely sentimental—the very last reproach which the authors probably expect. Like "The Light that Failed," the ending of "Naulahka" is bad English and worse sense ; but there are the characters of the Rajput King and of the Gipsy Queen, as also the ghastly failure of a Dufferin scheme for the medical treatment of Indian women, that alone would make the purchase of "Naulahka," as also the subsequent relinquishment of the "nine lakh" gem, which is its *raison d'être*, a matter of excusable curiosity.

25. *The Lone-Star of Liberia*, by F. A. DURHAM, with an introduction by Madame La Comtesse C. Hugo. (London : Elliot Stock, 1892.) The author describes himself as an African and a student of Lincoln's Inn. To the former circumstance is due his having undertaken the defence of his brethren ; to the latter, we owe a collection of strange quibbling arguments and peculiar views. The object of the book is to induce the Negroes in

America to throw off the yoke of their tyrants and to emigrate to Liberia where grants of land and sundry good things await them. We agree with the author in considering this desirable both for the Negroes and their persecutors ; but the fact that the former, in spite of much urging, yet remain attached to the flesh-pots and the accompanying indignities in the land of the "stars and stripes," (for them, chiefly the latter) conclusively shows that these martyred saints of coal-black hue are still slaves in mind and serfs in spirit as they were bondsmen for ages. We laud Mr. Durham for his vigorous protest against the iniquities perpetrated upon the inhabitants of Africa by exploiters whom the dazzled ignorant herd styles explorers ; by thieves, murderers, incendiaries—as Dr. Cust's article in this issue proves them to be—whom the English and German nations worship as heroes. Justly does the author inveigh against those whose gospel of peace and goodwill is emphasized by bullets and whose sincerity is demonstrated by the gattling, the rifle, the bayonet ! Mr. Durham is perfectly right in such denunciation and equally so when he discloses the thousand grievances, the relentless persecution, the cold-blooded tyranny which the dark citizens of the United States suffer at the hands of their fairer co-citizens ; but when the author excuses the vilest of crimes to which his brethren are addicted on the plea of their excessively affectionate, amatory, temperament, then, indeed, are we forcibly reminded that he holds a brief on behalf of his compatriots and that his statements should, therefore, be taken very largely *cum grano*. The height of absurdity is reached when Mr. Durham contends for the Phœnician ancestry of the African negro and boasts of African greatness and African civilization, on the strength of a number of examples of his race who not only successfully adopted the garments of Europe, but also its culture and thus became shining lights. The author makes sweeping charges of ignorance, yet he himself betrays a lamentable want of knowledge and culpable negligence when referring to Indians ; his childish spite against these, ill suits an apostle of toleration. Let the author not compare Africans to Orientals ; for what comparison can there be between the dark Continent, possessed of no indigenous civilization and no religion worthy the name ; between that absolute zero in the work of human progress and the glorious, resplendent East, the *fons et origo* of religion, of philosophy, of culture ; the cradle of mankind ?

Mr. Durham elaborately proves that white women have married black men and *vice versâ* ; yet, what purpose this is to serve we cannot gather, nor can we think why the author should adduce proof for what is admitted ; no one doubts that such things happen, and arguments are quite unnecessary to maintain the assertion that there are fools amongst human beings of both sexes. We cannot conclude our remarks without wishing success to the object of the book and congratulating Mr. Durham on his wide though superficial reading, his powerful though quibbling logic, and his vigorous style only marred by distressing repetitions.

26. *Useful Sanskrit Nouns and Verbs*, in English letters ; compiled by Charles Johnston (Luzac and Co., London). This is a useful little volume indeed. Mr. Johnston may lay claim to originality inasmuch as he has produced a handy book for the study of that most beautiful and polished

language, Sanskrit, without at the very outset, as is customary, parading his knowledge of the intricacies of grammar and syntax and thus creating almost insurmountable barriers to the progress of the student. The learned author is, indeed, quite a heretic in this respect for he actually tries to make matters as easy as possible.

27. *Persia and the Persian Question*, by the Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P., 2 vols. (Longmans and Co.).* The two bulky volumes on "Persia and the Persian Question" which have appeared during the current year, and for which we are indebted to the fluent pen of the Hon. George Curzon, embody almost all that an enlightened inquirer can reasonably expect to be told about an Oriental State, in a single publication. At once a comprehensive guide-book and useful political manual, it contains a vast amount of particular and general information on a country the antiquity of which alone entitles it to a prominent place among the nations of the East. But Persia has stronger claims to notice than deducible from a venerable age. Her associations are Scriptural as well as historical. Her Esthers and her Vashtis are even better known and more conspicuous figures in the world's memory than her Ardashírs and Shápúrs. If we recognise in the Ahasuerus of the Bible, as modern research leads us to do, the Xerxes of Herodotus and Justin, we have the testimony of both sacred and profane history to the power and magnificence of the predecessors of Nasru'd-din Shah five centuries before the Christian Era; and now in the last decade of the nineteenth century the Persian kingdom—though not in extent the vast Empire of Cyrus—is of very ample dimensions, and possesses a population which, if comparatively small and composed of divers elements, is by no means effete or incapable of progression in a sense far higher than that of territorial aggrandisement. As a reason why Englishmen should be especially interested in Persia, Mr. Curzon reverts to a common ancestry; but his argument is more likely to strike home when he comes down from the somewhat hazy standpoint of the original Aryan stock to the more evident periods of English history. His *résumé* of Anglo-Persian connection, in his Introductory Chapter, takes us back to the thirteenth century.

The long-standing historical connection of the two monarchies must undoubtedly be an interesting and essential feature in any abstract of Anglo-Persian diplomatic relations prepared at the present hour to refresh the memory of incoming Governments; and it supplies a kind of sympathetic chord which the Shah himself will readily touch when it suits the royal convenience. But if it is to be rendered available, by our statesmen, for the substantial advantage of Great Britain in the form of commercial or other concessions in favour of her enterprising subjects, opening out new lines of communication with the Indian Empire, or, eminently, in aiding to oppose the unwarrantable encroachments of Russia towards India, we are bound to do something to raise Persia herself to the level of civilized

* We briefly referred to this work in our last issue, as one of the most important publications of the quarter; but we reserved a more exhaustive review of its contents for this present number, as both time and space rendered it impossible to do justice to the book in our July issue.—ED.

nations, a condition which she has not yet attained. For achieving such an object as this the volumes before us are of infinite value. They convey to the reader's mind the truth about Persia and its "Question"; they show the Shah and his people, in their "habits as they live"—the first represented, not as a pattern sovereign, but as one who might well have been worse; the last as grasping, untrustworthy, false, yet withal frugal, intelligent, industrious. The two main demoralizing influences are expressed by the words *tashakkkhus* and *muddakkhil*, which may, practically, be translated "ostentation" and "peculation" (literally "incomings"). The love of display and distinction, and the craving for perquisites, in whatever sphere of work he may be placed, are to the Persian official, or *employé* of every grade, like counsellors of ill whose promptings are seldom, if ever, resisted. In other classes the same spirit is actively in operation, but opportunities for its exercise are less frequent and provocative. Those who have not lived and moved among Persians on their own soil can form but little conception how thoroughly ingrained are such peculiarities on the native character, and how much they affect the possessors in the ordinary transactions of life. Well may it be said that if these evil genii were destroyed, and replaced by Patriotism and Honesty, the regeneration of Persia might be anticipated.

Our author makes no mention of *tashakkkhus*—the term may not have fallen upon his ear—but this is what he has to tell us on *muddakkhil*:

"This remarkable word . . . may be variously translated as commission, perquisite, douceur, consideration, pickings and stealings, profit, according to the immediate context in which it is employed. Roughly speaking, it signifies that balance of personal advantage, usually expressed in money forms, which can be squeezed out of any and every transaction. A negotiation, in which two parties are involved as donor and recipient, as superior and subordinate, or even as equal contracting agents, cannot take place in Persia without the party who can be represented as the author of the favour or service claiming and receiving a definite cash return for what he has done or given. It may of course be said that human nature is much the same all the world over, that a similar system exists under a different name in our own or other countries, and that the philosophic critic will welcome in the Persian a man and a brother. To some extent this is true, but in no country that I have ever seen or heard of in the world, is the system so open, so shameless, or so universal as in Persia. So far from being limited to the sphere of domestic economy or to commercial transactions, it permeates every walk and inspires most of the actions of life. By its operation, generosity or gratuitous service may be said to have been erased in Persia from the category of social virtues, and cupidity has been elevated into the guiding principle of human conduct" (Vol. I., pp. 440, 441).

Be it added, however, that while this definition of a national failing may be admitted as a rule, there are undoubtedly to be found exceptions in individual cases, and these are by no means confined to those who have enjoyed the advantages of Western civilization.

Mr. Curzon divides his book into thirty chapters, half of which he com-

mends to the student, and half to the amateur. By classifying his work under the two heads of Dissertation and Travel, and apportioning chapters or parts of chapters accordingly, we should probably arrive at much the same result as he himself had in view, but the process would be facilitated and methodized by subdivision. For instance, under the first head might be grouped (1) archæology and history, (2) commerce and politics; while (1) geography in its wider and more popular sense, with (2) personal narrative and adventure, would be found under the second. Archæology and ancient history are, as a rule, combined. The ruins of Pasargadæ, the sculptures bearing the names of Naksh-i-Rustum and Naksh-i-Rajab, Persepolis, Istakhr, Susa, and Shápûr—all these are described and commented on with praiseworthy attention to minutiae and instructive retrospect; and the reader, to aid his research, is referred, by quotations or indications, to Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, Strabo, Pliny, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, Lactantius, and other classical writers. At Persepolis, the hall of a hundred columns is considered to have been the throne-room or audience-hall of Darius Hystaspes; and it is thought probable from the evidence of ashes, proved to be carbonized cedar, that this is one of the palaces destroyed by Alexander, when, according to Dryden—

“The king seized a flambœu, with zeal to destroy;
That’s led the way to light him to his prey,
And, like another Helen, fired another Troy.”

We will not follow Mr. Curzon in his discussion of motive for the act of incendiarism. What impelled Alexander to commit the deed—if he did commit it at all—must be matter of pure conjecture. Nor can we attempt an analysis of the many pages he has devoted to archæological investigation. But we may heartily congratulate him on the skill and industry he has exhibited in dealing with this branch of his subject in connection with ancient classical history. On the other hand, there is much of comparatively modern history to be traced in the description of cities such as Tehran, Tabriz, Mash-had, Ispahan, Yezd, Kirman, and Shiraz.

With Commerce and Politics, the chapters relating to which are plainly indicated by their titles, may be associated much that is comprised under the heads of Government, Institutions and Reforms, the Army, Railways, Revenues, Resources and Manufactures. All these questions are, upon the whole, ably, and often admirably, treated; and the instruction imparted is comprehensive and sound. But they cannot be adequately illustrated by extracts; the inquirer must be referred to the book itself and its well-filled pages, in which he will find no dry chapters and few dry passages. If we differ from the writer in opinion, it will be chiefly on details such as the particular line of railway communication which should form the Persian link of an Indo-European line. That link should, we believe, be found between the two terminal points of Baghdad and Kuráchi; not keeping to the coast except in Mekran, yet not reaching a more northerly point than Shiráz. A *main* line further north is obviously impolitic; but branches could be run out with ease to northerly or other points of the compass in the interests of trade, when occasion offered or circumstances justified. The physical difficulties to which Mr. Curzon refers, as presenting objections

to this scheme, would assuredly be no greater than on his own proposed line from Baghdad to Ispahan, through Kirmanshah. But we should have great reason for thankfulness if even *his* alternative line were adopted, and steps taken to make it a reality. At present we are aware of no visible signs of laying down a serious length of railway in Persia, in any direction whatever; nor does it appear practicable to obtain a concession for such procedure for a course of years, unless Russia were the applicant.

Ample justice is done to the geography of the Shah's dominions. Inspection of the newly executed map which accompanies "Persia and the Persian Question," shows that it is brought well up to date, and supplies intended travellers with just the information they require. In that portion of the text which we should separate as geographical, are some capital descriptions of road and landscape, and the stories and statistics of towns are given with extraordinary care and fulness. References to former writers abound, and the cream of their observations is retained for the benefit of the reader.

In conclusion, we must record our appreciation of Mr. Curzon's easy portraiture of men whom he meets. The passage in which he describes the prince known as Zil-es-Sultan merits notice under this head, and would be a fair specimen to select, had we space for further extract. F. J. G.

It is with particular regret that we postpone for want of space the reviews of Captain Binger's most interesting volumes entitled *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi* (Paris: Hachette et Cie.), and M. J. Chailley-Bert's *La Colonisation de l'Indo-Chine; l'expérience Anglaise* (Paris: Guillaume et Cie. and Armand, Colin et Cie.), which may well make Britain proud of the praise that the distinguished Frenchman, after careful study, analysis, and examination, bestows on its methods of colonisation.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have received, too late for review in this issue, Prof. Nöldeke's *Sketches from Eastern History* (London: A. and C. Black); J. L. Kipling's *Beast and Man in India* (London: Macmillan and Co.).

We have also received, with thanks, *The Contemporary Review* (Messrs. Isbister and Co.); *The Civiltà Cattolica*, which in addition to further De Cara's learned papers on the Hittites has given several other interesting articles in archæology; *The Missionary Review of Reviews*; *The American Journal of Philology*; *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*; *Le Polybiblion*; *La Revue des Revues*; *La Revue Général*; *The Review of Reviews*; *The American Antiquarian*; *The Biblia*, a Monthly Magazine of Biblical and Oriental Research.

PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES.

PREHISTORIC AMERICA.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS.

ANIMAL EFFIGIES.

PREHISTORIC MONUMENTS.

PREHISTORIC RELICS.

PRIMITIVE SYMBOLS.

CLIFF-DWELLERS, ANCIENT CITIES OF

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

The editor of the *American Antiquarian* is publishing a series of books on PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES, and offers the whole series to SUBSCRIBERS. These volumes are fully illustrated and contain all the latest information on the subject. This is the time for readers to become acquainted with Pre-Columbian America.

NOW READY.

Animal Effigies and Emblematic Mounds.

A Treatise on Emblematic Mounds, based on Personal Exploration.

A large proportion of these Mounds and Effigies were discovered, surveyed and platted by the author, the engravings of which are given in the book. The work contains a description of the Great Serpent and many other curious objects. It treats of the Totem system. It also describes the game drives and the dream gods of the ancient hunters—in fact, brings the reader into contact with the wild life and the wild animals of the Interior, and gives an interesting picture of the strange habits and ways of the effigy-builders.

Illustrated with 270 Woodcuts. 350 Pages.

AGENTS WANTED.

One Lady in Iowa sold Twelve Copies of this Book in Two Days' time.
"The Mound-builders" will sell still better.

LIBERAL DISCOUNTS OFFERED TO CANVASSERS.

